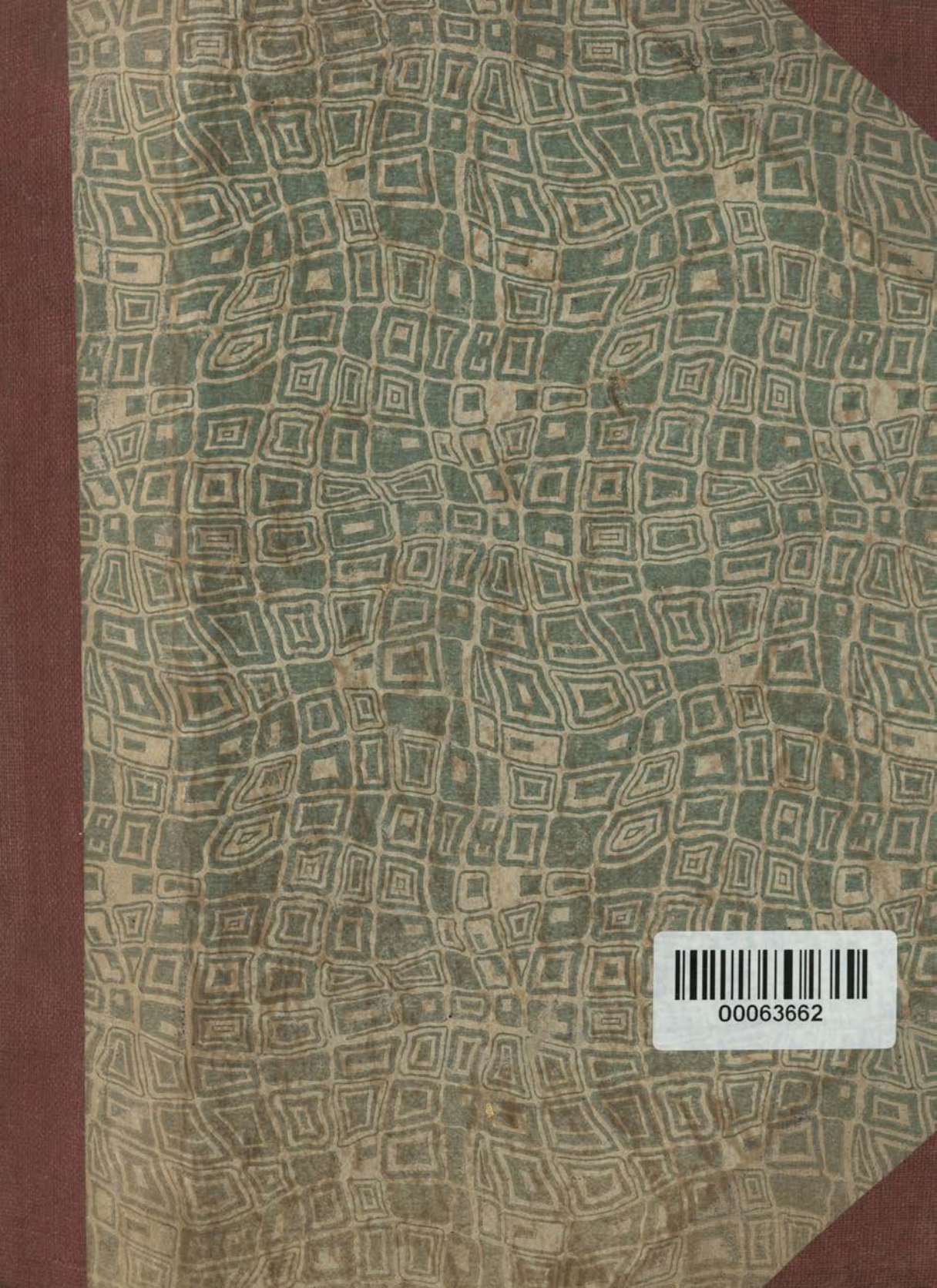
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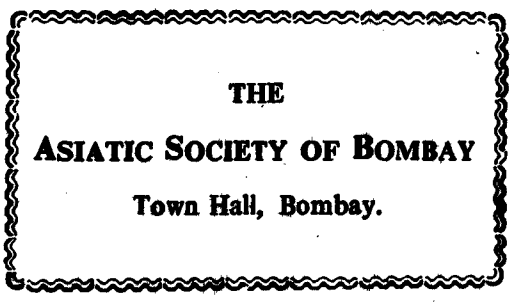

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REMBRANDT

Printed by Eudes & Chassepot, Paris (France)

REMBRANDT

His Life, his Work, and his Time

BY

ÉMILE MICHEL

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

FROM THE FRENCH BY

FLORENCE SIMMONDS

EDITED BY

FREDERICK WEDMORE

63662

With Seventy-six Full-page Plates
And Two Hundred and Fifty Text Illustrations

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IN TWO VOLUMES

First Volume

VI-a-35

LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN

1895

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First Edition, Two Volumes, November, 1893.

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,
LONDON AND BUNGAY.

VIEW OF A TOWN.

Pen drawing heightened with wash. (Berlin Print Room)

EDITOR'S PREFACE

PORTRAIT—supposed to be either TITUS or the PRINCE OF ORANGE.

1641 (B. 310).

I HAD better point out at once such changes as it has been thought desirable to make in placing before the English-reading public Monsieur Michel's comprehensive book on that pictorial artist whom all schools of criticism unite to honour. Those changes will be found to consist almost entirely in that which concerns the illustration, for in regard to the literary work the Editor's duty to the public and to the writer was mainly to present Monsieur Michel's substance and style in the best English at the command of a translator of taste, and the English of Miss Simmonds has surely done as little violence as possible to the French of the Frenchman. In aiming to be correct, Miss Simmonds has not lost sight of the necessity of being readable.

I have ventured to correct here and there a few errors of fact—misprints, in all probability, in the French edition—and

these small corrections have been greatly supplemented—dare I say completed?—by the list of corrections which Monsieur Michel himself has supplied for our present issue, and which are now embodied in it. I have also, with now and again the kind assistance of owners of important Rembrandts and such serious students of the Master's work as Mr. Humphry Ward, Mr. Claude Phillips, Mr. Walter Armstrong (the Director of the Irish National Gallery), and Mr. J. M. Gray (the Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery), made certain corrections and additions in that Appendix of Monsieur Michel's which deals with the whereabouts of great Rembrandt pictures in the United Kingdom.

Again, in dealing with the etchings—things which the collector of every land must love; things in which, as I conceive it, the art of Rembrandt found after all its amplest and most exquisite expression—due reference has been made to the Catalogue of Wilson, which Monsieur Michel had omitted to cite. Wilson's Catalogue, though comparatively elementary, and in this respect a contrast to the elaborate undertakings of later times (it was published in 1836), has never been wholly superseded. It enjoys the advantages—profits by the convenience—of its simplicity. Charles Blanc's is the Catalogue employed most habitually in France. Later in date, and more advanced and searching perhaps in its analysis of "states," it comes often usefully to Wilson's aid. I should have liked, but that it might have clogged our pages almost unduly, to have cited it, and also the latest and greatest of these *Catalogues raisonnés*—that of Monsieur Dutuit, published so luxuriously in illustration and elucidation of his own wonderful cabinet of Rembrandt's prints. The collector at all events cannot afford to disregard that, any more than the Charles Blanc; but its inevitably expensive form may continue to forbid its popular use. This tribute to it was due. While adding in the Catalogue proper—not throughout the course of the volume—the references to Wilson, I might personally have felt it permissible, and even wise, to discard the reference to Bartsch which Monsieur Michel has maintained. For the English student of Rembrandt—especially for the student of "states"—Bartsch is scarcely up to date. Often a convenient, sometimes the only handy source of knowledge on the engraving of many older masters, that excellent Eighteenth

Century Viennese connoisseur has, as an authority on Rembrandt, been in a measure superseded. But we have thought it politic to be conservative, and have retained the old while introducing much of the more recent.[1]

And now for the illustrations themselves. Almost directly the publisher consulted me about the book I told him that the French edition, along with all that it contained of value and of charm, seemed to me actually burdened by the presence of a few photogravures and a few coloured reproductions of drawings which he would do well to dispense with. What they precisely were need not here be said.[2] A comparison of the two editions it is open to any one to make. But while proposing to leave out these things, I wanted the publisher to make good certain omissions in Monsieur Michel's list of illustrations, and asked him to include, either as photogravures or illustrations in the text, some further English Rembrandts of note and of high merit. He assented; and thus it is that in the present edition we are enabled—thanks too to their owners' graciousness—to have reproductions of Lord Ilchester's noble picture, *Rembrandt in a Yellow Gaberdine*, of the Glasgow Corporation's picture of a *Man in Armour*, of the *Hendrickje Stoffels* of the Scottish National Gallery, and of Mr. Samuel Joseph's *Saskia*, while, as a minor matter, Mr. Spielmann's offer of a Rembrandt pen-and-ink drawing enables us to add one more to the series of Rembrandt's artistic dealings with the story of Tobit.

Nor does the enumeration of these additions quite end the tale of changes. In the French issue the reproductions of certain of the etchings were very unsatisfactory. A fresh block has been made of the *Lutma*, which was so "woolly" in the French publication. I hope the new one is better. Mr. Gray lent us the etching. Again, a fresh block has been made (because with work of its extreme delicacy the scale formerly adopted was quite insufficient) of that delightful early etching of Rembrandt's mother which Mr. Hamerton has so fittingly eulogised—it appears on the first page—the small reproduction of the Third State of the *Clement de Jonghe* has been

[1] This new issue allows me the opportunity of saying that I should have included in the text of the Preface, an acknowledgment of the studious and serviceable labours of the Rev. C. H. Middleton-Wake, had not his Catalogue, and the views expressed in it, been the subject of frequent allusion in M. Michel's own pages.

[2] Nine of the photogravures referred to as omitted, have now been added to the present edition.

supplemented by a reproduction of the First State, which I happen to possess; we give also, for the first time, a block from the wonderful boy-portrait which was once supposed to be Titus and then supposed to be a little Prince of Orange (No. 311 in Wilson's Catalogue), and, finally, I invited the publisher to include the reproduction of a plate of sketches on the copper, which is of great rarity (Wilson, No. 364), and of which only a part of the interest is that it does undoubtedly contain one of Rembrandt's portraits of himself—a portrait so remarkable for vigour, assurance, and freedom, that I hardly wonder at the opinion which was entertained of this print, in the full ripeness of his judgment, by that admirable connoisseur, Monsieur Dutuit, who goes so far as to say, in his great Catalogue, that it is one of the very best of Rembrandt's pieces.

So much for the subtractions and additions in the matter of illustration. There remains but a final word.

No student who has ever acquired a vivid interest in Rembrandt's life and work can expect to agree absolutely in all the conclusions of another—be that other never so learned—be he Monsieur Michel himself. While acquiescing generally in Monsieur Michel's views—in the views of a critic so sound and careful—even an Editor may feel, here and there, a disposition to differ. But whatever latitude of quarrel one might have left one's self as a writer, as an Editor has been sternly curtailed. I have for the most part been reticent. Least of all could it have been fitting that I should, in this place, have said a word bearing in any direction on certain ancient, and well-known, and more or less personal disputes in which it has never been my desire to have a part. While doing my best to ensure the adequate presentation of Monsieur Michel's labours, and the comprehensive illustration of Rembrandt's consummate art, I have, speaking generally, sought to efface myself. Just once and again, on minor matters of fact or of opinion, I have ventured a remark in a foot-note—a foot-note printed in italics, that it may be abundantly clear that I alone, and not Monsieur Michel, must be accounted responsible for the little that is there said.

FREDERICK WEDMORE.

LONDON, *October*, 1893.

A VILLAGE, WITH A CANAL AND A VESSEL UNDER SAIL.
About 1645 (B. 228).

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

REMBRANDT IN A FLAT CAP.
About 1638 (B. 26).

THE short monograph on Rembrandt which I contributed to the *Artistes Célèbres* series[1] in 1885 was the germ of this more extensive study. The subject had long attracted me. Travels in Germany, frequent visits to Holland, and familiarity with his etched work, all tended to increase my admiration for the master. My researches in connection with the earlier monograph made me aware of many gaps in my knowledge of his life and art; they also fired me with the desire for a closer acquaintance.

The general plan of this work lay ready to my hand. It was marked out by my earlier essay, and I have naturally adhered to the chronological method there adopted. Rembrandt's life was so wholly given to his art that the two cannot be divorced in narrative;

[1] *Librairie de l'Art.*

their unity is complete, the one illuminating the other. It was his almost invariable custom to carefully note the dates of his creations. Perhaps no artist has shown a like precision in such matters; none was so often his own model; none has left such innumerable studies of father, mother, wife, and all who were dear to him. Though much has been written about his life, its actual facts were little known till the last few years. His taste for solitude, and great independence of character, combined to hold him aloof from the foremost men of his day. The brief popularity he enjoyed on first settling in Amsterdam was succeeded by the poverty and neglect in which he died. Hence the information to be gleaned from his contemporaries is very scanty. For our knowledge of his early years we are mainly indebted to a bare page in the *Description of Leyden* by J. Orlers, Burgomaster of the city, published in 1641, when the young artist was at the height of his fame, and to Sandrart's slightly more explicit account. The latter narrative has a double interest. Widely as they differed both in taste and aim, Sandrart too was a painter, and had no doubt a personal acquaintance with his brilliant *confrère*. Samuel van Hoogstraten's disappointing reticence as to the details of his master's career was supplemented to some extent by Houbraken. But Houbraken's facts are interwoven with a mass of those suspicious anecdotes which adorn the plain tale of so many artistic biographies. Campo-Weyermann, Dargenville, Descamps, and others added further embellishments, boldly piling fable on fable for the amusement of their readers, till legend gradually ousted truth. The spendthrift who could never learn the value of money, and scattered it like some young noble, was, according to them, a miser; that lofty spirit, the author of so many fine creations, was, we are told, the boon companion of vulgarity and degradation. His marriage with a fair peasant of Ransdorp, his pretended death, his journey to Venice, his threats that he would forsake his native land if not treated with

greater respect—threats he actually carried out by settling at Hull or Yarmouth, say some, in Sweden, say others, and there ending his days—all these are among the inventions current till the middle of the present century.

To Mr. Eduard Kolloff, a scholar whose claims have been somewhat overlooked of late, the inauguration of a more exact and learned system of criticism is due. His study on Rembrandt is insufficiently known, mainly, no doubt, by reason of its appearance in a very unlikely publication.[1] It is marked, however, by a penetration and precision to which Bürger and Vosmaer have hardly done justice commensurate with the advantage they reaped therefrom.

With the works of these two writers, who relied chiefly on Kolloff, a new era began in Rembrandt literature, an era inaugurated by the fruitful researches of Messrs. Scheltema, R. Elzevier, Eckhoff and Van der Willigen. Bürger propagated their discoveries far and wide, stimulating the zeal of the pioneers, and, by his fervid enthusiasm, imparting to his readers something of that passionate, almost exclusive admiration, with which he had come to regard the master.[2] But the task Bürger had set himself to accomplish was destined to be carried out by a Dutchman, and Vosmaer showed himself equal to the lofty work his patriotism had suggested, by the pious care he brought to bear upon it, and by his profound study of his subject in all its ramifications. To his skilful grouping of facts already ascertained, he added the sum of his own discoveries.[3] His perfect knowledge of Dutch literature enabled him to paint the artist among his actual surroundings, and to show how far Rembrandt had been inspired by these, how far by the originality of his genius.

[1] *Rembrandt's Leben und Werke*, published in Fr. von Raumer's *Historiches Taschenbuch*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 401 *et seq.*

[2] *Les Musées de Hollande*, by W. Bürger. 3 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1858-60.

[3] *Rembrandt; his Life and Works*, by Vosmaer. The first edition appeared in 1868; the second, much enlarged and revised, in 1877.

Thenceforward the master's triumph was assured. Worshippers, fervent, if few, he had always commanded; but the public has been gradually won over. Increasing facilities of intercourse have opened up the museums and private galleries which possess his works; engravings and photographs of his pictures, and facsimiles of his drawings have familiarised us with the force and fecundity of his wonderful genius. Far from satiating the appetite of inquiry, these various forms of research have stimulated the desire for more perfect knowledge. Among writers of the last ten years who have specially devoted themselves to the quest, Messrs. W. Bode and A. Bredius are *facile principes.*

The limitations of Vosmaer are very evident. He had seen but a portion of the master's pictures, and his æsthetic perception was by no means equal to his erudition. Dr. Bode took up his work, and corrected it at many points by the light of his own purer and more experienced taste. In his constant travels throughout Europe, he has made himself acquainted with the whole field of Rembrandt's labours, and is perhaps better qualified to catalogue his works than any living writer. He was the first to direct attention to the works of Rembrandt's adolescence; he has restored to him, as their true author, a series of unknown works, and his attributions, though contested at first, are now universally accepted. A notice he published in the *Graphischen Künste* was expanded into the remarkable article on Rembrandt in his *Studies for a History of Art in Holland*,[1] a striking analysis of the master's artistic career.

A fresh impetus was simultaneously given to documentary research by the inauguration of the periodical known as *Oud-Holland*,[2] under the editorship of the well-known scholars, Messrs. Bredius and De Roever. A fund of priceless information on matters connected with

[1] *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei.* Brunswick, 1883. 1 vol. 8vo.

[2] Amsterdam: Binger Brothers. The publication is now in its tenth year.

art history was discovered by the editors in Dutch archives, and most ably annotated. Thanks to their researches, the cruces of Rembrandt's biography have been explained, and the secrets of his mysterious existence brought to light. In grateful recognition of all I owe to their friendly help, I here tender my thanks to Messrs. Bredius and De Roever. If I have been enabled to supply the deficiencies of Vosmaer, and to trace more clearly than he has done the close union between Rembrandt's life and art, my success is due to them. To their zeal and to their discoveries I owe the information which must give a certain value to my book.

While busied in the arrangement and collation of my materials, I have been careful to neglect no opportunity of study at first hand. Before starting on a pilgrimage through Europe to see such of the master's works as were unknown to me, and to re-examine such as were familiar, I made every effort to prepare myself for the problems to be encountered. Two successive visits to England, and expeditions to Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and North Germany enabled me to review all the museums I had already visited. Rembrandt's name is a talisman among his devotees, and the sort of freemasonry it establishes between them opened all doors to me. The directors of public galleries everywhere received me with the utmost cordiality. Their sympathy proved of great assistance to me in my work; they imparted their own stores of information, opened their archives for my inspection, and frequently gained access for me to private collections, where they themselves were my guides.

Their good offices have not ceased with my travels. Thanks to the friendly relations thus established, I gained correspondents in all quarters, with whom I could exchange ideas; who have been prompt to answer my questions, and even to forestall them by the liberal communication of facts likely to be of interest to me. Among those to whose kindness or valuable help I am most deeply indebted are: Messrs. Eisenmann and Habich of Cassel; Mr. Riegel of Brunswick; Messrs.

W. de Seidlitz, K. Woermann and C. Hofstede de Groot of Dresden; Dr. R. Graul, Editor of the *Graphischen Künste* of Vienna; Dr. Bode and Dr. Lippmann of Berlin; Mr. A. Somoff of St. Petersburg; Messrs. G. Upmark and G. Goethe of Stockholm; Mr. Emil Bloch of Copenhagen; Dr. Schlie of Schwerin; Mr. Lichtwark of Hamburg; Mr. Obreen, of Amsterdam; Messrs. P. Haverkorn van Rysewyk and Moes of Rotterdam; Dr. J. Worp of Gröningen, and Mr. Scholten, Director of the Teyler Museum at Haarlem. For the topography of places connected with Rembrandt, I had the best of all guides in Mr. Ch. Dozy of Leyden, and Mr. de Roever of Amsterdam. To their kindness I owe very substantial help.

Desiring to turn such precious facilities to the best possible account, I lived for several years with Rembrandt, surrounded by reproductions of his pictures, drawings, and etchings, and by documents bearing on his history, my mind all the while intently fixed on the facts of his life, and the achievements of his genius. In my ceaseless efforts to grasp the logic of this synchronism of works and events, I learnt the realities of his career. The procession of dates and facts took on a new significance; I saw the heterogeneous threads of information weave themselves gradually into the fabric of a life—the life of Rembrandt, with its small events and large passions, its stormy aspirations, its glorious masterpieces, marking the successive epochs of troubled existence.

None can feel more deeply than I the difficulties of such a task. But happily the master himself collaborates with me to make himself more widely known. It has been my good fortune to secure Rembrandt's own services as illustrator of the volume wherein I propose to chronicle his history and analyse his genius. The great advance in photography and heliogravure of late years has made it possible to offer the public such a transcript of Rembrandt's works as is contained in this volume.

The drawings and etchings are reproduced by the firm of Krakow.

A few of the most famous and important, the place of which in this work had been determined from its inception, are printed separately. Other examples have been chosen partly as characteristic specimens of the master, partly as lending themselves readily to successful reproduction. In referring to the etchings, we have followed Bartsch's classification, not only as that to which most authorities are reverting,[1] but as offering an uniform method of notation for the works of Rembrandt and those of his pupils or imitators, whose plates Bartsch has also described and catalogued.[2]

The difficulties of reproduction were, of course, infinitely greater with the pictures. Photography is not well adapted to the rendering of those brown and golden tones which predominate in Rembrandt's works. It was necessary to choose proofs combining clearness in the shadows with exactness in the suggestion of values. Some of the examples were borrowed from the collection of Messrs. Braun and Co. Mr. Hanfstaengl of Munich also allowed the free use of all his Rembrandt reproductions. I am indebted to Mr. Baer of Rotterdam for the fragment of the *Pacification of Holland*, the *grisaille* of the Boymans Museum, and to Mr. Hoffmann, Director of the Darmstadt Museum, for a photograph of the *Flagellation* in his gallery, which is now published for the first time. The courtesy of Lord Warwick, of Count Orloff Davidoff, and of Messrs. Ed. André, Haro, and R. Kann, has further enabled me to reproduce other pictures never before published. Finally M. Sedelmeyer, to whom I here make most grateful acknowledgment, furnished me with photographs of several among the numerous works of Rembrandt which have been in his possession from time to time.

The plates engraved from these photographs were executed by M. Dujardin. Copies of some old engravings of public buildings

[1] *See a paragraph in my Preface.—F. W.*

[2] The numerous etchings here reproduced are distinguished by a B. (signifying Bartsch), followed by the number of each in his catalogue.

in Leyden and Amsterdam, several picturesque views of the two towns, and facsimiles of signatures successively used by Rembrandt, complete the list of illustrations in this volume, which the publishers have striven to make worthy of that great master to whom it is dedicated.

THE SLEEPING CHILD.

(Sir Frederick Leighton's Collection.)

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PEN DRAWING.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

CHAPTER I

LEYDEN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—THE BIRTH OF REMBRANDT—HIS FAMILY—HIS STUDIES AND AMUSEMENTS—THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN—EDUCATION AND MANNERS OF THE PERIOD—WORKS OF ART IN THE TOWN-HALL—PRECOCITY OF REMBRANDT'S GENIUS—HIS MASTERS, J. VAN SWANENBURCH AT LEYDEN, AND P. LASTMAN AT AMSTERDAM—HIS RETURN TO LEYDEN.

REMBRANDT'S MOTHER.
1628 (B. 354).

LEYDEN had gradually recovered strength after the ordeal of that double siege (1573—1574) in which she had successfully defied the Spaniard. By the beginning of the seventeenth century few visible tokens remained of the ruin and desolation wrought by the war of independence. The ancient city, clustering about her venerable Burg, and girdled by smiling villages, expanded freely along the two arms of the Rhine, which, uniting here, lose themselves a little farther in the sandy *dunes*. With the development of her commerce she had regained something of her earlier splendour. For generations the residence of the Counts of Holland, Leyden was, and is to this day, the seat of the *Rynland*, a species of syndicate, formed for the control and regulation of the waters, in the heart of the land most exposed

to their ravages. Her cathedral church, dedicated to St. Peter, a vast five-aisled basilica of the early fourteenth century, had escaped the destruction shared by many buildings, the ornaments of Leyden before the war. The Town-hall, which had been burnt down several times, had just been rebuilt from the plans of the skilful artist Lieven de Key, a Flemish emigrant who had been cordially received at Haarlem, where his talents gained him the post of city architect.

Distinguished for her charities, even in a country where charity is exercised in so liberal and intelligent a spirit, Leyden boasted, in addition to the municipal orphanage, rebuilt in 1607 near the Church of St. Pancras, a large number of homes for the orphaned, the aged, and the infirm. These asylums were superintended and maintained by members of the patrician families who had founded them. The most perfect order and cleanliness reigned throughout; the walls enclosed gardens gay with flowers; and the poor inmates enjoyed at least a semblance of family life and social ease.

Many of the municipal bodies and military and civic guilds had taken up their quarters in the religious buildings—chapels or cloisters—depopulated by the Reformation. Thus the Chapel of the Hospital of St. James had become the Cloth Hall, where were held the meetings of the Drapers' Guild, the most important of the local industries. The homes of citizens rose on every side—in the streets, and on the quays of the Breedstraat, the Oude-Singel, the Rapenburg, and the Langeburg—some retaining the features of the old national style—others inspired by the art of the Renaissance, which was beginning to find favour. The rapid growth of the city had resulted in the extension of its boundaries towards the east. The original *enceinte*, notwithstanding its enlargement in the thirteenth and again in the fourteenth century, had become obsolete, and a series of new defensive works had been constructed. A population at once warlike and lettered animated the wide streets, now silent and deserted. Artisans, petty traders, drapers, scholars, and men of science had stood shoulder to shoulder in days past, each outvying the other in heroism to resist the common foe. Henceforth, the memory of fatigues and dangers shared together formed a bond of union between

class and class; a new spirit was working within them; and the natural energy of the people, stimulated by the great events in which they had taken part, developed freely. It was a time of expansion and noble activity such as is seldom recorded in human history.

Tradition has it, that when William of Orange desired to recognise the great services of Leyden to the national cause by temporary exemption from taxation, the inhabitants craved, instead of the proffered boon, the gift of an University. This University was created by a charter of February 9, 1575, and liberally endowed. Its original domicile was the ancient cloister of St. Barbara. It was afterwards removed to the Jacobin Chapel, where it remains. The most distinguished scholars of the age, Justus Lipsius, Scaliger, Vossius, Saumaise, Daniel Heinsius, Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, and many others, were successively among its professors. There Arminius and Gomarus taught theology, and the former, by word and writings, waged war, unceasing and successful, against superstitions and prejudices that remained dominant throughout the rest of Europe. With the aid of some of his colleagues, he wiped out for ever from the annals of his country the penal laws against sorcerers, and the judicial persecution of the Jews, which continued to disgrace the most civilised nations of Europe. Important works of every kind issued from the printing-presses of Leyden, proclaiming far and wide the fertility of an intellectual centre which, in glorious rivalry with Plantin of Antwerp, produced the classic editions of the Elzevirs, so highly prized by later bibliophiles. The care bestowed on the training of youth attracted students from all parts of the country, and Leyden became a nursery of talent, and a home of patriotism —the throbbing heart, so to speak, of corporate Holland.

On this favoured spot Rembrandt was born, July 15, 1606. The date 1606, an extremely probable one, is not absolutely above suspicion. Though universally accepted by earlier students, it was rejected by Vosmaer, after Dr. Scheltema's discovery of the following entry, under the date July 10, 1634, in the marriage registers of Amsterdam: "Rembrandt Harmensz of Leyden, aged

26." According to this, his birth-year was 1608. On the other hand, an impression in the second state, of an etching in the British Museum, the subject a portrait of Rembrandt by himself, bears the inscription, believed to be by his own hand: *æt.* 24, *anno* 1631, which would give 1607 for the date of birth. The figure 24 has, however, been challenged, and Charles Blanc read it 25. But even if we admit the authenticity of the inscription, the question still presents obvious difficulties. It is hardly to be wondered at that Dr. Bredius upholds the old date, 1606, in spite of Vosmaer's arguments. After careful examination, we also accept it, as resting on fuller and more crucial evidence than any other; and primarily, as supported by the testimony of all writers, contemporary with Rembrandt or flourishing shortly after his death, who give any account of him. The first among these is the Burgomaster Orlers, who, in his *Description of Leyden*, published in 1641, gives the date July 15, 1606, together with the exact names of Rembrandt's father and mother. He is followed by Simon van Leeuwen, in another *Description of Leyden* (1672), and by Houbraken, in his *Lives of Painters.*[1] Two documents recently discovered by Dr. Bredius tend rather to further confuse

MUNICIPAL ORPHANAGE AND CHURCH OF ST. PANCRAS AT LEYDEN.
(Drawing by Boudier, after a photograph.)

[1] Houbraken writes June instead of July—doubtless an error of transcription: *Juni* for *Juli.*

than to elucidate the matter. One is the enregistration of Rembrandt, aged fourteen, as a student at the Faculty of Letters at Leyden in 1620. The date 1606 is hereby confirmed. But the other document, the *procès-verbal* of a committee of experts, among whom was Rembrandt, convened September 16, 1653, to decide upon the authenticity of a picture by Paul Brill, speaks of him as "about forty-six years old." If we accept this statement literally, we must conclude that he was born in 1607. Certainty is out of the question in view of such a conflict of evidence. And

LEYDEN UNIVERSITY, FROM RAPENBURG.

(Drawing by Boudier, after a photograph.)

having laid the various arguments before our readers, we propose to adopt, with all necessary reservations, the original date 1606, as that accepted by the most competent critics, Messrs. Bode, Eisenmann, and Karl Woermann.

Rembrandt was fifth among the six children of the miller Harmen Gerritsz, born in 1568 or 1569, and married on October 8, 1589, to Neeltge Willemsdochter, the daughter of a Leyden baker, who had migrated from Zuitbroeck. Both were members of the lower middle class, and in comfortable circumstances, for, besides the

family dwelling at Leyden, near the junction of the two branches of the Rhine, Harmen owned the greater part of a windmill almost opposite, on the Pelican quay, close to the White Gate.[1] Several other houses, together with some gardens beyond the town, were his property, and figure in his will with plate, jewels, and linen of some value.

Harmen had gained the respect of his fellow-citizens, and in 1605 he was appointed head of a section in the Pelican quarter. He seems to have acquitted himself honourably in this office, for in 1620 he was re-elected. He was a man of education, to judge by the firmness of his handwriting as displayed in his signature to the will above-mentioned, which he deposited with the notary W. van Oudevliet on March 1, 1600. He, and his eldest son after him, signed themselves van Ryn (of the Rhine), and, following their example, Rembrandt added this designation to his monogram on many of his youthful works. In final proof of the family prosperity, we may mention their ownership of a burial-place in the Church of St. Peter, near the pulpit.[2]

No record of Rembrandt's early youth has come down to us. But we may be sure that his religious instruction was the object of his mother's special care, and that she strove to instill into her son the faith and moral principles that formed her own rule of life. Among the many portraits of her painted or etched by Rembrandt, the greater number represent her either with the Bible in her hand or close beside her.[3] The passages she read, the stories she recounted to him from her favourite book, made a deep and vivid impression on the child, and in later life he sought subjects for his works mainly in the sacred writings. Calligraphy in those days was, with the elements of grammar, looked upon as a very important branch of education. It was esteemed an art, and its professors ranked little below painters in the Holland of that period. The success won by the works of Boissens, Van de Velde, and Coppenol, and the rapid sale of numerous editions, sufficiently attest this. Some

[1] This mill, in which malt was ground for beer, doubtless gave rise to the long-accepted legend of Rembrandt's birth in a mill near Leyden.

[2] *Oud-Holland*, v. p. 11.

[3] *Hardly the etched portraits—may I venture to say?—one or two of which represent her now with a worldly astuteness, now with a tolerant and not less worldly humour.—F. W.*

examples of their workmanship have been preserved. A wonderful lightness of hand and great accuracy are displayed in complicated flourishes and embellishments, and capitals adorned with all kinds of elaborate ornament, among which the more skilful loved to introduce figures and animals. The copies set for children were generally of an edifying description; verses, and moral quatrains, in the style of those popularised by the Sieur de Pibrac in France (1574) and speedily translated into all languages. These were transcribed and learnt by heart, together with selections from contemporary literature, in which, following the taste of the day, a realism often vulgar enough was blended with a curious affectation of ultra-refinement. That Rembrandt learnt to write his own language fairly correctly, we learn from the few letters by him still extant. Their orthography is not more faulty than that of many of his most distinguished contemporaries. His handwriting is very legible, and has even a certain elegance; and the clearness of some of his signatures does credit to his childish lessons.

With a view, however, to his further advancement, Rembrandt's parents had enrolled him among the students of Latin literature at the University.[1] The boy proved but an indifferent scholar. He seems to have had little taste for reading, to judge by the small number of books to be found in the inventory of his effects in later life. He was probably not a very frequent visitor to the famous library of the Faculty, the orderly interior of which is familiar to us from Swanenburch's engraving, where the books, duly classified and distributed, are shown to have been prudently fixed by iron rods to the desks at which the student stood to consult them. But the botanical garden by the side of the library, an addition of the year 1587, had doubtless greater attractions for him.[2] One of his inquiring mind must have found much to interest him among the strange plants growing either in the open air or in hothouses, and

[1] As Mr. Haverkorn van Ryswyk has pointed out, it by no means follows that Rembrandt's parents intended him to go through the whole curriculum. Such enrolments were often made with a view to certain privileges or exemptions from taxation accorded to members of the University.

[2] Descartes, who praised the efficiency of the institution, acted as intermediary for the exchange of seeds between the Leyden establishment and the *Jardin du Roi*.

the curious beasts imported from Dutch settlements in the Indies —fish, turtles, and crocodiles, then rarely to be seen in Europe. Another plate, engraved by Swanenburch in 1610, gives a bird's-eye view of this establishment, the germ of those zoological gardens now a characteristic feature of Dutch towns.

Amidst all this provision for mental training, physical exercises were not neglected. In the series of plates illustrating the University of Leyden there is one with the legend: *Ludi publici.* It represents a sort of riding-school, where young men are occupied in fencing, riding, gymnastics, and the management of various weapons; an excellent preparation alike for civic life or for the defence of national freedom, should dangers once more threaten it. On the 3rd of October in every year, public festival was held in Leyden, to commemorate her heroic resistance, and the raising of the siege in 1574. On that day, to the sound of bells pealing their loudest, and the triumphant melodies of the carillon set up in the tower of the Town-hall by H. van Nuys, of Hasselt, in 1578, the civic guard unfurled their banners, took arms, and marched in gala dress through the city. A solemn review was held; the corporation then proceeded to elect their chief magistrates; after which, officers and men met at a banquet in their *Doelen*, in the western quarter of the town, near the University. Foremost among the spectators on their route, no doubt, was the future painter of the *Night Watch*, with his ruddy face, his long dishevelled hair, his piercing eyes, and alert expression. Nor was the University without its part in the pageant. It was customary for the Chamber of Rhetoric to organise for the occasion one of those

BOTANICAL GARDENS OF LEYDEN UNIVERSITY.
(After an engraving by W. Swanenburch.)

processions, semi-religious semi-pagan, so greatly in vogue in the seventeenth century. A white-robed maiden, seated on a car, personated Holy Scripture, and was attended by the four Evangelists, the types of theological learning. Law and Medicine were also represented by allegorical figures, escorted by the most famous jurisconsults and physicians of antiquity. The procession ended with a ship, on which Apollo and the nine Muses supported Neptune, in allusion to the deliverance of Leyden, and the inundation by which she was saved.

GATE OF THE "DOELEN" OF ST. GEORGE AT LEYDEN (1614).
(Drawing by Boudier, after a photograph.)

Simultaneously with these official fêtes were held free markets, public games, and fairs, with their necessary following of mountebanks and bumpkins. Such sights and amusements must have afforded endless subjects for study to an observer like Rembrandt. Mixing with the crowd, he noted the manners and impressions of the populace, and seized upon those momentary effects of attitude and gesture which he afterwards rendered with such amazing truth and eloquence. But it was in the Town-hall that the student found enjoyment most congenial to his tastes. It was thrown open to the public at these seasons, and there, side by side with banners wrested from the enemy, and spoil taken from the tent of Francesco de Valdez himself, Rembrandt studied the two famous pictures of those Leyden painters who had spent the greater part of their lives in his native town, Cornelis

Engelbrechtsz and his pupil, Lucas Huyghensz, better known as Lucas van Leyden. Engelbrechtsz' great triptych—the *Crucifixion* in the central panel, *Abraham's Sacrifice* and the *Brazen Serpent* on the wings—painted for the Convent of Marienpoel, was preserved at the ruin of the convent towards the end of the sixteenth century, and taken under the guardianship of the municipality, "by reason," says Van Mander, "of its value, and in memory of the eminent master and citizen, its author." The work was, indeed, a remarkable one, and its artistic merit justifies the high esteem in which it was held. In the execution, though its analogies with that peculiar to the successors of the Van Eycks are, of course, striking, we find dawning traces of features characteristically Dutch. Such is the realism displayed in the portraits of the donors, members of the Martini family, painted on the reverse of the shutters, and the treatment of the landscape backgrounds, in which the blue tones of the distance are very harmoniously opposed to the brown and yellow tints of the rocks. In the foreground, the artist has even given, in elaborate detail, the exact forms of periwinkles, thistles and succory, and of the brambles entangling the ram which is to take the place of Isaac.

But in the *Last Judgment* of Lucas van Leyden, with its accompanying panels, *Paradise* and *Hell*, Rembrandt must have recognised a deeper love of Nature, a higher originality in design, and a finer sense of richness in harmony and colour. Gazing at this important work, he may have recalled the legends that were current as to the painter's life, his precocity and successes, the manner in which his fame had spread throughout Europe, that career of arduous toil, cut short perhaps by the lordly dissipations of later years, which Dürer chronicled in his account of his own visit to the Netherlands, and friendship with the Dutch master. The picture itself had its history. Painted in 1533 for the Church of St. Peter, it was rescued from destruction in the terrible outbreak of the Iconoclasts, and transferred to the Town-hall in 1577. So great was its fame, Van Mander tells us, that "powerful monarchs had taken steps to acquire it; but their offers were politely declined by the magistrature, who refused to part with the glorious creation of a fellow-citizen."

The reverence paid to these two masters, and the celebrity of

their works, may well have stimulated Rembrandt's consciousness of his vocation. His tastes were confirmed by the great appreciation with which the talents of his predecessors had been rewarded. He dreamt that he too might some day do honour to his native town, and that his pictures might claim their share of admiration, side by side with the works of his illustrious forerunners. But though his glory has far surpassed theirs, we look in vain for Rembrandt's handiwork in the Leyden Museum, where Lucas's *Last Judgment* and the triptych of his master, Engelbrechtsz, are still conspicuous.

Great as was his delight in these masterpieces, pleasures even more congenial were found in the country round about Leyden, and Rembrandt was never at a loss in hours of relaxation. Though of a tender and affectionate disposition, he was always somewhat unsociable, preferring to observe from a distance, and to live apart, after a fashion of his own. That love of the country which increased with years manifested itself early with him. The situation of his father's house, on the ramparts at the western extremity of the town, was such as he himself might have chosen for the indulgence of his solitary mood. Opposite, and in full view of his dwelling, rose the picturesque White Gate, flanked by its Gothic towers, commanding the course of the river; on the other bank, half hidden among trees, were the houses of the superintendent of works, and of the municipal carpenter—buildings of the old Dutch type. His daily walks offered constant variety of scene. In the immediate neighbourhood, towards Rynsburch, were green meadows dotted with grazing cattle, farms sheltered by great trees, canals, and the river itself, with its endless procession of white or coloured sails. Towards Oegtsgeest, where his father owned a pleasure-garden, stretch pasture-lands, and fair domains whose secluded groves were landmarks on the wide plain. If time allowed, he would extend his pilgrimage to the coast, towards Katwyk or Zuytbroeck, the birthplace of his mother's family, where he probably had kinsfolk to visit. This was no doubt the direction in which his steps were most often bent, for here he found Nature given over to herself amidst the billowy tumult of wind-swept

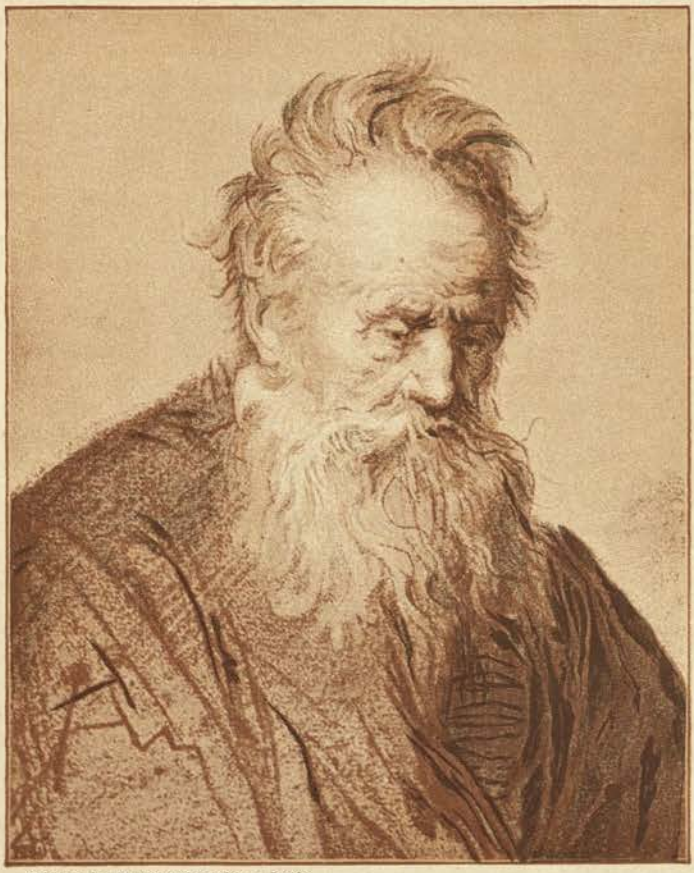
dunes, and sparse herbage tossed and twisted by the gale. Surrounded by this strange landscape, where grandeur and delicacy blend and harmonise, he must often have lost himself in contemplation of infinite horizons beyond the restless gray waters, of the scud of flying clouds driven before the breeze, and the play of their shadows flitting through space. Then on the morrow the daily task seemed more than ever irksome to the poor recluse, and the master's lesson fell on heedless ears. There was no gainsaying indications so strongly manifested. Rembrandt's parents, recognising his disinclination for letters, and his pronounced aptitude for painting, decided to remove him from the Latin school. Renouncing the career they had themselves marked out for him, they consented to his own choice of a vocation, when he was about fifteen years old. His rapid progress in his new course was soon to gratify the ambitions of his family more abundantly than they had ever hoped.

Leyden offered but few facilities to the art-student at that period. Painting, after a brief spell of splendour and activity, had given place to science and letters. A first attempt to found a Guild of St. Luke there in 1610 had proved abortive, though Leyden's neighbours, the Hague, Delft, and Haarlem, reckoned many masters of distinction among the members of their respective companies. Rembrandt's parents, however, considered him too young to leave them, and they decided that his apprenticeship should be passed in his native place. An intimacy of long standing, and perhaps some tie of kinship, determined their choice of a master. They fixed upon an artist now almost forgotten, but greatly esteemed by his contemporaries. Jacob van Swanenburch belonged, indeed, to a patrician family of high standing, various members of which had held important posts in the municipal administration from the beginning of the sixteenth century. One of his brothers, Claes, was also a painter; another, Willem, was the engraver of the series of plates already referred to; and their father, Isaac van Swanenburch, who from 1582 to the year of his death, 1614, had held office either as *échevin* or burgomaster of the city, was an artist of considerable talent, as is evident from the series of six pictures painted by him for the

Study of an Old Man (about 1630).

Red Chalk.

(Louvre.)



Printed by Draeger & Lesieur Paris

Drapers' Hall.[1] The four best represent various operations in the manufacture of woollen goods. Their frank painting and vigorous colour recall the robust realism of Pieter Aertsen. But it must be confessed that the works of Rembrandt's master were very inferior.

Jacob van Swanenburch was born about 1580, and is supposed to have received his first lessons in painting from his father. By 1610 he must have been well known, for in that year he painted an overmantel for the Town-hall of Leyden with the subject *Pharaoh and his Host drowned in the Red Sea*, an allusion, no doubt, to the catastrophe that overwhelmed the Spaniards towards the end of the siege of Leyden. The picture was probably unimportant; it disappeared in 1666, and no traces of it are discoverable. The same fate befell most of the artist's works; the only one now extant is a *Papal Procession in the Square of S. Peter's at Rome*, dated 1628, and signed Iacomo Swanenburch. Borne on the stream of emigration which carried so many of his brother artists to Italy at that period, he had sojourned there from 1614 to 1617, and had even taken a wife at Naples. After his return to his native town, where he remained till his death (October 17, 1638), he lived in high repute among his fellow-citizens, less perhaps by reason of

TOWN-HALL OF LEYDEN.
(Drawing by Boudier, after a photograph.)

[1] These pictures are now in the Leyden Museum.

his talents than of the *prestige* of his family. His artistic capacity was indeed extremely limited, to judge by the said *Papal Procession*, now in the Copenhagen Gallery. It is a panel with the Pope in the foreground, borne upon the *Sedia gestatoria*, and dispensing blessings to the crowd that presses round him; in the background we see the basilica, the Vatican, and the square as it appeared before the construction of Bernini's colonnade. Setting aside its historic interest, the picture has little to recommend it. The arrangement lacks taste and a due perception of effect; the drawing is very incorrect, especially that of the horses, and the colour monotonous and inharmonious.

Though, as Orlers tells us, Rembrandt could learn little beyond the first principles of his art from such a teacher, he was treated by Swanenburch with a kindness not always met with by such youthful probationers. The conditions of apprenticeship were often very rigorous; the contracts signed by pupils entailed absolute servitude, and exposed them in some hands to treatment which the less long-suffering among them evaded by flight. But Swanenburch belonged by birth to the aristocracy of his native city. Nor did he lack a model in his own family by which to regulate his conduct, for a painter of the preceding generation, Allart Claesz, a kinsman of the Swanenburchs, had been as a father to his numerous pupils, and had gained the affection of all by his wise benevolence. There seems, on the whole, little cause to regret that Rembrandt was not placed under a more distinguished master. Broadly speaking, the greatest painters are rarely the best teachers; their very originality and the commanding nature of their genius may so powerfully affect the disciple as to paralyse his individual growth. To Rembrandt, with his open mind and independent character, less brilliant teaching was more suitable. His vocation was so pronounced that directly he was permitted to give up all his time to his art he made astonishing progress. Orlers is very positive in his testimony on this point. During his three years under Swanenburch [1] this progress

[1] Three years was the usual term of an apprenticeship. At least, it was the term fixed by the statutes of guilds established in the neighbourhood, notably that of St. Luke at Haarlem.

was such that all fellow-citizens interested in his future "were amazed, and foresaw the glorious career that awaited him."

His novitiate over, Rembrandt had nothing further to learn from Swanenburch, and he was now of an age to quit his father's house. His parents agreed that he should leave them, and perfect himself in a more important art-centre. They made choice of Amsterdam, and of a master in Pieter Lastman, a very well-known painter at that period. Perhaps Swanenburch himself, who had known Lastman in Italy, recommended this course. But we think it was probably due to the intervention of a young compatriot of Rembrandt's, Jan Lievens, who was already one of Lastman's pupils. The families of the two young men belonged to about the same rank in life. Lievens' father, formerly an embroiderer of wall-hangings, had turned farmer, which may perhaps have brought about his acquaintance with the miller Gerritsz. The identity of their tastes no doubt drew the two boys together. But Lievens' talent, even more precocious than Rembrandt's, was early recognised and fostered by his parents. Born on October 24, 1607, he was placed under Joris Verschooten[1] at the age of eight, and soon distinguished himself by a facility of which marvellous stories were told by his admiring fellow-citizens. Some would relate how he had copied a picture of *Democritus and Heraclitus* by Cornelis van Haarlem so perfectly that it was impossible to distinguish it from the original; others how, after hearing a bare description of the circumstances, he had painted a picture representing the repression by the civic guard of the religious outbreak at Leyden on November 4, 1618. At the age of ten, the infant prodigy was sent to pursue his studies in Lastman's studio, where he remained two years, from 1618 to 1620. It does not appear that he was ever Rembrandt's fellow-pupil, as has been commonly asserted; for Rembrandt first went to Lastman in 1624.

[1] Simon van Leeuwen asserts that Verschooten was also Rembrandt's master. But as neither Orlers nor any among the better-informed of Rembrandt's biographers mention the fact, it seems probable that Leeuwen, who generally takes his information touching contemporary artists from Orlers, was in error. Neither do we believe that Rembrandt was the pupil of J. Pynas, as has been sometimes asserted. His biographers are equally silent on this point. Houbraken merely says that he imitated "the brown manner of Pynas."

But it is very probable that on his return to Leyden he extolled the teaching of a master whose reputation was then at its height.

In Lastman's studio, methods of instruction much akin to those adopted by Swanenburch were in vogue, though the personal talent modifying them was of a far higher order. Lastman was, in fact, a member of the same band of *Italianisers* who had gravitated round Elsheimer at Rome. In his valuable study on the latter, Dr. Bode has renewed our interest in this somewhat neglected painter.[1] Though his works have no special merit, Elsheimer's is an important figure in art-history. The influence he exercised, notably on painters of the foreign colony in Rome, is undeniable. The fertility and flexibility of his art contributed largely to the transformation of painting. By taking the picturesque side of subjects hitherto approached only in the grand manner, and treating them with the elaborate finish proper to their small dimensions, he gave new life to apparently exhausted themes. An indefatigable worker, modest, intelligent, and studious, he was beloved by all who knew him, and was in special favour with the Dutch painters, who, by virtue alike of traditions and natural leanings, were best prepared to understand and to imitate him.

OLD WOMAN ASLEEP.
About 1635 (B. 350).

Lastman was one of Elsheimer's most ardent disciples at Rome. Sprung from a family in which the liberal professions were highly esteemed, he reckoned many artists among his kindred.[2] He went to Italy when about twenty, and remained three or four years. In 1607 he returned to Amsterdam, bringing with him a store of classic tradition and study which served for artistic pabulum till his death.

[1] *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, by W. Bode. 1883. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 231–356.

[2] The life and works of Lastman have been exhaustively treated in a notice by Messrs. Bredius and De Roever, published in *Oud-Holland* (iv. pp. 1–23).

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.

About 1633 B. 73).

While the art of his native land was developing its natural tendencies and character around him on every side, he clung to Elsheimer's

subjects, often mingling the familiar types or features of Holland with reminiscences of Italian art and scenery. Pictures by him are scattered throughout Europe, but may be found in greatest number in German galleries, public and private. The vogue they once enjoyed was followed by complete neglect; and recent researches connected with Rembrandt, rather than their intrinsic merit, have brought them into notice again.

An *Ulysses and Nausicaa* in the Brunswick Museum, signed with his monogram, is dated 1609, and was therefore painted two years after Lastman's return from Italy. It was a favourite episode with the artist, for ten years later he painted it again, in a picture now in the Augsburg Museum, modifying the composition in some notable points. Ulysses has escaped from the wreck, and kneels naked and suppliant, endeavouring by the humility of his demeanour to reassure Nausicaa's companions, a band of nymphs in turbans and fantastic costumes, who are flying in terror from the feast prepared by them on the shore. The daughter of Alcinöus advances alone towards the hero, and expresses her compassion in somewhat exaggerated pantomime. The colour is hard and violent; the brick-reds of the carnations stand out in harsh relief against a dull flat sky. In a *David Singing in the Temple* of the same collection, signed Pietro Lastman and dated 1618, there is the same crudity, and total lack of harmony. The work, notwithstanding the termination of the painter's Christian name, is rather Flemish than Italian. In type and costume, the singing children of the foreground, and the musicians who perform lustily on various instruments—violin, violoncello, trombone, trumpet, and tambourine—vaguely recall the figures of Rubens. In a collection of great interest to students of Rembrandt's predecessors and contemporaries, that of M. Semenoff, of St. Petersburg, there is an *Annunciation* of the same date. The kneel-

ing Virgin has thrown aside the work on which she was engaged. Near the basket containing it a cat is playing with a little bell on the floor, while an angel in a red chasuble points heavenwards to the Holy Spirit hovering among clouds. The angel's gesture is expressive, but the execution is coarse and heavy. The same date, 1618, again appears on an *Annunciation to the Magi*, in Count Moltke's gallery at Copenhagen. The master, by way of displaying his dexterity, has introduced a number of vases of every shape and style to the left, and to the right, a variety of animals: an ass, a horse, goats, camels, and parrots. Here again the tonality is crude, but there is a certain vigour in its harshness. An unsigned and undated picture in the Cassel Gallery, the *Sacrifice to Juno* (No. 500 in the Catalogue), has such strong affinities with the above that we are inclined to pronounce it the work of Lastman at this same period, 1618, the time of his greatest activity. The marble statue of the goddess is enthroned on an altar surrounded by colonnades and porticoes; a group of worshippers presses round her; in the distance is the temple of Tivoli, which Rembrandt, like his master, often introduced in his backgrounds. The general effect is thoroughly unpleasant; the eye is offended by a mass of discordant tones; vermilion reds are opposed either to pale neutral tints, dull grays, or violent blues and yellows, regardless of harmony and of unity. *Abraham with the Angels*, a work of 1621, also in M. Semenoff's collection, and the *Abraham's Sacrifice*, a *grisaille* in the Amsterdam Ryksmuseum, are chiefly interesting as dealing with subjects often treated by Rembrandt and his pupils in after-years. In a *Raising of Lazarus* of 1622, recently acquired by the Hague Museum, Lastman's garish tonality is peculiarly offensive, for the action takes place at the mouth of a cave, where the use of chiaroscuro was imperative.

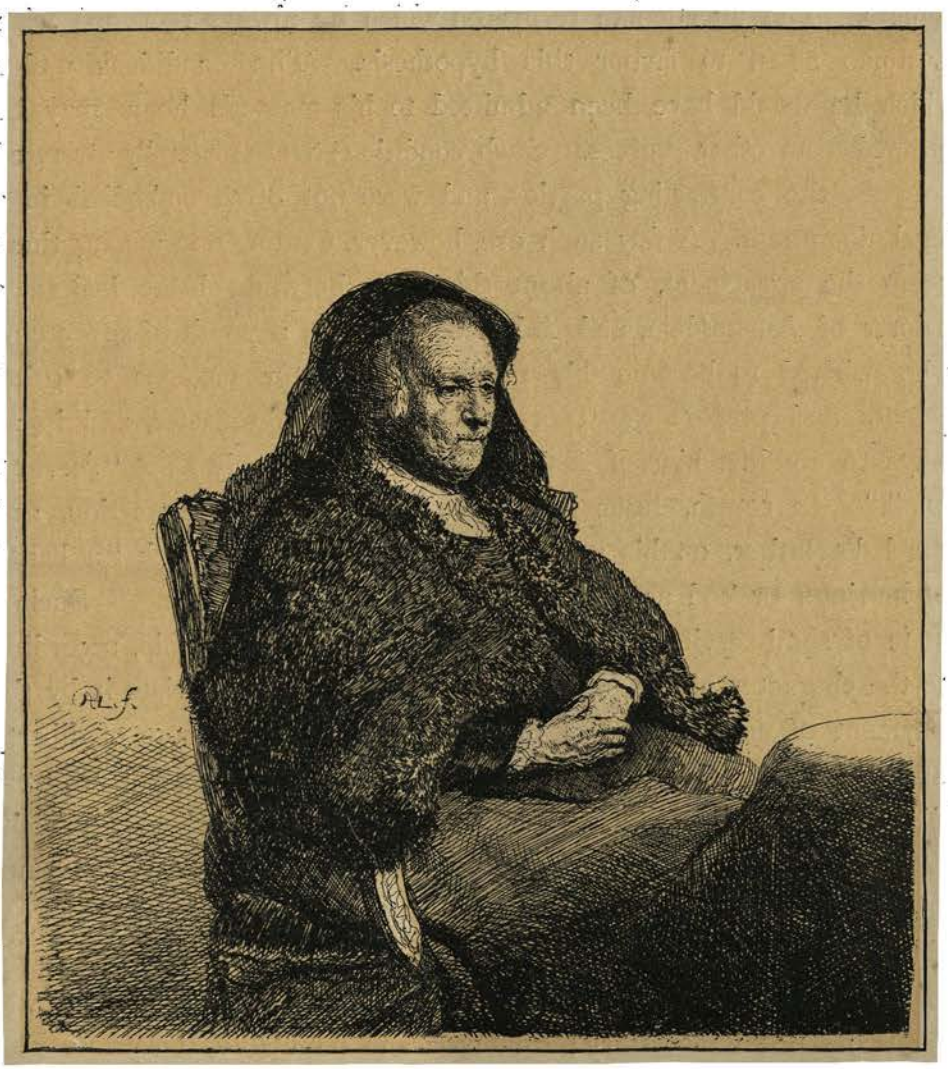
These works were all produced in Lastman's best period, about the time when Lievens, and after him Rembrandt, became his pupils. In none of them, however, can we discern any of that preoccupation with the problems of chiaroscuro ascribed to him by certain writers, who claim that he pointed out the way to Rembrandt. There are

traces of it, no doubt, in a small picture in the Haarlem Museum, *Christmas Night*, bearing a date which Vosmaer read "1629." We found the figures quite illegible after careful examination, and several Dutch friends whose aid we invoked were no more successful in deciphering them. The general arrangement, the attitude and gesture of Joseph, and, above all, the treatment of light, show strong analogies to the work of Rembrandt. But the sense of chiaroscuro here displayed was not uncommon at the period, and may be observed in the pictures of many contemporary painters. It is an important factor in the work of two artists who had felt the influence of Caravaggio, Valentin in France, and Honthorst in Holland. But with them, as with Lastman, such effects of light are always rendered by abrupt and violent contrasts, and have none of the affinity of gradation and transparency in the shadows which give them beauty.

REMBRANDT'S FATHER.
1630 (B. 304).

When Rembrandt entered Lastman's *atelier*, the master was at the zenith of his fame. His contemporaries lauded him to the skies, proclaiming him the Phœnix and the Apelles of the age. He was further held to be one of the best judges living of Italian art, and as this now began to find favour in Holland he was often called upon to assess the value of pictures for sales or inventories. His house was a popular one, and his young pupil was doubtless brought into contact with famous artists and other persons of distinction. Such intercourse must have been of great value to him, enlarging his mind, and developing his powers of observation. How or where

Rembrandt was lodged at Amsterdam we know not. Before parting with their son, his parents had no doubt provided a comfortable home for him. It was a common practice in those days, and one which still obtains in Holland, for students to board and lodge in the



REMBRANDT'S MOTHER.
About 1631 (B. 343).

houses of citizens, where they were treated as members of the family. This was usual even among the University students at Leyden who did not belong to the town. In a census paper of 1581, quoted

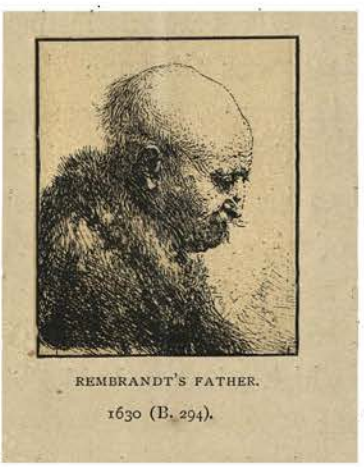
by Vosmaer, we find that Rembrandt's grandparents had received as a boarder one "Egma, native of Friesland." It is therefore possible that Rembrandt may have been placed in the home of friends at Amsterdam; but more probably he was an inmate of his master's house, such being the usual arrangement under the circumstances. The affectionate terms on which he always remained with Lastman seem to favour this hypothesis. The conditions under which he would have been admitted to his master's home may be gleaned from other sources. Such conditions were generally arranged between the contracting parties, and were not often embodied in a legal document. A few such are, however, extant, one among them being the agreement, of about this date, between Isaac Isaksz, a painter of Amsterdam, and Adriaen Caraman, a youth of seventeen, who wished to become his pupil. The latter engages to grind colours and prepare canvases for himself and his master, and in all ways to conduct himself zealously and submissively as a "servant-pupil." In return, Isaac is to give him food and instruction, and the lad's father, on his part, agrees to furnish him with "a barrel of herrings or cod as required, and a bed and bedding." Such a state of semi-servitude involved more or less of hardship, according to the character of the master; it was possible to alleviate it by the payment of certain sums of money, which ensured more of liberty and comfort to the apprentice. Though Leyden was at no great distance from Amsterdam, Rembrandt probably received few visits from his parents. His father could not easily have left his mill, nor his mother her household duties. But no doubt occasional gifts were despatched by the loving mother, with recommendations to good behaviour and economy from the father. The latter counsel was assuredly not unnecessary; generous and impulsive, the young man had little idea of the value of money, as he sufficiently proved in later life.

Rembrandt spent but a short time in Lastman's studio. Lastman, though greatly superior to Swanenburch, had all the vices of the *Italianisers*. He had also, in common with them, a taste which reflected the preferences of the public, and herein lay the

secret of his success. His drawing was correct but characterless, his colour harsh and discordant, his handling heavy and laboured. These defects give an air of monotony to his works, in spite of the extreme variety of his subjects. In his treatment of these subjects he never goes beyond the superficial aspect; he fails to make them intrinsically expressive; and seeks to supply local colour by a crowd of accessories and picturesque details. Not only does he fail to touch the spectator; he seems to have had no such end in view. His mediocre art was, in fact, a compromise between the Italian and the Dutch ideal. Without attaining to the style of the one or the sincerity of the other, and with no marked originality in his methods, he continued those attempts to fuse the unfusible in which his predecessors had exhausted themselves. To Rembrandt's single-minded temperament such a system was thoroughly repugnant. His natural instincts and love of truth rebelled against it. Italy was the one theme of his master, that Italy which the pupil knew not, and was never to know. But he saw everywhere around him things teeming with interest for him, things which appealed to his artistic soul in language more intimate and direct than that of his teacher. His own love of Nature was less sophisticated; he saw in her beauties at once deeper and less complex. He longed to study her as she was, apart from the so-called intermediaries which obscured his vision and falsified the truth of his impressions.

It may be also that exile from the home he loved so dearly became more and more painful to Rembrandt. He longed for his own people; the spirit of independence was stirring within him, and he felt that he had little to gain from further teaching. Before he had been quite six months under Lastman he returned to Leyden, in 1624, determining, as Orlers tells us, "to study and practise painting alone, in his own fashion." Notwithstanding which, Lastman's influence on his development was very persistent, and it was long before Rembrandt freed himself entirely from it. Down to the period of his fullest maturity, we find traces of Lastman's teaching in his methods of composition, in his fancy for Orientalisms, in the familiarity with

which he treats certain themes. More than once he borrowed the main features of a composition, and even its general arrangement, from his master. In further evidence of his respect for Lastman, we find two volumes of the master's drawings among his collections. Lastman, on the other hand, seems to have had no premonition of his pupil's greatness. No single work of Rembrandt's figures in the inventory of his effects published by Messrs. Bredius and De Roever.



REMBRANDT'S FATHER.
1630 (B. 294).

A PEASANT CARRYING MILKPAILS.
About 1650 (B. 213).

CHAPTER II

FIRST PICTURES PAINTED AT LEYDEN—'ST. PAUL IN PRISON' AND 'THE MONEY-CHANGER' (1627), 'SAMSON AND DELILAH' (1628), AND 'THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE'—REMBRANDT'S PORTRAITS OF HIMSELF—HIS FIRST ETCHINGS—HIS METHODS.

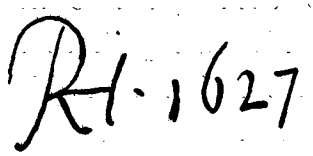
REMBRANDT, FULL-FACE, LAUGHING.
1630 (B. 316).

THE return of one so beloved by his family as Rembrandt was naturally hailed with joyful effusion in the home circle. But happy as he was to find himself thus welcomed, he had no intention of living idly under his father's roof, and he at once set resolutely to work. He had thrown off a yoke that had become irksome to him. Henceforth he had to seek guidance from himself alone, choosing his own path at his own risk. How did he employ himself on his arrival at Leyden, and what were the fruits of that initial period? Nothing is known on these points, and up to the present time no work by Rembrandt of earlier date than 1627 has been discovered. It must also be admitted that his first pictures—for the works of this date are paintings—give little presage of future greatness, and scarcely indicate the character of his genius. But amidst the evidences of youthful inexperience in these somewhat hasty works, we note details of great significance.

The *St. Paul in Prison*, formerly in the Schönborn Collection, and acquired by the Stuttgart Museum in 1867, bears the date 1627, together with the signature and monogram here reproduced. It is, on the whole, a mediocre work; dry in handling, gray in colour, and perfunctory in the treatment of chiaroscuro. There is a lack of subordination amounting to clumsiness in the rendering of details. And yet, on closer examination of the pale sunbeam that lights the cell, the serious countenance of the captive, absorbed in meditation, and pausing, pen in hand, to find the right expression for his thought, his earnest gaze, and contemplative attitude, we recognise something beyond the conception of a commonplace tiro. We discern evidences of careful observation which Rembrandt in the full possession of his powers would, no doubt, have turned to higher account; but even with the imperfect means at his command, he produces a striking effect. The patient and accurate execution of accessories, such as the straw, the great iron sword, and the books by the apostle's side, betokens a conscientious artist, who had been to Nature for such help as she could give him.

REMBRANDT'S SIGNATURE AND MONOGRAM.

The *Money-Changer*, which became the property of the Berlin Gallery in 1881, bears the same date, 1627, with a monogram formed of the initials of the name: Rembrandt Harmensz.[1] An old man, seated at a table littered with parchments, ledgers, and money-bags, holds in his left hand a candle, the flame of which he shades with his right, and carefully examines a doubtful coin. Here again the brushwork is somewhat heavy, and the piles of scrawled and dusty papers give an incoherent look to the composition. On the other hand, the light and the values are happily distributed

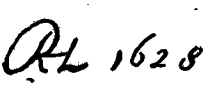


REMBRANDT'S MONOGRAM.

[1] It was customary in Holland to add the baptismal name of the father to that of each child. Thus, Harmenszoon, son of Harmen, which became Harmensz by abbreviation.

and truthfully rendered. The general tone is rather yellow and monotonous; but the colour-scheme is subdued with a view to the general effect by a deliberate deadening and neutralising of tints such as the green and violet of the table-cloth and mantle. The impasto is somewhat loaded in the lights, and has been reduced in places and apparently scraped down to avoid too startling a contrast with the shadows, where the brushwork is so slight as to reveal the transparent browns of the ground. Unlike Elsheimer and Honthorst, who in treating such subjects made the actual source of light in all its intensity a chief feature of the picture, Rembrandt conceals the flame, and contents himself with rendering the light it sheds on surrounding objects. He felt that such attempts as those of his predecessors overstepped the limitations of their art; and, restricting himself to such variety of light and shadow as may be won without the unpleasantness of violent contrasts, he concentrated all his powers on the delicate modelling of the old man's head.

These were both compositions of single persons, which it was possible to copy directly from nature. Two pictures of the following year, in which several figures are introduced, presented greater difficulties. He cannot be said to have overcome them. In the *Samson delivered to the Philistines*, formerly in the collection of the Princes of Orange, now in the King's Palace at Berlin, the composition leaves much to be desired. Like the two preceding pictures, it is painted on an oak panel, but of somewhat larger size ($24\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{3}{4}$ inches), and the monogram with which it is signed is slightly modified. To the interlaced initials R and H a horizontal stroke is appended, which we shall find on nearly all the works of this period, and which, with Dr. Bode's concurrence, we take to be an L, signifying *Leidensis* or *Lugdunensis*. The artist continued to use it throughout his sojourn at Leyden, and abandoned it shortly after leaving his native city.



REMBRANDT'S MONOGRAM

Samson lies asleep on the floor at his mistress's feet, clad in a loose tunic of pale yellow, girt at the waist by a striped scarf of blue, white, pink, and gold, from which hangs a Javanese creese. Delilah wears a robe of dull violet bordered with blue and gold, in pleasant

harmony with the colours of Samson's costume; but her tame, insipid carnations, ill-defined features, and colourless fair hair make up an insignificant type which recurs in several works of this period. She has already shorn a handful of her lover's locks, and turns to show them to a Philistine behind her. The latter, armed to the teeth, advances cautiously, and a comrade, even less confident than he, hides prudently behind the bed-curtains, showing only his helmeted head and naked sword. Though the arrangement of the three figures in a line betrays the inexperience of youth, the handling has become broader and more subtle, and we note an increased sense of harmony. The figures are placed in frank relief against the yellowish background of the floor and wall, and the brilliant effect of the sunlight that falls on the woman's breast and robe, and on Samson's tunic, is heightened by the dark shadows to the right of the picture. A characteristic detail of frequent occurrence in later works may be noted: among the locks in Delilah's hand are two or three strands drawn with the butt-end of the brush upon the moist paint.

PORTRAIT OF REMBRANDT.
(Cassel Museum.)

The same touch of coarseness in the handling, the same violent contrasts of light and shadow, are apparent in a *Presentation in the Temple*, once in the Sagan Collection, and recently bought by M. Weber of Hamburg from Count Reichenbach von Löwemberg. It is signed with Rembrandt's name in full, and is not dated, but may,

we think, be given to this period. The Infant Jesus on Simeon's lap is strangely rigid and wooden; the composition, however, is better balanced, and the group of persons kneeling before a window is crowned in a very happy fashion by the erect figure of the Prophetess Anna. The golden and russet tones harmonise well with the blue robe of the Virgin, and the sentiment of the scene is adequately expressed. As in the preceding works, the pantomime is vigorous to the verge of exaggeration. The young man's robust good sense made him anxious beyond measure to be comprehensible, and to preserve life and reality in the suggestion of action. Though his gestures are apt to become over-emphatic, and his types vulgar, his purpose is always clearly set forth; and there is no mistaking his meaning. In process of time he learnt to render his thought by more subtle and varied methods, without any loss to his directness of expression.

THE MONEY-CHANGER.
(Fragment of the picture in the Berlin Museum.)

A tiny picture ($8\frac{11}{16} \times 6\frac{11}{16}$ inches) painted on copper (almost the only one to be found in all Rembrandt's *œuvre*) is signed with the painter's monogram, and dated 1628.[1] The subject is somewhat enigmatic,

[1] It was formerly in the possession of Mr. Otto Pein, of Berlin, and figured in a public sale at Cologne in 1888. It now belongs to Mr. von der Heydt, of Elberfeld.

but Dr. Bode, no doubt rightly, conjectures it to represent the *Denial of St. Peter.* The Apostle, if it be he, dressed in complete armour, is at bay among his interrogators, who eye him curiously as they stand grouped about a large fire, in the Court of the High Priest's house. The composition impresses by virtue of its peculiarity, its variety of expression, and its truthfulness of effect. In this restricted field the execution seems more dexterous and less heavy, and the chiaroscuro more carefully studied.

That fidelity to the living model and knowledge of chiaroscuro, of which traces are to be found even in these early works, Rembrandt acquired after a fashion of his own, by direct studies from Nature—studies which were powerfully to affect his development. Models were very scarce in Holland at this period, especially at Leyden, which, unlike Haarlem, possessed no Academy of painting. But means are never wanting to the artist really eager for instruction, and neither will nor intelligence was at fault in Rembrandt's case. Instead of looking abroad for means of improvement, the young master made them for himself. He determined to be his own model, and to enlist the services of his father, mother, and relatives. By dedicating the first-fruits of his talents to them, he secured a group of sitters whose patience was inexhaustible. Pleased to be of use to him, they fell in with every fresh caprice, and lent themselves to all varieties of experiment. Rembrandt turned their complaisance to good account. Inspired by a passionate devotion to his art, he studied with such ardour that, to quote the words of Houbraken, "he never left his work in his father's house as long as daylight lasted."

To this period must be assigned several little studies of heads on panel which have only lately been restored to Rembrandt. The attribution was long contested, even after Dr. Bode had drawn the attention of critics to them. It was irreconcilable with established theories, and the works themselves had little in common with others following closely upon them. The first of the series, though without date or signature, is undoubtedly by Rembrandt, and may be bracketed with the *St. Paul in Prison* as one of his earliest pictures. It belongs to the Cassel Museum (No. 208 in the Catalogue), and is a portrait of the painter at about twenty or twenty-one years old.

The face, turned three-quarters to the right, is broad and massive, and stands out in strong relief against a light background of gray-blue. The sunlight falls full on the neck, ear, and right cheek; the forehead, eyes, and the whole of the left side are in deep shadow. A narrow strip of white shirt appears above the brown dress. The ruddy complexion, full nose, and sturdy neck, the parted lips, above which a soft down is visible, the unruly hair, all bespeak health and vigour. The type in its robust simplicity is that of a young peasant. The broad and summary execution emphasises this impression; the touch is free and fat, and, as in the *Samson* at Berlin, the hair is drawn with dashing strokes of the brush-handle. The eyes, though barely visible through the shadow, seem to gaze with singular penetration at the spectator. The contrast of light and shadow is very pronounced, but the transition is skilfully effected by the use of an intermediate tone, and all hardness is thus avoided.

In a small portrait in the Gotha Museum (No. 181 in the Catalogue), the treatment of chiaroscuro is still more discreet, while the composition is less summary, and the expression more penetrating. Neither date nor monogram is very legible; traces, however, of Rembrandt's usual signature are to be deciphered, with the date 1629, which seems to us a very probable one. The gradations are here less apparent, and are carried through with great delicacy; values are better observed; the touch is freer and lighter, notably in the eyes, the mouth, and the white collar overlying the brown dress. The impasto, though thinner than before, is still sufficient to enable the artist to follow his usual practice, and to render the curling hair with a scraper, or with the butt-end of the brush, sweeping through the moist paint. This process, more expeditious than correct, is repeated in another portrait of larger dimensions, also in the Gotha Museum (No. 182 in the Catalogue). It is signed with Rembrandt's usual monogram, but is so clumsy in parts that its authenticity seems to us more than doubtful.

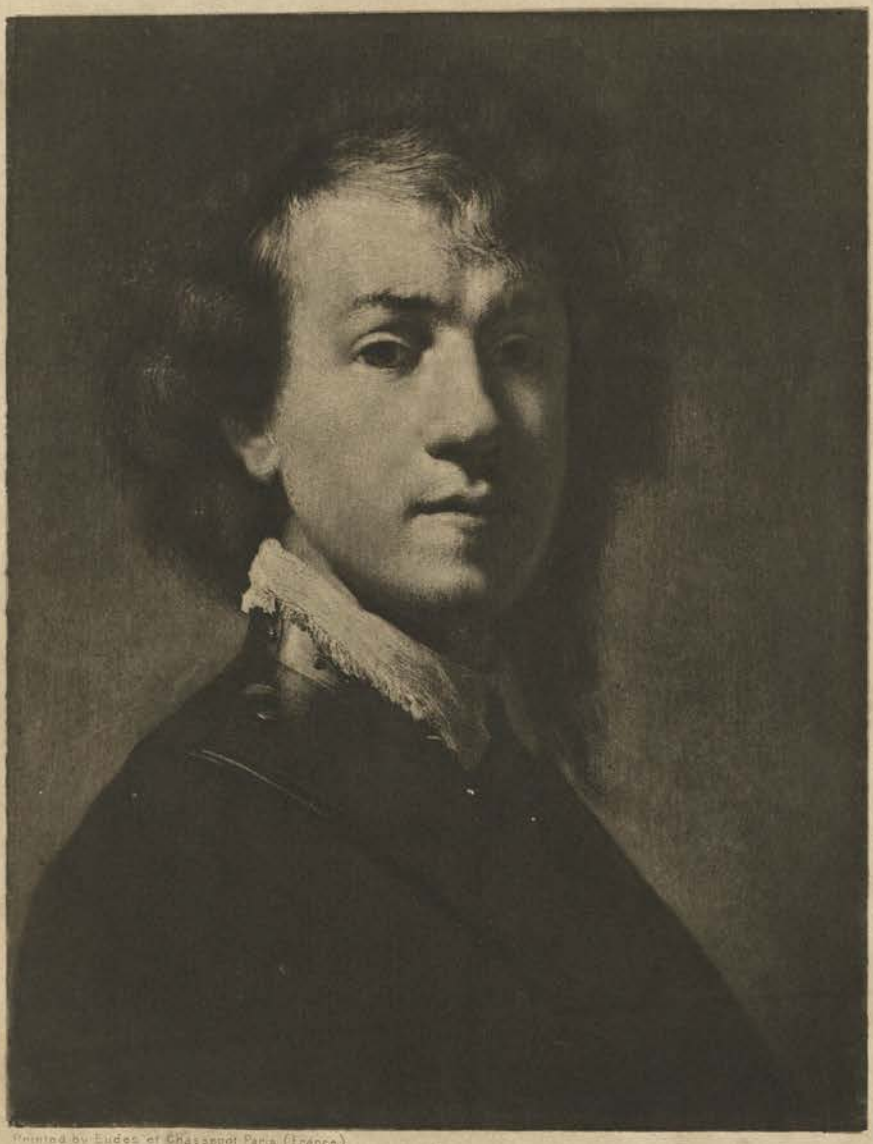
The portrait in the Hague Museum, though probably of the same period as these, is by far the best and most interesting of the series. Here Rembrandt has evidently put forth all his strength, anxious not

only to produce a faithful likeness, but to display the experience gained by recent study, in a carefully considered work. As in the preceding examples, the head, turned three-quarters to the spectator, and illumined by a strong light from the left, is set against a neutral gray background of medium value. The carnations are very brilliant, and are modelled with extreme skill in a full impasto, following the surfaces as we shall find it doing continually more and more in Rembrandt's practice. The shadows, though intense, preserve their transparency. A dark gray dress, and a somewhat crumpled white collar turned over a steel gorget, blend into pleasant harmony with the head. The type is that of Cassel and Gotha, but slenderer and more refined. There is more distinction in the bearing, greater elegance in the dress. The features are irregular but the fresh lips seem about to open, the small eyes gaze from under their prominent brows with a frank fearlessness, while between them we already see that vertical fold which habits of ceaseless observation deepened more and more as years went by. This youthful head, crowned by the flowing hair that falls in masses across the forehead, charms us by its air of health, simplicity, and unstudied grace. It is instinct with power and intelligence, and with an indescribable aspect of authority, which explains the ascendency the young man was soon to obtain over the minds of his contemporaries. Simultaneously with these pictures, Rembrandt evidently produced a large number of drawings. But, unfortunately, most of these are either lost or scattered in different collections under false attributions. Very few are known to us. One is a sketch in black chalk, belonging to the Hamburg Museum. The subject is the head of a youth, resembling Rembrandt himself, with a very brilliant effect of light. Another, in the British Museum, is a sketch in Indian ink, made with a few strokes of the brush. It represents the artist in a braided tunic, and is reproduced in an etching of 1629.

Rembrandt no longer confined himself to drawing and painting; his first etchings appeared in 1628, very little later than his first pictures. As in these, he took himself for a model in his etchings, and never tired of experimentalising on his own person for purposes of study. It was a habit he retained throughout his career. With

Portrait of Rembrandt (about 1629—1630).

(HAGUE MUSEUM.)



Printed by Eudes et Chassepot Paris (France)

himself for his sitter, he felt even less restraint than when his relatives were his models, and this ensured an endless variety in his studies, and absolute freedom of fancy. Exact resemblance was not his aim in these essays. They were studies rather than portraits. We shall therefore find great diversities in these renderings of his own features, diversities determined by the particular object he had in view at the moment. The artist's type is, however, so characteristic that it is impossible to mistake it. In the course of 1630 and 1631 he produced no less than twenty etched portraits of himself. These were preceded by a plate bearing the date 1629, with the monogram reversed. It is an exact reproduction, both as to attitude and costume, of the drawing in the British Museum already mentioned. The composition is, however, reversed. The execution of this *Bust portrait of Rembrandt* (B. 338) is somewhat coarse and hasty; certain portions of the dress and the background appear to have been engraved with two points held together. Rembrandt himself seems to have attached little importance to the plate, which he covered with retouches and scratches.

REMBRANDT WITH HIS MOUTH OPEN.
1630 (B. 13).

Among the etched portraits of himself belonging to the next two years, and signed with the usual monogram, six are dated 1630 (B. Nos. 10, 13, 24, 27, 316, and 320), and five 1631 (B. Nos. 7, 14, 15, 16, and 25). Nine others were in all probability executed at this period, bringing up the total to twenty for the two years. The plates are very unequal in value and importance; some, notably the earlier ones, are mere sketches, hastily drawn on the copper; the execution uncertain, or over-laborious. Others show a firmer touch, and indicate marked progress. A twofold problem seems to have occupied the author. In some the study of chiaroscuro is the primary

object; he seeks to render those apparent modifications which light more or less vivid, more or less oblique, produces in form, and in the intensity of shadows. The result is a whole series of such essays: the execution in most of these is very summary; but by an ingenious shifting of artificial light, and a careful study of the variations due to such successive displacements, he gains a complete insight into the laws of chiaroscuro. In many of the remaining plates design is the main consideration, and light plays but a secondary part. The management of the point is firmer and more assured; the master's grasp on Nature has become closer, and he strives to render her most characteristic traits.[1] He seeks variety in attitudes, expressions, and costumes. He drapes himself, and poses, hand on hip, before his mirror; now uncovered and dishevelled, now with a hat, a cap, a fur toque on his head. Every diversity of emotion is studied from his own features: gaiety, terror, pain, sadness, concentration, satisfaction, and anger.

Such experiments had, of course, their false and artificial aspects. Grimace rather than expression is suggested by many of these pensive airs, haggard eyes, affrighted looks, mouths wide with laughter, or contracted by pain. But in all such violent and factitious contrasts Rembrandt sought the essential features of passions with great obvious effects, passions that stamp themselves plainly on the human face, and which the painter should therefore be able to render unmistakably. To this end, he forced expression to the verge of burlesque; and, gradually correcting his deliberate exaggerations, he learnt to command the whole gamut of sentiment that lies between extremes, and to impress its various manifestations, from the deepest to the most transient, on the human face.

From this time forward, scarcely a year passed without some souvenir, painted or engraved, of his own personality. These portraits succeeded each other so rapidly and regularly as to form a record of the gradual changes wrought by time in his appearance and in the character of his genius.

[1] *Yet nothing in Rembrandt's work is more exhaustive or more subtle than that "Bust of an Old Woman lightly etched" of* 1628. *It is the first etched portrait of his mother.—F. W.*

How did Rembrandt gain his knowledge of engraving? Who taught him the rudiments of the art? We know not, and none of his biographers throw any light on the question.

The name and works of Lucas, the famous engraver, a native, like himself, of Leyden, were still revered in that city, and from his youth up Rembrandt's admiration for him was so unbounded that he was willing to make any sacrifice to become the owner of a complete set of his works. What better guide could he have sought? As his knowledge of the master increased, he must have been deeply impressed, not only by the simplicity of his methods, but by his preoccupation with those very problems which fascinated his own mind, notably the rendering of light and effects of chiaroscuro. As M. Duplessis justly observes, in his *History of Engraving*[1]: "No engraver prior to Lucas van Leyden had greatly concerned himself with perspective, nor had any before him shown a like anxiety so to illuminate an intricate composition as to place each figure in its right plane, each object in its right place." Rembrandt's genius had many analogies with that of his famous compatriot. Both were painters as well as engravers. They had the same love of the picturesque, the same faculty of observation, the same tendency to blend familiarity with devotion in the treatment of religious themes, the same desire to make every resource of their art auxiliary to the expression of ideas.

Nor had the traditions of Lucas van Leyden died out in his native town. Publishers such as the Elzevirs gave constant employment to co-operators who produced illustrations for their books; portraits of distinguished persons, statesmen, soldiers, or men of letters were in great request throughout the country, and were freely produced by skilled engravers like Jakob de Gheyn, Pieter Bailly, father of the painter David Bailly, Bartolomeus Dolendo, and Willem van Swanenburch, the brother of Rembrandt's master. It is possible that, while at Amsterdam, Rembrandt may have met a brother of Lastman's, who was an engraver of some ability, and have received instruction from him. We may add

[1] 1 vol. 12mo. Hachette, 1869, p. 104.

that Rembrandt was no solitary experimentalist in his native town at the period of these early essays. Several young men shared his studies, copying from the same models, attempting the same effects of chiaroscuro, and even imitating his methods of execution. Of this we have ample and decisive proofs, which throw valuable light on the career of the young artist.

REMBRANDT WITH HAGGARD EYES.
1630 (B. 320).

LANDSCAPE WITH A FLOCK OF SHEEP.

1650 (B. 224).

CHAPTER III

REMBRANDT'S PAINTED AND ENGRAVED PORTRAITS OF HIS FATHER AND MOTHER—STUDIES MADE IN COMMON WITH HIS FELLOW-STUDENTS—'LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS,' 'THE BAPTISM OF THE EUNUCH,' 'ST. JEROME AT PRAYER'—REMBRANDT'S FIRST PURCHASES OF WORKS OF ART.

REMBRANDT'S MOTHER.

1628 (B. 352).

THE most intimate among Rembrandt's youthful friends was Jan Lievens. They were almost of the same age, and were further drawn together by community of tastes. Lievens, like Rembrandt, had returned from Lastman's studio to his parents' home at Leyden. Like Rembrandt, he was now in search of his vocation, a search he in fact pursued throughout his life, without any striking development of originality, for the sojourn he afterwards made in England brought him under the influence of Vandyck. For the moment, however, working side by side with Rembrandt, and from the same models, he busied himself with those studies of light the effects of which are to be traced in many of his pictures and etchings at this period.

A fellow-citizen of Rembrandt and of Lievens, their junior by

some six or seven years, was soon to join them in their studies. This was no other than Gerard Dou, whose presence in such company is surprising enough. No less likely fellow-student can well be imagined for Rembrandt than this master, judging merely by the special bent of his talent, his elaborate execution and minute finish. But his early works fully bear out the very explicit statements of Houbraken, which were taken in the main from Orlers himself. Gerard Dou was the son of a glazier named Douwe Jansz, and was born at Leyden, April 7, 1613. His artistic vocation was recognised at a very early age, and he was placed under the engraver B. Dolendo, with whom he remained for a year and a half. He then passed to the *atelier* of a glass-painter, one Pieter Kouwenhorn, where he spent at least two years. His father then took him into his own workshop, meaning to make him a partner in the business; but, seeing the imprudences he committed in the exercise of the trade, the elder Dou became alarmed, and, dreading some accident, gave him leave to return to his painting. The fact that he made choice of Rembrandt for his master is significant, and shows the consideration already enjoyed by the latter in his native town, in spite of his extreme youth. Gerard Dou entered his studio February 14, 1628, and remained with him till 1631, about three years.[1]

Another artist came to complete the circle at about the same period, the engraver Joris van Vliet. Van Vliet's productions were very unequal, and their average of merit was not high. When left to himself, his work was coarse and brutal, utterly wanting in taste, and sometimes positively ludicrous. But, living in community with Rembrandt, he reproduced many of the master's studies and pictures, and we owe to him our knowledge of several works which have disappeared, and exist only in his engravings.

Rembrandt was the life and soul of this busy, eager group, which, as we shall see, found the most patient of models among the inmates of his father's house. Their studies have opened the

[1] This date, which is given by Houbraken, confirms the notion that Rembrandt's sojourn in Leyden was longer than was formerly supposed.

family circle to us, and enable us to become familiar with several of its members.

The two first etchings which Rembrandt dated belong to the year 1628, and are signed with what was then his usual monogram. They are both portraits of his mother (B. Nos. 352 and 354), a woman of placid and venerable mien. Her hair is drawn back from a wide forehead lined with many wrinkles; from beneath brows thick and prominent as her son's, the shrewd and kindly eyes meet those of the spectator with an expression denoting much natural benevolence and a deep knowledge of life. We meet her again in two drawings in the Dresden Cabinet, and in three etchings, all of which may be, we think, referred to 1631, the date on two among them. In the first (B. 343) the old lady sits before a table, her little wrinkled hands crossed upon her breast. She wears a black veil on her head, and a black mantle round her shoulders. The widow's garb, the contemplative attitude, proclaim the subject of her meditation. She is thinking, no doubt, of one who is no more, of that faithful companion through good days and evil, the husband she lost the year before, and buried in the family grave in St. Peter's Church, April 27, 1630. Here the portraiture is very exact. The son, already his mother's pride, has brought all his care and tenderness to bear upon his work, and shows an evident solicitude as to the likeness. She sat again in the same year, probably a few months later. This time the result was a freer study. She is stouter, and more wrinkled. Her costume is an Oriental robe: a scarf is twisted turban-wise round her head, the ends falling on her shoulders (B. 348). Two other studies, for which she also sat, follow at short intervals. In one, dating from about 1633, she is represented in her widow's dress again (B. 344). The other is dated 1633 (B. 351), and was probably executed during a visit of the mother to the son at Amsterdam, or of the son to the mother at Leyden.

Painted portraits of his mother are no less numerous. The first we shall notice is that acquired by the Ryksmuseum in 1889, a naïve study, slightly awkward in execution, dating probably from about 1627—1628. The sitter wears a fur cap, over which is passed a

white pleated scarf, striped with narrow pink lines; her jacket of soft blue harmonises well with its border of tawny fur. She holds the book in her hand up to her eyes. It is a Bible open at St. Luke's Gospel. The timidity of a pupil lately set free from Lastman's studio is evident. But in such details as the minute gradations of the white pages, the delicate transparency of the half-tones, the wrinkles of the forehead and hand, carefully rendered, line by line, we recognise the conscientious reverence underlying a labour of love. The next in order are the two portraits at Windsor Castle and at Wilton House. They are a little later, and were probably painted about 1629—1630. The colouring in both is gray and pale, but the handling is more skilful, and the greenish blues and pale violets make up a delicate harmony. The portrait in the Oldenburg Museum (No. 166 in the Catalogue) is more important. It was bought at the Pommersfelden sale in 1867, and bears the well-known monogram, and the date 1631. This picture was formerly known as *Anna the Prophetess.* Rembrandt has painted his mother in an Eastern dress, seated, and reading attentively from a large book on her lap. On her head is a broad-brimmed violet hat of fantastic shape, bordered with gold, and fastened across with a scarf. Her ample robe of purplish red velvet is worn over a dress of pale yellow. A white coif hides her hair, after the fashion then prevalent among Jewish women. A mild light glances on the border of the robe, the top of the hat, the book, and the hand resting upon it, in which every wrinkle is carefully reproduced. The relation of this cold light to the coloured shadows is rendered with absolute truth, and the deep purple of the mantle forms a beautiful harmony with the gray tints of the fur, and of the neutral background against which the figure is set.

A reversed plate of this portrait was engraved by Van Vliet (B. 18), and Lievens gives a free rendering of the features in two etchings (B. Nos. 30 and 40), in neither of which, however, has he been very careful to preserve the likeness. Gerard Dou, on the other hand, has drawn her with all his accustomed precision: in six of his pictures at least we recognise the old lady at a glance.

Study for the "Old Man Studying" B. 149
(about 1629—1630).

Red Chalk and Wash.

(LOUVRE.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

One of these is in the Louvre, the *Reading Woman* (No. 2356 in the new Catalogue); two in the Dresden Museum (Nos. 1719 and 1720); another at Berlin (No. 847); a fifth in the Schwerin Museum (No. 326), the *Woman with the Spinning-wheel;* and the last, of which we shall have more to say presently, in the Cassel Museum (No. 234).

Bearing in mind Rembrandt's practice of taking his models from members of the household, we naturally look for numerous portraits of his father among his works. But down to the present time their identification has been based merely on hypotheses more or less plausible.

REMBRANDT'S FATHER.
(By Gerard Dou, Cassel Museum.)

Not long ago, Mr. Middleton-Wake, who has made a special study of Rembrandt's etched work, gave it as his opinion that Rembrandt's father was probably the original of the *Old Man with a long beard and fur-trimmed cap* (B. 262), one of the best of the early plates. In my attempts to classify the studies executed by Rembrandt and his friends at this period, I was struck by the frequent appearance of a very characteristic type, which recurs no less than nine times among the master's engraved works, not to speak of three heads scratched upon a single plate (B. 374). The nine are the following in Bartsch's catalogue: Nos. 262, 286, 287, 292, 293, 294, 304, 321, and 324. With the exception of the two *Oriental Heads* comprised in this list (Nos. 286, 287), the same type somewhat

more freely treated, all these prints, save one (B. 263), are signed with the monogram so often referred to, and dated 1630. The apparent exception may possibly belong to this same year, for the date, 1631, figures on the second state only. They were therefore all executed before the death of Rembrandt's father.[1]

Besides these etchings, I know of eleven paintings executed at this period, all from the same model. They represent a bald-headed old man, with a thin face, long nose, bright eyes, full and rather red eyelids, thin compressed lips, a moustache turned up at the ends, a short beard, and a small mole on the chin. The constant recurrence of this type, the fact that Rembrandt painted him more than once in the steel gorget and accoutrements which he himself wears in the Hague portrait, and various minor indications, seemed to me strong evidences that the sitter was Rembrandt's father. My conjecture was soon fully confirmed. During my last visit to the Cassel Gallery, I noticed a pair of small portraits by Gerard Dou. They are ovals, of exactly the same size ($9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches), and obviously represent a husband and wife. The female portrait is unquestionably Rembrandt's mother; and in the male portrait I recognised the type so familiar to me in the plates above mentioned.

Shortly afterwards, my presumption was further strengthened by two other small portraits, this time the work of Rembrandt himself. One was that portrait of the artist's mother, recently acquired by my friend Dr. Bredius at Rotterdam, which appeared at the Exhibition of Old Masters held at the Hague during the summer of 1890. The other was a little panel, precisely similar in dimensions and execution, which, to my great surprise, I discovered a few weeks later in the Nantes Museum, where it is ascribed to Van Vliet. At

[1] We have, moreover, proof positive that a portrait of Rembrandt's father was included among these etchings. A complete list of the plates figures in an inventory of the effects of Clement de Jonghe, dated February 11, 1679, the titles given being those by which the etchings were known shortly after the death of Rembrandt. No. 53 in the list is catalogued, *Rembrandt's Father* (*Oud-Holland*, viii. p. 181). In the inventory of one Sybout van Caerdecamp, dated Leyden, February 23, 1644, mention is also made of "*A Portrait of Mynheer Rembrandt's Father.*"

a glance I identified the type with that of Rembrandt's father, as known to me in the etchings, and in Gerard Dou's portrait at Cassel.[1]

The portrait of Rembrandt's father in the Ryksmuseum, probably painted about 1629, bears a forged signature, to which the date 1641 has been clumsily added. It is, in fact, as Dr. Bode discovered not long ago, a copy of an original by Rembrandt, in the possession of Mr. Chamberlain at Brighton. In Mr. Chamberlain's most interesting picture the modelling is elaborately carried out in an impasto, not very fat, but of sufficient consistency, and the high lights are rendered with consummate boldness and precision. The yellowish carnations are relieved against a plain background of gray-green, the shadows are very simply treated, without apparent detail, and are somewhat dingy in tone. But the accurate drawing, the delicate gradation, the absolute sincerity of expression, bear witness to a profoundly conscientious study of the living model. Notwithstanding his evident anxiety to make the likeness as perfect as possible, Rembrandt amused himself by disguising his sitter in a military costume. The honest miller wears a black headgear surmounted by a large red feather; a red mantle is thrown over his gray coat, a steel gorget clasps his neck. To complete the illusion, he has given his moustaches a fierce upward twirl. Thus equipped, he might be taken for some heroic survivor of the great struggle.

The artist, pleased with the conception, repeated it with very slight variations in a portrait now at the Hermitage (No. 814), painted about 1630, and signed with the monogram. He shows us the same features, the same pose, almost the same costume. Two plumes adorn the cap, a black and yellow scarf is drawn over the gorget, the costume is further enriched by pearl ear-rings and a heavy gold chain, from which hangs a medallion with a cross in relief. The portrait is better preserved than that at Amsterdam, and has the

[1] A replica of the Nantes portrait, mentioned by M. Durand-Gréville, is in the Tours Museum. It is probably an early copy, made perhaps in Rembrandt's studio. The touch is coarser and clumsier than in Dr. Bredius's panel, or that at Nantes, and an awkward *pentamento* on the right cheek puts the ascription to Rembrandt himself out of court.

same subtlety of execution. The grays are colder, their gradations more refined, and the shadows are more transparent. The type reappears in two pictures mentioned by Dr. Bode in his study on *The Rembrandts of the Liechtenstein Gallery*, published in the *Graphischen Künste*. One, almost a replica of the example in the Ryksmuseum, came from the sale of the Beresford-Hope collection in 1887; the other, a smaller picture, was in the possession of Mr. Martin Colnaghi at about the same period. Mr. Hofstede de Grote calls my attention to a third example, in the Pommersfelden collection, ascribed to Gerard Dou, and Dr. Bredius to a fourth belonging to Mr. Humphry Ward, the latter almost an exact reproduction of the etching of 1635, *First Oriental Head* (B. 286).[1] Another of Rembrandt's etchings, incorrectly described by Bartsch as *Philo the Jew* (B. 321), bears an unmistakable likeness to a little panel which passed from the Tschager collection to the Innsbrück Museum. Both are, in fact, portraits of Rembrandt's father, and bear the usual signature, with the date 1630. Yet another, and certainly one of the best of these portraits of Rembrandt's father, I saw not long ago in the studio of M. Zorn, the well-known Swedish painter.[2] This again is almost an exact reproduction (reversed) of one of the etchings, the *Man's Head, full face*, signed with the monogram, and

REMBRANDT'S FATHER.
(Mr. Chamberlain, of Brighton.)

[1] *Mr. Humphry Ward tells me this picture is his no longer. It was taken from him "in part exchange" by M. Sedelmeyer.—F. W.*

[2] This picture has since been bought by Dr. Bredius.

dated 1630 (B. 304). The sitter wears the same headdress, a black velvet skullcap; the same costume, a reddish brown robe bordered with fur, relieved by a strip of white collar. The features are the same, and reproduced with great exactness; the eyes, encircled by red lines, have the same piercing expression. The figure is a bust, rather less than life-size, seen three-quarters in profile; the light, falling upon it from the left, leaves the right side completely in shadow. The frank and dexterous modelling is carried out in a rich impasto, handled with great delicacy and knowledge of form; the treatment of the brown fur, gray beard, and moustache is very spirited; and the neutral gray of the shadows throws the brilliant lights into strong relief.[1] In M. Habich's remarkable collection at Cassel[2] there is a head of the same person, almost life-size, modelled with extraordinary mastery. The composition is broader in this example, and the impasto more loaded. We may close the list with an oval panel in the Rotterdam Museum, nearly life-size ($28\frac{3}{4} \times 22\frac{1}{8}$ inches), in which we note the same thin face, the same pale complexion, the same piercing eyes and wrinkled throat. In this example the head-dress is Oriental in style, a scarf being twisted turban-wise beneath the

REMBRANDT'S MOTHER.
(Dr. Bredius.)

[1] The skullcap was an afterthought, added, no doubt, to conceal the bald head, and the impasto beneath is very apparent.

[2] Now dispersed.

black biretta. The picture (No. 353) is catalogued as the work, not of Rembrandt, but of Joris van Vliet, who, as far as we know, was not a painter; but the initial R, and part of a date .63. (1630) are decipherable in the background.

The attribution of this picture, and of the little panel at Nantes, to Van Vliet, is explained by the fact that a reproduction of the former is found among the engraver's works (B. 24), and that the same model reappears in another of Van Vliet's plates (B. 20). He also figures repeatedly in the works of Lievens (B. 32 and 33), and is introduced among the spectators to the left of the composition, in a *Raising of Lazarus* by that master (B. 3). The head by Gerard Dou in the Cassel Museum, already mentioned, was evidently painted in Rembrandt's studio, and under his supervision, for the arrangement and costume are identical with those of the portraits in the Ryksmuseum and the Hermitage, save that the feather in the black head-dress is blue, and that a blue scarf is knotted across the steel gorget. Gerard Dou made further use of the type for the operator in his picture of *The Dentist* in the Louvre.[1]

It is natural to suppose that those studies of himself, where Rembrandt was both painter and model, were made in private. We find no trace of them in the *œuvre* of his fellow-workers of this period. It was not till later, in 1634, that Van Vliet reproduced the little portrait of Rembrandt in the Cassel Museum. His plate is a reversed copy, marked by the somewhat truculent vigour that characterises his work. In an early picture, now in Sir Francis Cook's collection at Richmond, Gerard Dou represented his master with palette and maul-stick, putting the finishing touches to a work on the easel before him. Rembrandt, in his turn, painted a portrait of Gerard Dou, if, as we believe, Dou was his model for the head of a beardless youth in the Windsor collection, signed with his initials, and dated 1631. Be this as it may, the sitter was evidently an intimate of the household, to judge by the fanciful costume with which Rembrandt bedecked him—a turban formed of a scarf

[1] Rembrandt's father was also the model for the *Money-Changer* at Berlin.

entwined with pearls, a doublet with gold-embroidered collar, and a long chain set with precious stones. The light falls full on the face, where the loaded impasto of the high tones is opposed to very transparent shadows. The features and apparent age of the sitter alike point to Gerard Dou.

Other models sat for Rembrandt and Lievens who must have been members of their circle. Among these is an old man frequently painted by Lievens, of whose head Rembrandt made several drawings, and who was the subject of various plates in 1630 and 1631 (B. Nos. 260, 290, 291, 309, 315, and 325). The master introduced this person, probably a relative of his own, in several of his pictures, such as the *Lot and his Daughters* and the *Baptism of the Eunuch.* He was also the model for one of the *Philosophers* in the Louvre. Other types of which both artists made use for their work with the graver were: a venerable-looking old woman (Rembrandt: B. Nos. 354 and 358 to 360; Lievens: B. No. 55), and a man from whom Rembrandt painted the physician in his *Death of the Virgin* (B. 305), and who also appears in a plate by Lievens (B. 50).

The list might be further extended, but we have sufficiently shown how numerous were the studies made in common. Among the band of fellow-workers, Rembrandt and Lievens were the two whose affinities were strongest. Both were studious, imaginative, bent on high achievements in their art. They had shown a like precocity, a like industry; and Houbraken, whose testimony as to Rembrandt's ardour we have already quoted, further records that Lievens, on his return to his native city, set to work "with such zeal and success that connoisseurs were amazed at his talent." From a comparison of their works at this period, we learn that they not only worked together from the same model, but often treated the same subjects, each endeavouring to solve the same problem of chiaroscuro or technique. Thus, in several studies of heads painted by Lievens at this time, we find him drawing the hair or beard in the moist paint with the butt-end of the brush, after the manner of Rembrandt.

Rembrandt's relations with Gerard Dou had less of familiarity and

equality. He was Dou's senior, and his master; the pupil listened respectfully to his instructions, inclining more and more, however, to that minute finish which gradually became his chief preoccupation. But in these early days he had not lost all breadth in his handling, and he was a conscientious student of his craft. Van Vliet was greatly inferior to all three. He was an engraver exclusively; and when he attempted to create, he showed an abnormal heaviness, vulgarity, inaccuracy, and lack of taste. He was a mere bungling imitator of his contemporaries, and of his translations it may truly be said that they were so many treasons against his friends. Incompetent as he was, however, we owe something to the industry with which he reproduced and disseminated the works of Lievens and Rembrandt. He engraved several of Lievens' pictures, among others a *Jacob and Esau* and a *Susanna*. We are further indebted to him for our knowledge of several lost works of Rembrandt's. Among certain studies of heads engraved by Van Vliet which bear Rembrandt's monogram with the legend *inventor*, we may instance one of a man (B. 21) laughing immoderately, and grimacing in a very inelegant fashion,[1] a *Man in Distress* (B. 22), of which we shall have more to say presently, a *Bust of an Old Man* (B. 23), &c. Van Vliet's etchings have further preserved several more important works, all other

LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS.
(Engraved by Van Vliet, in 1631, after a picture by Rembrandt.)

[1] This model is also bedizened with the steel gorget so often mentioned.

traces of which have disappeared. The interpreter's limitations make it impossible to appreciate the original beauties of execution; coarse as these reproductions are, however, they give some idea of style and composition, and thus have a certain claim to respect.

Three of these engravings are dated 1631, whence we may conclude that the originals were earlier by some little time. The inexperience displayed in their composition confirms this hypothesis. It is difficult to feel any very deep regret for the loss of *Lot and his Daughters*. The subject, though much in vogue at the time both in Holland and Flanders, is a revolting one, and was little suited to the genius of the painter, who rarely attempted such themes, and was never conspicuously successful in their treatment, even in his best days. He shows commendable reticence in dealing with the unsavoury episode. Lot's daughters, two brazen wenches, are busily plying the old man with drink. He, brandishing the goblet he has just drained, sings lustily, his mouth wide open, his eyes half closed, with an air of great animation. Through the opening of the cave in which the fugitives have taken refuge, bearing with them one or two cherished possessions, the flames of Sodom are seen in the distance, and the outline of Lot's wife as a pillar of salt. There is nothing very attractive in all this,

REMBRANDT'S FATHER.
(Habich Collection, Cassel.)

and Van Vliet's reproduction no doubt exaggerates the vulgarity of the scene. A drawing by Rembrandt in the British Museum, very skilfully executed in red chalk, gives a better idea of the subject.

The *Baptism of the Eunuch* was another incident greatly in favour with the painters of the day. Lastman, not to mention many others, had twice painted it (Berlin Museum, No. 677; and Mannheim Museum, No. 113). It was a subject specially congenial to the *Italianisers* —one in which they were able, under pretext of local colour, to heap on all the gorgeous accessories of the Oriental convention they loved. Rembrandt was no whit behind them in this respect; he even borrowed several details from his predecessors. The laborious care bestowed on the *mise-en-scène* is manifest in the splendid trappings of the car, the rich dresses of the servants, the attire of the convert and his guards, the rank luxuriance of gourds and thistles in the foreground. The figures of the Ethiopian kneeling beside the pool, the apostle pouring water on his head, and the cavalier above them, are arranged in a perpendicular line, the effect of which is disastrous to the composition. The attitude of the horseman, and the thick legs, huge neck, and extraordinary head of his charger are no less grotesque. The sole elements of congruity are found in the saintly gravity of Philip, and the reverent piety of the eunuch. Some idea of the colour and execution of this picture may be gathered from several old copies, one of which belonged to Mr. Graham, of London, another to the Schwerin Museum (No. 856 in the Catalogue). Dr. Bode is even inclined to accept a replica in the Oldenburg Museum (No. 179 in the Catalogue) as the original. In the Oldenburg example the composition is reversed, whereas in the above copies it agrees with Van Vliet's engraving (B. 12). But this is really a presumption in favour of its authenticity, for Van Vliet never took the trouble to reverse the drawings he made for reproduction. There are notable differences, however, between the Oldenburg and Schwerin pictures, and between these and the engraving. The perfunctory execution of the Oldenburg example, its crudity of colour, the disregard for

Study for the "Saint Jerome" (1631).

Red and Black Chalk.

(LOUVRE.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

harmony shown in its medley of blues, greens, reds and yellow, make us loth to accept an attribution which, in any case, does little honour to Rembrandt.[1]

We may add that he returns to the subject in 1641, for one of his etchings (B. 98), in which he introduces several details of the earlier work. Without eliminating the fantastic element altogether, he successfully modifies the composition by a freer and more picturesque arrangement, and is careful to preserve the expressions of the apostle and the eunuch.

As far as we can judge from Van Vliet's engravings, the *Baptism of the Eunuch* and the *Lot and his Daughters* were painted at the outset of Rembrandt's career, about 1628—1629. Both show marked analogies with the *Samson and Delilah* of 1628. The *St. Jerome at Prayer* was no doubt later; the execution is freer and more delicate; before painting the picture, Rembrandt made a careful study of the kneeling saint in a beautiful red chalk drawing, now in the Louvre.[2] The hermit, prostrate before a crucifix, is absorbed in prayer. A brilliant light falls upon his figure. Some books, an hour-glass, a mat, a gourd, and a cardinal's hat are placed beside him. To the right, an animal with a curious head, more like a huge cat than a lion, crouches at his feet. A vine laden with grapes, springing from amidst a cluster of thistles in the background, spreads its tendrils along the brick wall of the cell. Van Vliet's etching, the best of all his works, attests the minute finish of the original, especially in the numerous accessories. We recognise the master of Gerard Dou in this picture, and the affiliation is formally demonstrated by a *Hermit* in the Dresden Gallery (No. 171 in the Catalogue). The pupil here reproduces the *St. Jerome* almost exactly, contenting himself with a slight modification of the pose and type. Refining upon his master's lessons, Dou has carried elaboration to its extremest limit. In the Dresden picture,

[1] Another version of the *Baptism of the Eunuch*, formerly in the Mocenigo Gallery at Venice, now in Count Tolstoi's collection at Odessa, once passed for the original. Mr. Somoff, Director of the Hermitage, kindly informs me that this so-called replica is a copy.

[2] Here again the drawing shows that Van Vliet's plate reverses the composition. An early copy of the *St. Jerome*, bought by the Berlin Gallery in the Suermondt collection, has been passed on to the Museum of Aix-la-Chapelle.

each strand of the mat is separately painted; the minute veinings of the bluish thistle foliage, along which a snail has left its silvery track, are carefully noted, and the wings of a tiny butterfly that has strayed into the cave are gay with innumerable tints. The harsh cold colour adds to the dryness of the pitiless execution, and brings out the poverty of all this detail, on which Dou dwells with a satisfaction that challenges admiration of his patient puerility. What was a mere means for the careful study of nature with the master has become the essential element of the pupil's art.

REMBRANDT'S FATHER.
1630 (B. 229).

We may form some idea of the *St. Jerome* from a fine work in excellent condition belonging to Count S. Stroganoff of St. Petersburg. It bears Rembrandt's monogram, and the date 1630. The subject is somewhat enigmatical. We recognise the same old man with the white beard who figures in the *Lot and his Daughters*, and in so many of the young master's plates. As in the *Lot*, the scene is a cave; on the horizon is a town in flames, with monuments, a great staircase, the outline of a domed temple, and, in the middle distance, houses, from which the inhabitants are flying at their utmost speed. But in place of the jovial old wine-bibber of the former picture, we have a venerable man, sitting in meditative solitude. By his side are various costly possessions, which he has no doubt snatched from imminent pillage—a purple velvet cover embroidered with gold, and a golden bowl and ewer richly chased. He seems to have fled in haste, for his feet are bare. Resting his head on his right hand, he sits lost in thought, uncertain how to act. His left hand is laid on a large folio, which Rembrandt takes care to inform us is the Bible. The episode is therefore taken from the Scriptures; but what is it, and who is the person

Saint Jerome.

Facsimile of Joris van Vliet's Engraving (1631) after the Picture by Rembrandt.

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann Paris (France)

represented? Like Dr. Bode, we must be content to ask the question, without offering a solution. The picture is a very attractive one,

BAPTISM OF THE EUNUCH.

(Engraved by J. van Vliet, in 1631, after a picture by Rembrandt.)

and the problematical nature of the theme adds to its interest. The impasto is moderately fat in the lights, the touch precise and mellow,

light and easy, the colour most harmonious. The delicately modelled head of the old man is full of expression, and the neutral lilac tones of his furred robe are well attuned to the pale green of his tunic. These cool tones relieve the russet tints of the grotto walls with its climbing plants, and the general harmony is full of distinction. A drawing in red chalk at the Hermitage shows that Rembrandt made careful preparation for this picture. It is marked by the same easy elegance that distinguishes the *St. Jerome* drawing, and belongs to about the same period.

Landscape, as we have seen, plays but a secondary part in the works of Rembrandt so far. The picture in which it has figured most prominently hitherto is the *Baptism of the Eunuch*, where its feebleness certainly betrays the inadequacy of the master's knowledge. The plants in the foreground are taken from separate studies of their various species, and grouped together in a manner far from convincing. They are excrescences in the composition, and add but little to its beauty. Rembrandt, who was anxious to utilise these studies, introduces them again, with even less propriety, in his *St. Jerome*. But he probably recognised their incongruity, and his own ineptitude for their successful treatment as yet, and so abandoned them, for a time at least. Accustomed to depend on Nature for his inspiration, he needed her guidance at every turn, and was lost without her. When he attempted to stand alone, he had little reason to pride himself on the result. At a later period he made elaborate studies of lions in every variety of attitude, but his powers were severely taxed in the rendering of *St. Jerome's* attendant beast. He never specially distinguished himself in the painting of horses; but neither did he ever render them with such grotesque absurdity as in the *Baptism of the Eunuch*. It was essential to him to have his models always at hand, as far as possible, and as, after the fashion of the day, he loved Oriental themes, he tried to surround himself with the accessories on which he relied for local colour. His slender earnings were expended in their purchase; the collector's passion, no less than the desire for aids to his art, impelled him to add perpetually to his collections. He loved to

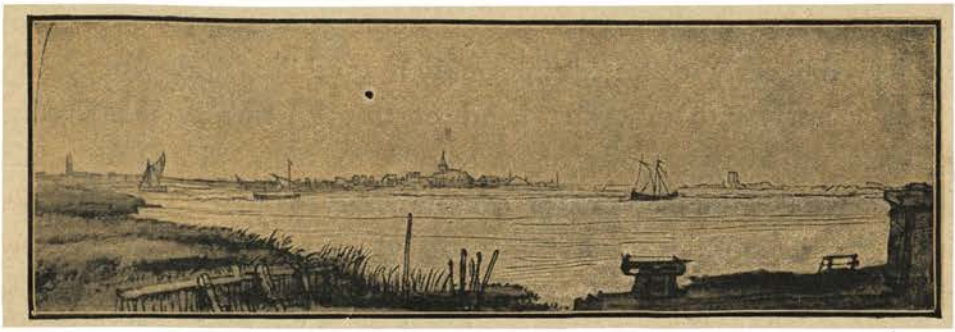
adorn his Scriptural models with gewgaws from his wardrobes, and to furnish the interiors in which he set them from his own store-rooms.

From this time forward, we shall repeatedly find in his pictures and etchings, and in those of his fellow-workers, accessories he had collected for use in the studio. Rich stuffs, gaily coloured scarves, a velvet cover embroidered with gold, a fur-lined mantle; or, again, arms, a helmet, a shield, a huge two-handed sword, a quiver, a Javanese dagger, and the steel gorget we have so often mentioned; or jewels, perhaps, and plate; a metal bowl and ewer, pearl ear-rings, bracelets, gold chains which he throws round the necks of models, or with which he fastens the plumes of their head-dresses. There are other articles too, less striking but not less useful; the mat, the rosary, the gourd and the hour-glass of *St. Jerome's* cell—the folios and parchments of *St. Paul's* dungeon, and of the *Money-Changer's* den.

With such accessories, as Dr. Bredius tells us, Rembrandt composed studies of still-life, something after the manner of those pieces technically known as *Vanitas,* which artists like Jan Davidsz de Heem and Pieter Potter were then painting in Leyden. The sober harmonies of such works pleased the men of letters, who hung them in their libraries. Rembrandt certainly painted some of these. We learn from Gerard Hoet's catalogues that at a sale which took place at Amsterdam, May 11, 1756, a *Vanitas* by Rembrandt—with a death's head, a globe and books—was sold for thirty-one florins. Eager for knowledge, the young painter also, no doubt, began to buy prints—those of Lucas van Leyden, for instance—and sets of Oriental costumes and landscapes, to serve him in his quest after local colour. It seems even more probable that he now acquired various pictures by living masters of Leyden, for in his inventory we shall find three works by J. Pynas, a *grisaille* by Simon de Vlieger, several landscapes by Jan Percellis, who had lately retired to Soeterwoede, near Leyden, where he died soon afterwards (1633), and a sea-piece by Percellis's brother-in-law, H. van Anthonissen. Such pictures were of no great value, and it was

possible to buy them for a few florins, either from the dealers or at public auction, Rembrandt perhaps had friends among these artists. He may also have made the acquaintance of a landscape-painter more famous than any of these, one who may well have attracted him by a sincerity equal to his own, and a kindred pre-occupation with the problems of chiaroscuro. Van Goyen paid a visit to Leyden in 1631, and is very likely to have met his young *confrère* in the Swanenburch circle, having been himself the pupil of Isaac, the father of Rembrandt's first master.

OLD MAN WITH A LONG BEARD.
1631 (B. 260).



PEN DRAWING HEIGHTENED WITH WASH.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

CHAPTER IV

REMBRANDT'S PRECOCIOUS FAME—HUYGENS'S ACCOUNT THEREOF—THE PICTURE OF 'JUDAS'—ETCHINGS OF THIS PERIOD: 'THE BEGGARS,' 'SAINT ANASTASIUS,' THE 'PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE,' AND THE 'HOLY FAMILY,' 1631—REMBRANDT RESOLVES TO SETTLE AT AMSTERDAM—THE INFLUENCE OF HIS LIFE AT LEYDEN ON HIS DEVELOPMENT.

A BEGGAR, STANDING.
About 1631 (B. 169).

PATRONS of art were fairly numerous in Holland at this period. The recent publication of a series of notes made at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Arent van Buchel, an advocate of the Estates of Utrecht,[1] reveals many interesting details concerning the leading amateurs of Leyden (Boissens, the Burgomaster Booms, H. Hondius, H. Screvelius, Rector of the Faculty, the advocate Backer, etc.) and their collections, in which the Flemings and the earlier Dutchmen, Lucas van Leyden, Heemskerck, Goltzius, C. Ketel, Bloemaert, etc., were largely represented. Such works must have had a special interest for Rembrandt, and we cannot doubt that he studied them profoundly. Buchel does not confine his remarks to pictures he saw at Leyden during the several visits he paid the city, in 1605, 1622, and 1628.

[1] Arent van Buchel's *Res Pictoriæ*, by G. van Ryn (*Oud-Holland*, v. p. 143).

He had diligently collected information touching the artists of his native country, either at first hand or through correspondents, and he seems to have projected a sequel to Van Mander's work. Among his abridged notices of contemporary painters, there is one, under the date of his last visit to Leyden (1628), which evidently refers to Rembrandt: *Molitoris etiam Leidensis filius magni fit, sed ante tempus.* In spite of the ambiguity of its Latin, the phrase sufficiently attests the precocious fame of the miller's son.[1] But a document discovered in March, 1891, not only gives full and convincing proof of Rembrandt's early celebrity, but restores to him one of the most important of his youthful works.

Dr. J. A. Worp, of Gröningen, while engaged on a new edition of the poems of C. Huygens, of which the Academy of Science at Amsterdam possesses several manuscripts, came upon an autobiography of the poet, ranging from about 1596 to 1614, at the end of one of the folios. It was composed probably between 1629 and 1631, and is written in that elegant and somewhat subtle Latin affected by Dutch scholars of the period.[2] In describing his education, a very elaborate one, Huygens enumerates the arts and sciences in which he had been instructed, and goes on to speak of contemporary artists he had known or admired in his youth. He dwells on the precocity of Rembrandt and of Lievens—"beardless, yet already famous"—both living contradictions of that doctrine of heredity which is not, it would seem, so modern as we suppose, but in which Huygens refuses to acquiesce. "One of these two youths is the son of a mere artisan, an embroiderer of hangings; the other is the son of a miller, but made of other flour than his father," he adds jestingly. "Such parentage makes their intelligence and talent seem indeed prodigious. Their masters were obscure and mediocre artists, for the modest

[1] Such, it seems to us, is the probable interpretation of the passage, though others have read it somewhat differently, as implying that the young artist undertook tasks beyond his actual powers. But neither the dimensions of Rembrandt's works, nor anything he had attempted hitherto, seem to authorise such a rendering.

[2] This autobiography, which consists of some one hundred and fifteen pages, is inserted in the volume catalogued as No. XLVIII., and entitled, *Prosa Anglica, Italica, Hispanica*, etc.

means of their parents could afford them no better instruction. . . . . They have become what they are by sheer force of genius, and I am persuaded that had they been left entirely to themselves, they would have attained the same excellence to which their masters are now mistakenly supposed to have contributed. The elder of these two young men, the son of the embroiderer, is called Lievens; the miller's son, Rembrandt. Both are beardless, and judging from their youthful faces and figures, are rather boys than young men." Huygens considers "Rembrandt to be Lievens's superior in intelligence and observation; while Lievens, on the other hand, surpasses his companion in a certain nobility of treatment and grandeur of form. Dwelling perpetually, in his youthful ardour, on the sublime and magnificent, he is not content with actual dimensions, and attempts the colossal. Rembrandt, on the contrary, by pure force of talent, achieves a concentration in the more restricted field he chooses, such as we shall seek in vain in his *confrère's* grandiose compositions. I need cite nothing further in proof of my statement," adds Huygens, "than his picture of *Judas returning the Price of Betrayal to the High Priest.*" And, passing over other details of this work, the author bases his admiration on "the central figure of Judas, beside himself, bewailing his crime, imploring the pardon he dares not hope for, his face a vision of horror, his hair in wild disorder, his clothes rent, his arms contorted, his hands pressed fiercely together. Prostrate on his knees, his whole body seems ravaged and convulsed by his hideous despair." Huygens goes on to contrast this figure with the amenities of classic creations, and, in one of those oratorical flights dear to writers of his day, he defies Parrhasius, Apelles, the masters of all ages, to equal the expressive power displayed by "this Batavian, this miller, this stripling," and ends with an apostrophe full of the warmest encouragement to the young artist.

The document is a significant one, coming from such a man, and at that date. It explains Huygens's subsequent relations with Rembrandt, and the numerous commissions he gave the painter, after his nomination to the post of secretary to Prince Frederick Henry. Knowing how deeply interesting his discovery would be

to me, Mr. Worp, through the medium of our common friend, Dr. Bredius, immediately offered me the first-fruits of his discovery, a courtesy for which I here beg to thank him very heartily. He also inquired whether I knew the picture so highly praised by Huygens, all trace of which had been lost. By a curious chance, I had seen it two days before, in the collection of M. Haro, to whom it now belongs. The Rembrandtesque character of the composition, chiaroscuro, and types had struck me at the first glance; but the want of experience betrayed in the distribution of light, and a certain clumsiness in the execution, would have made me hesitate to ascribe this work to the master, had not the figure of Judas claimed my attention. In this figure I recognised one I had often noticed, in turning over the works of Van Vliet, as bearing the inscription *Rembrandt inventor*, and the date 1634. The figure is reversed in the print, and engraved as a half-length. Referring to Bartsch's catalogue, where it bears the title *A Man in Distress*, and is numbered 22, I found the following note: "The editors of Gersaint's catalogue state, in reference to this print, that they had seen a fine picture by Rembrandt, representing Judas returning the thirty pieces of money to the Sanhedrim, and that the head of Judas is here reproduced by Van Vliet." I had therefore practically made up my mind as to the authenticity of the picture, when Mr. Worp's letter of a day later came to dispel any lingering doubts. Every detail

REMBRANDT'S MOTHER IN AN EASTERN HEAD-DRESS.
1631 (B. 348).

of M. Haro's *Judas* agrees with the description given by Huygens, a description evidently written in the presence of the picture itself. Smith includes the work in his catalogue (No. 90), and, though he had never seen it, describes it from an engraving made by Robert Dunkarton, the English engraver, when the picture was in the Fanshawe Collection.[1] In spite of the blunders and corrections that strike the spectator at first sight, the work is a very characteristic one, and the figure of Judas justifies the admiration expressed by Huygens. Other dramatic features of this scene, a faithful transcript of the Gospel narrative, are the gesture of disgust with which the High Priest turns from the traitor, declining either to look at or listen to him, the indignation of the blue-robed dignitary above him, the scorn, anger, or curiosity expressed by the remaining spectators. Several of the accessories we have noted in other works by the young master reappear here: the embroidered mantle of the High Priest; the cuirass inlaid with gold which hangs from the drapery; the books and cover on the table, the intonations and somewhat laboured treatment of which mark the affinity between this picture and the *Money-Changer* of 1627. Huygens's text indicates 1628—1630 as the date of execution; he

REMBRANDT'S FATHER.
1631 (B. 263).

[1] Vosmaer, to whom we owe this information, had seen neither the original nor Dunkarton's engraving, for he supposed M. E. Galichon's fine Rembrandt drawing of the same subject to be a study for the picture. It is, however, of much later date, and the composition is radically different.

is confirmed by internal evidences such as the comparatively heavy and unskilful handling, the diffused light, and exaggerated gesture.

It is clear from Huygens's testimony that the fame of Rembrandt had gradually spread among his fellow-citizens and throughout the neighbouring towns. Amateurs began to visit his studio. Houbraken, enlivening his narrative with gossip such as biographers of the day considered essential to their text, relates that a connoisseur from the Hague, to whom he had been introduced, bought one of his pictures for a hundred florins, a very considerable price for the work of so young an artist.[1] Encouraged by his first successes, Rembrandt worked with redoubled ardour, and the close of his sojourn at Leyden was marked by great productiveness.

Rembrandt's engraved work attests this fertility. He etched a large number of plates during this period, and their diversity of subject gives fresh proof of his artistic curiosity. Neglecting no opportunity for gleaning knowledge, he found sources of interest in all about him, even in the most familiar scenes of humble life. The populace attracted him, and alike in market-place and suburb, workmen and peasants seemed to him worthy of his attention. Among people of low rank, manners are simpler, and conduct less artificial. Their gestures are franker, their attitudes and expressions more natural. It was among them that Lucas van Leyden had found his favourite models, and like his famous predecessor, Rembrandt never wearied of studying them. He liked to live among the poor, and they abounded just then in his native country. Perpetual wars had brought ruin to thousands, and Europe was infested by hordes of beggars. We shall find in Rembrandt's inventory, under the heading *The Jerusalem of Callot, complete*, an entire set of the Lorraine engraver's works. It was he who showed Rembrandt the way in this branch of his art, and, following in his footsteps, the Dutch master immortalised the beggars and vagabonds who swarmed throughout the land. The struggle had been long and bitter in the Netherlands, and the miseries that ensued were terrible. The title *Beggars*, applied elsewhere only to the dregs of the popula-

[1] Vosmaer, anticipating M. Worp's discovery, remarks that the connoisseur was not improbably Huygens.

tion, had been claimed at one time by the whole nation, and used as a rallying-cry. Seizing on the epithet hurled at them in scorn, the rebels had bound it to them, covering it with glory, and had added a porringer and wallet to their arms in honour of the name under which they had won their freedom.

Holland was now free and peaceful, but distress was still widespread. The *Beggars* play a part as considerable in the *œuvre* of Rembrandt as in the history of his country. They form a category apart, and the etchings he dedicated to them nearly all date from this period of his youth. The infirm, the halt, the crooked, the crippled, follow one another in this portrait gallery of life's unfortunates, and the aspects in which the artist has drawn them are so true, so exact, and so enduring that many (B. Nos. 163, 164, 172, 174) might pass for life-studies from the needy loafers of our own streets. Every variety of type figures in the collection; the haggard and the corpulent, the drunken and the starving, the defiant and the lachrymose. In Callot's plates, poverty wears its rags so gallantly as to make them picturesque. In Rembrandt's, on the other hand, indigence has a less jovial mien. He painted squalor as he saw it—its abject types, its shapeless tatters. Later he turned these to account for the cripples and sufferers of every description he grouped about the healing Christ, amidst those crowds in which he did not shrink from the portrayal of every contrast and every deformity.

It was in no spirit of revolt against academic convention that the young master worked; an instinctive love of reality urged him on, almost unconsciously. It was a passion that led him at times into strange vagaries. Nothing repelled him; and his indiscreet graver reproduced much that civilised man agrees to ignore, the lowest functions of poor humanity (B. 189, 190), and even, it must be admitted, rollicking obscenities (B. 186 to 189), depicted with Rabelaisian freedom, and with all the fiery eagerness of youthful[1] curiosity. Many of his most ardent admirers have, with the best intentions, tried to conceal these aberrations of his genius by denying his authorship

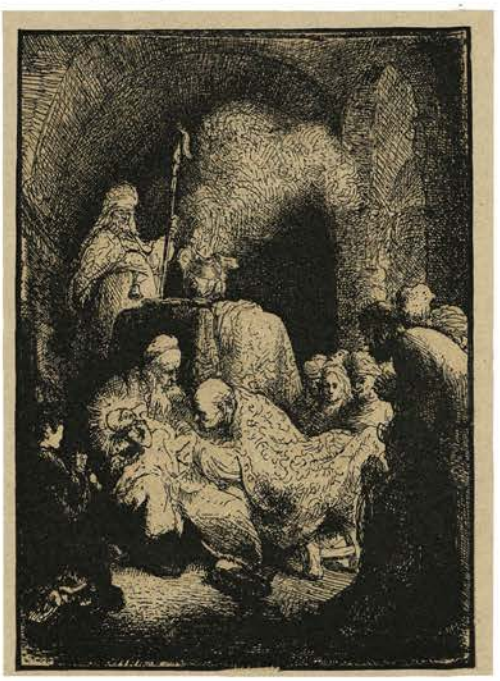
[1] *Scarcely "youthful," for three at least out of the seven "sujets libres" which Rembrandt executed are assigned to an even later period than that of his wife's death: the "freest" of them—called "Ledikant"—is dated* 1646.—*F. W.*

of works for which they are loth to hold him responsible. The subject is an unpleasant one, but we must not pass it over in silence. We cannot exculpate Rembrandt, but it must be borne in mind that a certain coarseness of manners and conversation was universal at the period, even in good society, and that this was peculiarly the case in Holland. We need but recall the ribald allusions, the unconscious cynicism, that abound in the verse of popular poets, and in the works of the most grave and learned writers of the age. We must not judge Rembrandt by the standard of our own days. If at times he offends our taste, we may extend the same indulgence to him as to Shakespeare, remembering the unseemly words and outrageous jests the great dramatist has put into the mouths of his purest and most poetic heroines. Happily, these excesses occur in very few of the master's etchings, and hold an unimportant place in his *œuvre*. We too regret their existence; nor will we give them undue importance by further discussion.

The engravings of this period are marked by as great a variety in execution as in subject. Sometimes the artist plays, as it were, with the graver, covering his plate with mere scribbles, dashed off without any preliminary sketch. At others the work is carefully carried out with a fine point, and marked by the utmost facility and knowledge of effect. To this last category belong three little plates (B. 48, 51, 66) representing subjects from Scripture, in which Rembrandt has made use of many of the popular types he had collected. In spite of their small proportions, they foreshadow the more imposing works which were soon to follow. The *Presentation in the Temple* and the *Jesus among the Doctors* are both dated 1630, and the *Little Circumcision* must be of the same date, the dimensions and treatment being precisely similar. Full of extravagances and vulgarities as they are, they show a marked individuality. The impression of sincerity is so strong that the artist seems to have been an actual spectator of the scene he depicts. The subjects had been treated again and again. But Rembrandt, with no trace of effort or research, improvises features that give them a new character. Such creative touches are to be found in the felicitous grouping of the

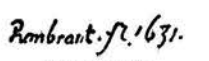
figures in the *Circumcision*, the introduction of the staircase that stretches away in mysterious perspective to the sanctuary in the *Presentation*, and the amazement and confusion of the *Doctors* before the little Child whose simplicity confounds their boasted learning.

In his pictures his progress is even more strongly evidenced than in his etchings. The studies of heads dated 1630 show increasing breadth and freedom, as we note in the head of an old man with a white beard, wearing a black cap, and a double chain round his neck from which hangs a gold cross (Cassel Museum, No. 209 in the Catalogue). The modelling is franker, and the shadows warmer, so that the use of almost pure vermilion for the lines and wrinkles of the face produces no effect of exaggeration. Here again the hairs of the beard have been drawn in the paint with the butt-end of the brush.



THE LITTLE CIRCUMCISION.
About 1630 (B. 48).

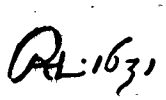
The year 1631 was marked by an advance still more decisive, and was one of the most prolific in Rembrandt's busy career. In the *St. Anastasius* in the Stockholm Museum (No. 579), which bears this date, and the signature *Rembrant* in microscopic characters on a manuscript, we recognise the old man who figures so repeatedly in the etchings, and who reappears a little later as one of the *Philosophers* in the Louvre: refined of feature, bald and prominent of brow, with small eyes and a large white beard. The saint is seated near a window, in a lofty vaulted oratory, divided by an arcade from a flagged corridor beyond; against one of the uprights of this arcade is an altar of carved stone, and on it a crucifix set in a framework of small reddish marble columns



REMBRANDT'S SIGNATURE.

with gilded shafts and capitals. He rests his left hand on the arm of his chair, and reads devoutly from a great folio on the table. His dress is a red skullcap and a long robe of that purple-gray tint so much in favour with the painter at this period. Its cool tones, repeated here and there in the pale sky beyond, the curtains of the arcade, and the pavement of the adjoining vestibule, are happily contrasted with the warm browns and yellows that pervade the picture. The harmony of these deliberately juxtaposed tints is very delicate. Contrary to the usual practice of novices, Rembrandt shows great reticence in his scheme of colour; he is content with what is little more than monochrome, and concentrates all his skill on chiaroscuro. The penumbra of the more strongly illuminated surfaces and their reflections are rendered with absolute truth, and the execution, as befits the quiet tonality, is at once light and precise. The meditative attitude of the old man, the expression of his features, the light and stillness that surround him as he sits absorbed in meditation, make up a whole full of infinite sweetness and charm.

In striking contrast to this is the bold and powerful effect aimed at in the *Presentation in the Temple* of the Hague Museum, signed with Rembrandt's monogram and dated 1631.[1] It is the most highly finished picture of this epoch, and one of the best preserved. In execution and in the treatment of architecture it has marked analogies with the *St. Anastasius*, which no doubt preceded it. But the contrasts are franker, the colour less restrained, the light more concentrated. The theme is a familiar one. In the centre of a temple with gigantic columns, the Virgin and St. Joseph make their offering, and present the new-born Child before the Lord. Devoutly kneeling on the paved floor, they gaze tenderly at the Infant in the arms of Simeon, also on his knees beside them. Around them are the Prophetess Anna and other persons, and in front stands the High Priest, robed in a long violet cope, and



REMBRANDT'S MONOGRAM.

[1] The panel in its original state was not semicircular at the top, as at present. A piece was added to make it match a picture by Gerard Dou, *The Young Mother*, also belonging to the Mauritshuis.

The Presentation in the Temple (1631).

(HAGUE MUSEUM.)

holding up his hands, as if in ecstasy at the scene. In the shadow of the steps that lead up to the sanctuary is a crowd of worshippers, spectators, and armed men. In the foreground to the right sit the doctors of the law, observant of the group. The impression is striking, even at a first glance, and becomes immeasurably stronger on closer examination, for everything combines to reinforce the effect—notably the distribution of the light, the brilliant sunshine falling in strong relief on the main group, focussed as it were on the radiant little face of the Infant Jesus—the vast proportions and majestic structure of the temple—the mysterious gloom, through which an uncertain light gleams here and there on the gilded capitals, on the decorations of the sacred vessels, and on the armour of the men of war ranged on the steps.

Oriental buildings, as depicted by Rembrandt's forerunners, were architectural monuments of a ponderous or grotesque type. In many instances the master himself had been scarcely more happily inspired than others. But in this canvas his poetic sense of the picturesque is wedded to a purer and less fantastic taste. He is no less successful in suggesting the luxury of the East by means of the rich stuffs he spreads before us. The simple garb of the Virgin and St. Joseph, and the squalor of the two beggars beside them, emphasise the splendour of the High Priest, and of Simeon, whose heavy cymar seems to be woven of gold and gems. The execution is a miracle of subtlety and skill. Note how supreme a colourist has been at work upon the High Priest's cope! With what science is the violet carried through the lights and shadows, with what truth are the tones observed and rendered, with what scrupulous care is the general harmony preserved, in spite of the marvellous treatment of detail! In this work, which sums up as it were his whole previous experience, Rembrandt shows the most amazing grasp of all the resources of his art. But with him this perfection of technique serves only to give a fuller value to his thought, and to add significance to the expression of his chosen theme. Herein lies the secret of his greatness, and of his superiority to his rivals. Later, in the full maturity of his genius,

he was to show a greater force and breadth, more freedom and spontaneity of invention, but in none of his after works did he conceive a figure more moving than this of the Virgin in its tender self-forgetfulness, nor one more venerable than the ancient Simeon, the embodied type of the sacred narrative, white-haired, majestic of mien, his face aglow with joy and faith. The aged servant has seen his long-expected Saviour! He holds Him in his arms, presses Him to his heart, and now that his hour has come he can depart in peace.

It is evident that Rembrandt was already familiar with the Scriptures. They became a source of perpetual inspiration to him, and henceforth he had no need to imitate the versions of Biblical and Gospel themes given by his predecessors. Studying them at first hand, his mind was more and more attuned to their beauties, and, kindling as he read, he found the germs of countless subjects, which his creative genius reconstructed, giving them renewed vitality. Instinctively, he chose the most moving of such scenes, shedding fresh light upon them, and dwelling, with no touch of effort, on their less familiar aspects. The *Holy Family* in the Munich Pinacothek may be taken as a typical instance. The Italian painters, in their treatment of such subjects, had ever in view a nobility of type, their conception of which was due, partly to the naturally high ideal of beauty proper to a beautiful race, partly to the ultimate destination of their works, the church and the altar. But Rembrandt, approaching them from a more intimate standpoint, dwells mainly on their profoundly human aspects. As pictures were banished from the reformed churches, he painted for the Dutch homes of his contemporaries, and was anxious to appeal to them through feelings by which he had himself been deeply moved. The theme of his conception at Munich is the glorification of labour in an honest, industrious household. In this scene there is no question of Eastern splendour. The background is of the simplest description; the carpenter's tools are displayed in his humble room, and both in type and costume Mary and Joseph are represented as simple working folks. The Babe, whom Mary has just fed from her breast, has fallen asleep on her lap. She holds His little naked feet in her hand, and

Joseph, bending over Him, and holding his breath as if fearing to wake Him, has paused in his work for a moment, to gaze at the tiny creature, the object of their joint love and care.

Rembrandt seems to have enshrined the memory of his own happy childhood in this gracious composition. The Virgin was perhaps drawn from his sister, or at least from some member of the household, for the type recurs in several of the master's other works—the small nose and eyes, the pale complexion, the fair hair drawn back from a high and somewhat prominent brow. We recognise them in the Virgin of the *Presentation*, in one of *Lot's Daughters*, and in various other pictures. The same model seems to have sat for a study of a head, No. 591 in the Stockholm Museum, catalogued as the *Portrait of a Young Girl*, and formerly ascribed to Ferdinand Bol. I was struck by the likeness at the first glance, and was pleased to find my opinion confirmed by the learned Director of the Museum, Mr. Goethe, who classifies the work as of the "School of Rembrandt." It might even be attributed to the master himself with some show of probability, and, if indeed by him, was one of his earliest works. The naïve and somewhat timid handling recalls that of his first essays, and I recognised the same cold and rather hard

HOLY FAMILY.
(1631) Munich Pinacothek.

shadows, the same delicate modelling of the nose and forehead, the same gray tonality I had noted but a few days before in the portraits of this period in the Cassel and Gotha Museums.

Though the *Holy Family* of Munich bears the date 1631, its breadth of conception and freedom of handling distinguish it essentially from the *St. Anastasius* and the *Presentation in the Temple.* It is on a much larger scale ($76 \times 51\frac{1}{8}$ inches) than the earlier works, but the increase in size is not sufficient to account for the notable difference in execution. The painter, renouncing that minute finish he had used with so much success in former pictures, seems to have determined on a larger and bolder manner. The beauties of the *Holy Family* are tempered, however, by certain defects. The contrast of light and shadow is abrupt and violent; the outlines slightly woolly, and the brushing staccato and uneven. The picture must have been painted just before Rembrandt's departure from Leyden, or just after his establishment in Amsterdam, and the traces of haste in the execution are easily accounted for in either case. A marked advance is evident, nevertheless, both in the composition and in the greater freedom of handling. In common with Messrs. Bredius and H. Riegel,[1] we join issue against a criticism of Vosmaer's, which marks a curious lapse from his usual circumspection. It is surely some idiosyncrasy of the Dutch writer's that makes him see a satiric intention in the attitude of Joseph: "discreet and insignificant, as becomes his dismal part in the drama, he stands in the shade, and, bending forward, gazes furtively at the offspring of his wife and his God."[2] The whole sentiment, not only of this picture, but of Rembrandt's entire *œuvre*, is opposed to such a reading. He repeated the subject more than once, and there seems to us no doubt of the absolute singleness of mind with which he approached it. We may, on the other hand, find some grounds for wonder in his predilection for themes no longer in vogue among his brother artists, such as episodes from the life and death of the Virgin.[3]

[1] W. Bode, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, p. 391; and H. Riegel, *Beiträge zur niederländischen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 74.

[2] Vosmaer, *Rembrandt*, p. 105.

[3] Notably in his etchings (B. 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 62, 63, and 99). The *Virgin and*

But there are numerous evidences among Rembrandt's works of a broad tolerance, which led him to disregard sectarian prejudices in his choice of religious subjects. Greater prudence in this respect would have been excusable enough, especially at Leyden, where Calvinism of the most rigid type prevailed, and where the fanaticism from which no religious party of the day was free often culminated in violence and persecution. One of Rembrandt's most illustrious compatriots, Caspar van Baerle (Barlæus), a sometime student of the University, who had returned to Leyden in 1612 as Professor of Logic, esteemed himself happy in having escaped from spiritual bondage by migration to Amsterdam, where he longed "to find himself on freer soil."[1]

Leyden had become pre-eminently a city of scholars and theologians, in which Rembrandt could no longer hope for such encouragement as awaited him at Amsterdam. The latter was now the chief art-centre of the country, and painters were flocking thither from every side. It was not alone that they found a better market for their works: emulation quickened their powers, and their talents were stimulated by the interchange of ideas. Dr. Bredius has recently discovered a census of the town of Leyden, dated March, 1631, in which the name of "Rembrandt Harmensz, painter" still figures as an inhabitant. But we know from Orlers that his works were by this time in high favour among the citizens of Amsterdam, and that he had numerous commissions for pictures and portraits from them. His journeys to Amsterdam were now very frequent, and it seems probable that on these occasions he lodged with an art-dealer, named Hendrick van Uylenborch, with whom he formed a friendship that lasted many years. It is further probable that Uylenborch was the medium through whom he acquired some of the studio properties described in a previous chapter. He proved his confidence in the dealer by advancing him a sum of 1000 florins, and in a deed attested in the presence of an Amsterdam notary, June 20, 1631, Hendrick agrees to repay the loan in a year, on

Infant Christ on Clouds (B. 61) is, in fact, an apotheosis of the Virgin, conceived rather in the spirit of a Catholic than of a Protestant painter.

[1] *Anhelo ad liberioris soli aulam*, he wrote on January 9, 1631, to his friend Jan Uytenbogaerd, of whom Rembrandt engraved a fine portrait some years later (*Oud-Holland*, vol. iv. p. 260).

condition that he should be served with a three months' notice of claim.[1]

Though Rembrandt could paint pictures in his own studio for his patrons at Amsterdam, constant journeys to and fro were necessitated by his increasing practice as a portrait-painter. This inconvenience made him at last decide on a change of domicile. He had no family duties to keep him in Leyden. His mother, now his first consideration, and the various other members of his circle, were all sufficiently provided for. His eldest brother could do no work, having been injured by an accident. But an annuity of 125 florins had been secured to him by his parents, so early as March, 1621. The next brother, Adriaen, had given up his original trade of shoemaking to take over the malt-mill on the death of his father (April 27, 1630). The business seems eventually to have fallen off somewhat in his hands. A third, Willem, was to share with his brother in the mill, and Lisbeth, the painter's sister, was unmarried, and free to devote herself to her mother. The family was in easy circumstances, and though Rembrandt, no doubt, felt the parting, he knew there was no obligation on him to remain. His friends in Amsterdam had long urged him to settle among them, and to this step he finally made up his mind either in the middle or towards the end of 1631.

Rembrandt's departure broke up the band of young artists who had clustered round him for many years, working probably in his studio. Lievens quitted Leyden at about the same date. He had been hardly less successful than his friend. A picture he had painted this same year had attracted great attention. This was a life-size study of a man, in a black biretta, fantastically dressed, reading by a peat fire. The costume and the illumination seem to indicate that the work was either inspired by Rembrandt or carried out under his advice. The Prince of Orange bought it, and presented it to the English ambassador. The ambassador, in his turn, gave it to the English king, and so greatly was it admired that Lievens was invited to England, where he remained for three years, finding great

[1] Bredius and De Roever: *Rembrandt, Nieuwe Bydragen* (*Oud-Holland*, v.)

favour at Court, and among the nobility. Returning to Antwerp, he married the daughter of the sculptor Michel Colyns. His manner gradually assimilated more and more to that of the Flemish school. In after years he met his former fellow-student on several occasions at Amsterdam, and kept up the practice of exchanging prints with him. Several of his works, as we shall find, were among the treasures of Rembrandt's studio.[1] Lievens was much appreciated by his contemporaries, and was celebrated by various poets of his day. In 1640 the corporation commissioned him to paint a *Continence of Scipio* at 1500 florins. It still retains its position above one of the fireplaces in the Town Hall. At the request of Prince Frederick Henry's widow, he was also employed on the decorations of the *Huis ten Bosch*, near the Hague. Notwithstanding these early successes, Lievens, like Rembrandt, ended his days in poverty. He died a bankrupt, his goods having been previously seized and sold at auction by his creditors.

STUDY IN BLACK CHALK.
(King of Saxony's Collection.)

Gerard Dou, on the other hand, had now achieved a popularity that years only tended to increase. The demand for his works grew steadily, and they fetched correspondingly high prices, the attraction lying less in their actual merit than in the marvellous finish to which

[1] Five of Lievens' works are included in the inventory of Rembrandt's effects—a *Raising of Lazarus*, two landscapes, a *Hermit*, and an *Abraham's Sacrifice*.

he gradually inclined more and more. After the departure of Rembrandt, the passion for minute execution gained complete mastery over his pupil, and Dou became the head of that school of *genre* painters at Leyden whose works, hard, dry, and insignificant as they were, enjoyed such extraordinary vogue. Left to himself, Van Vliet's decline would have been even more signal than that of Dou, but he followed Rembrandt to Amsterdam, where he executed a considerable number of plates from the master's pictures. In these, which were doubtless carried out under Rembrandt's direction, he shows a certain degree of talent, all traces of which disappear, however, when he works from his own designs. His original plates are all disfigured by the violent contrasts, coarse drawing, and vulgar expression which sufficiently explain the complete neglect of his works by modern connoisseurs.

By quitting the home circle to settle at Amsterdam, Rembrandt secured a wider sphere for his genius, and one more suitable to his artistic powers. But the years spent at Leyden had been fruitful, and their influence was considerable throughout his career. As his talent developed there had grown up in him that love of Nature which clung to him all his life. He had learnt to look at her with his own eyes, and to render her by very characteristic methods. Yet one so full of eager curiosity as he, must have been strongly tempted to yield to the current that bore so many of his contemporaries to Italy—that Italy whose glory and whose masterpieces drew the artist-world to her in crowds. But he had been proof against the seductions spread before him by travellers' tales. He had dwelt among his own people, instead of seeking instruction abroad, as so many of his brethren had done, and, even in his own country, he had lived somewhat alone, a meditative student of his art. He had struck out a path at his own peril, adopting methods peculiar to himself, satisfied with the models that lay ready to his hand: himself, his parents, and his relatives. His studies had furnished his memory and filled his portfolios with an infinite variety of types, ready for use in future compositions. He had set himself to discover the essential notes of a diversity of passions in his own mobile features.

But these formed only a part of his artistic preoccupations. He too had been fascinated by those problems of illumination which had attracted some of his predecessors. But, not content with the more obvious contrasts they had noted, he had gone further, and had successfully reproduced the play of those more delicate values, the relation of those less sharply defined contrasts, and of that insensible merging of light in shadow which constitute the mystery of chiaroscuro. He had divined the vast possibilities of such a science. Drawing became in his hands more than a somewhat abstract method of suggesting objects by means of a rigid and continuous system of delimitation. He had made it a vehicle for extraordinary vivacity of modelling, for expressing the surfaces of forms by obscuring their contours in part, only to bring out their essential features more forcibly. Discoveries still more unexpected and personal were reserved for him in connection with the uses of chiaroscuro in composition. No element of the picturesque lends itself to greater diversity of combinations, nor is any more admirably adapted to the expression of emotion, from the deepest to the most fleeting. Thus, by restricting or extending the field of light at pleasure, he was enabled to emphasise the characteristic features of a subject, and to subordinate its details according to their relative importance, or helpfulness to the general harmony. So far as we have yet followed him, the young master had confined himself to simple and direct experiments. But he was aware that a new world, rich in potential discoveries, was opening out before him. He learnt by degrees to satisfy the vague yearnings of his spirit, without loss of the material support afforded him by a keen study of nature. His determination of character urged him forward on the road he had chosen, and he kept steadily on his course to the end.

We have seen that this period of voluntary isolation exercised a decisive influence on the life he had now resolved to dedicate solely to his art. Nothing, he determined, should henceforth come between him and the longed-for goal. He would give himself up wholly to his studies. As his love of seclusion grew on him, he became increasingly reluctant to leave his own hearth. He therefore began to fill his home with such things as might increase his knowledge and

further his work. His marked originality and strength of will were such that he had little to fear from the seductions that awaited him in a new centre. The transformation that had taken place in his character had left its marks on his face. In an etching of 1631 (B. 7), one of his numerous portraits of himself, we find no vestige of that youthful simplicity the grace of which charms us in the Hague portrait. The features are more marked, the expression more resolute, the face, broader and more masculine, breathes strength and confidence in every line. The costume and attitude enforce this impression. His hand on his hip, his curling hair escaping from under his hat, draped in a rich cloak of fur-lined damask with a collar of pleated lace, his bearing is that of a man who knows his own value, and will not falter in his life-march. Seven years ago he quitted Amsterdam a novice ; he comes back a Master.

REMBRANDT WITH FRIZZLED HAIR.
About 1631 (B. 8).

VIEW OF AMSTERDAM.
About 1640 (B. 210).

CHAPTER V

AMSTERDAM TOWARDS THE YEAR 1631—HER GROWING TRADE AND PROSPERITY—THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY—THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE—CHARITIES—THE LITERARY MOVEMENT—THE ART AND TASTE OF THE DAY—DUTCH HOME-LIFE.

SMALL GROTESQUE HEAD.
About 1632 (B. 327).

THE situation of Amsterdam, unfurling herself fan-wise along the coast, her vast harbour, her concentric canal system, opening up communication throughout the land, seem to mark her out for a great centre of international commerce. Yet this Venice of the North had risen from small beginnings, and her prosperity was won by dint of persistent struggles against difficulties of every kind. Her development from a straggling fisher-hamlet, scattered over the islets formed by the alluvial deposits of the Amstel, is a significant testimony to that intelligent perseverance and heroic tenacity which ensured the existence, preservation, and greatness of Holland.

By the year 1631, the date at which Rembrandt took up his abode in the city, Amsterdam had risen to considerable importance. A number of emigrants from Antwerp and Flanders had been cordially

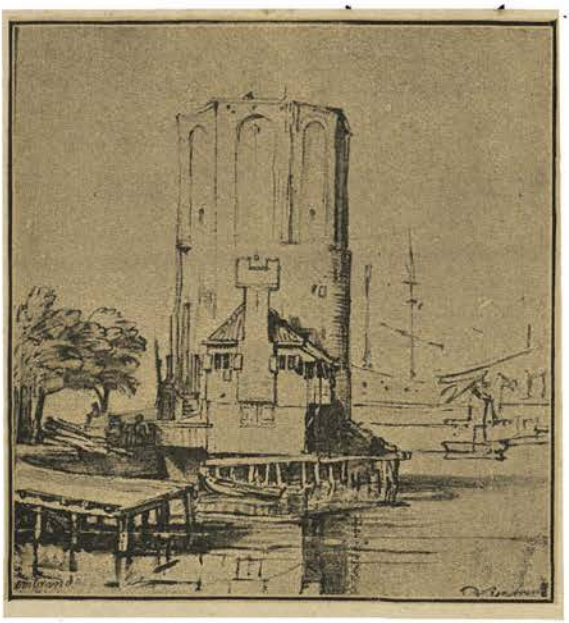
received by the inhabitants, and, turning their energy and business knowledge to good account, had become useful and prominent members of the community. More fortunate than some of her sister-cities, Amsterdam had escaped those horrors of war which had devastated Alkmaar, Leyden, and Haarlem. She had temporised for a considerable time before finally throwing in her lot with the States General in 1578, and, having dismissed the Spanish clergy and magistrature practically without bloodshed, she quietly awaited the issue of the struggle behind the shelter of her dykes. But she had contributed actively to the success of the naval operations. Fleets were built at Amsterdam which sailed from her harbour to assert the Dutch supremacy at sea, and to win immortal fame for her hardy sailors, admirals, and colonists. Among her navigators and adventurers were heroes such as J. van Heemskerk, Van der Does, Linschoten, Gerrit de Veer, Barentsz, Pieter Hein, Van Tromp, the De Ruyters, Jan Pietersz Coen, and his lieutenant Pieter van den Broeck, the founder of Batavia. A period of comparative security, following on the long contest, gave opportunities for the extension of commerce and the acquisition of foreign territory. On April 2, 1595, four vessels set sail for the East Indies from Amsterdam. They were the first Dutch ships that had approached those shores. Two years later, three returned, leaving behind them settlements and counting-houses in latitudes to which none but the Portuguese had penetrated hitherto. Emboldened by these successes, ship-owners equipped other vessels. Various independent companies were formed, and, amalgamating in 1602, became the great East India Company. The foundation of the West India Company in 1621 gave a fresh impetus to the trade of Holland. Half the mercantile marine of the world sailed under her flag, and her ships were found in every sea. From Java, Borneo, and Brazil her vessels came laden with coffee, spices, rare woods, plants, animals, and precious merchandise of every sort, which she distributed among the nations of Europe. As commerce developed, the facilities for barter increased, and banks were founded to aid the circulation of funds. Money poured steadily into Amsterdam; her Bourse was a centre of very lucrative financial operations, regulating the rate of

exchange throughout the world. Under conditions such as these, the need for exact information as to politics, the markets, and other matters of public interest became evident. Journalism sprang into being; and the *Gazette of Holland*, circulating throughout Europe, inaugurated the power of the periodical press.

Amsterdam was the heart of such energy and development as has seldom been witnessed in the history of nations. Strangers were deeply impressed by its activity, as Descartes, whose position gave him every opportunity for observation, duly records. The philosopher, as is well known, visited Holland for the first time in 1617, and afterwards lived there for ten years. His first sojourn, then, was at Amsterdam, from 1629 to 1632. Delighted with the facilities afforded him for his studies, he lived in absolute retirement, giving himself up to abstruse speculation and scientific research. Anatomy occupied him for a whole winter, and his butcher furnished him with portions of animals "to dissect at leisure." On other occasions he made friends with the manufacturers of spectacle-glasses, and devoted himself to the study of optics. He exchanged ideas with *savants* on the subject of acoustics, or collected seeds of exotics from the botanical gardens of the neighbouring Universities for transmission to France.

It was an ideal retreat for an inquirer of Descartes's tastes, and the bustling life around him made his seclusion all the more pleasurable. In a letter to M. de Balzac, dated May 5, 1631, he expresses his amazement at the scene of which he was a spectator. "In this vast city, where I am the only man not engaged in trade, every one is so busy money-making, that I might spend my whole life in complete solitude." He extols the advantages and resources of his domicile, and adds, in further evidence of his appreciation: "Seeing how pleasant it is to watch the growth of fruits in our orchards, can you not conceive the interest with which one hails the arrival of ships freighted with all the rarities of Europe, and all the treasures of the Indies? In what other country in the world are both necessary commodities and curious merchandise so readily obtainable as here? Where else can one enjoy such perfect liberty?" Returning to the subject six

years later in his *Discourse on Method*, he congratulates himself afresh: "Lost in the crowd of a great and active people, so busy with their own affairs that they have little curiosity as to those of their neighbours, I have found it possible to live the life of a hermit, while enjoying all the resources of the most populous cities."[1] Forty years later, Spinosa, who was nevertheless destined to suffer from the bigotry of his fellow-townsmen, paid a like tribute to Amsterdam: "a city in the heyday of her prosperity, the admired of every nation . . . . where all, no matter what their creed or country, live together in perfect unity."[2]



THE MONTALBAN TOWER.
(Pen drawing. Heseltine Collection.)

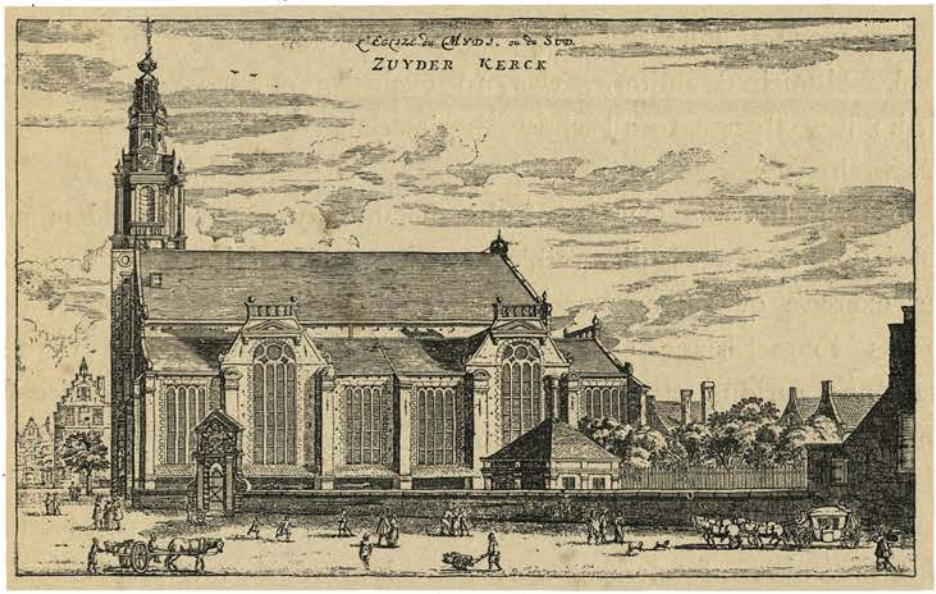
As her wealth increased, Amsterdam was gradually transformed.[3] Like most mediæval towns, she had found it necessary to prepare for attack by circumvallation. But new exigencies arose with the development of her commerce. Instead of demolishing the ancient gates and towers of the *enceinte* which successive extensions of the boundaries in 1585, 1593, 1609, and 1612 had brought within the city, the municipal architect, Hendrick de Keyser, utilised them as *entrepôts*, or offices for the Customs and other administrative functions. In adapting them to new requirements, he practically restricted himself

[1] *Discours sur la Méthode*, part iii.

[2] Spinosa, *Tractatus theologico-politus*, c. xx.

[3] For a detailed account of these changes, see G. Gallard's admirable work, *Geschichte der holländischen Baukunst und Bildnerei*, 1890. For information as to the manners and literature of the period, two recently published books may also be consulted: *Het Land van Rembrandt*, by Busken-Huet, 3 vols. 8vo., Haarlem, 1886; and *Geschichte der niederländischen Litteratur*, by L. Schneider, 1 vol., Leipzig, 1888.

to the introduction of a scheme of decoration more in accordance with prevailing taste. The Montalban Tower was thus modified in 1606, and the Haarlem Gate in 1615. In the one, the Mint was established in 1619; the other was used for the packing of herrings. The St. Anthony's Gate became the Standard Weights bureau, and its three flanking towers were assigned to the Guilds of painters, tailors, and surgeons respectively, for their periodical meetings. Such adaptations served a double end. They preserved ancient relics, and saved the expense of new buildings. The same



VIEW OF THE ZUYDERKERK.
(Facsimile of a contemporary print.)

practical sentiment governed the transformation of disused Catholic churches and cloisters into temples of the reformed faith. Buildings specially designed for the new worship also rose in various quarters. They were generally plain rectangular halls of uniform construction, crowned by a belfry. Such were the Zuyderkerk, on the south-east, built between 1607 and 1614; the Noordenkerk, its interior in the form of a Greek cross, with a pulpit in the centre, begun in 1620, and finished three years later; and the Westerkerk, a three-aisled basilica with a transept, the building of which occupied eighteen years—from 1620 to 1638.

In addition to these public buildings, a large number of private dwellings in every style of architecture had risen to modify the original aspect of the city. If treasure flowed abundantly into Amsterdam coffers, it was spent no less lavishly. The merchant princes, after amassing their great fortunes, were, like their prototypes in Venice and Florence, ambitious to distinguish themselves by the refinement of their tastes. Many of them were leaders of the intellectual movement; they dabbled in letters, and became patrons of art. On questions of public polity they brought to bear the same honourable intelligence that had marked their business transactions. A deep sense of solidarity united all classes in labours for the common weal. Municipal authority was no exclusive appanage of patrician birth; it was open to all whose merits claimed the suffrages of their fellow-citizens.

The instinctive leaning of this community towards wisdom and sobriety of conduct is discernible in every manifestation of its energies. Its exercise of reason was reinforced by a lofty moral sense, due to its characteristic conception of religion. The Dutch were a staid and serious race, practical and truthloving in their desire for knowledge. We shall find zealous theologians among them; and disputes between the innumerable sects that divided the city degenerated occasionally into riot, pillage, and bloody persecution. But the spirit of tolerance was abroad in 1630; an aristocracy of intellect had arisen, the members of which, though professing different creeds, were united by the tenderest friendship, and who, as their mutual knowledge grew, learnt that very opposite beliefs may bear like fruits of blameless living.

The dogmatic element was not abandoned in religious teaching; but in doctrine, as in all other intellectual matters, the Dutch demanded clarity and precision. They sought to establish some solid mutual ground, acceptable to all, and were unwearied in their exertions to this end. And as the Scriptures were the foundation on which their creeds were based, they felt it to be of great importance that the text in use should be trustworthy. They were aided in questions of exegesis by members of the Jewish colony, who had been cordially

received throughout Holland. Amsterdam, however, was the favourite refuge of Hebrew immigrants, and no less than four hundred Jewish families, chiefly from Portugal, had settled in the city before the middle of the seventeenth century. They lived apart, in a quarter of their own choosing, but were not confined to a ghetto, as in Rome and Frankfort. By 1657 the colonists were completely emancipated. They kept up a constant intercourse between their "New Jerusalem" and off-shoots established in England, Denmark, and Hamburg. Many rose to distinction by their learning or qualities. Several devoted themselves to the study of medicine, like that Ephraim Bonus whose portrait both Rembrandt and his friend Lievens painted. Others took to commerce, and sailed in Dutch ships to establish counting-houses even in Surinam and Brazil. Among their Rabbis were Hebraists such as Menasseh Ben Israel, the friend of Rembrandt, and of the most distinguished men of his day.

The organisation of charity in Amsterdam is yet another evidence of that spirit of benevolence which, under various forms, bound the inhabitants one to another. The system of administration established in the various hospitals, lazar-houses, orphanages, and homes for the aged founded or supported by private or civic enterprise, was so admirable, that it has been preserved intact to this day. City notables and distinguished patricians account it honourable to serve on their Councils. They check the expenditure with scrupulous care, occasionally covering deficits by munificent gifts. Supervisory jurisdiction is vested in a body of Regents; with them is associated a Directress, who bears the title of *Mother*. The most exquisite order and cleanliness obtain. In the Council-rooms hang portraits of administrators or benefactors. Many of these halls have thus become museums on a small scale, possessing works of considerable importance. Canvases by Jacob Backer, Juriaen Oven, Abraham de Vries, &c., are preserved in the Municipal Orphanage of the Kalverstraat. In the Hall of the Society of Remonstrants there is a fine portrait by Thomas de Keyser, and one of Jan Uytenbogaerd by Jacob Backer.

Nowhere, as may be imagined, did the spirit of liberty work

with happier results than in the domain of science and letters. Though Amsterdam, less privileged than Leyden, had no University, she could boast scholarship equal to that of any neighbouring city. She had long been the centre of culture in Holland, and the most distinguished *savants* of the day were soon attracted by the advantages she offered, when, in 1632, she founded an institution modelled on the *Illustrious School* of Deventer. Her Chambers of Rhetoric had taken the lead in the literary movement, and had founded the only permanent theatre in the country. The mysteries and allegories originally enacted in honour of princely visitors had given place to dramas dealing with more mundane themes, and better suited to contemporary tastes. The *Beggars* had their poets, whose terrible songs of rage and vengeance had been their battle-hymns when they swept the country of its tyrants. The breath of popular passion touched the drama, and allusions to familiar scenes and contemporary events break the monotony of Coster's academic compositions. Thus, in his *Polyxenes*, which was first acted in 1630, he sought to bring discredit on religious fanaticism, relieving his habitual coarseness and faults of taste by occasional flashes of genius. His friend and contemporary Brederoo carried such innovations much farther. He attempted to reproduce every-day life on the boards, seeking his models in the streets and markets of Amsterdam, and abating

VIEW OF THE WESTERKERK.
(Drawing by Boudier, after a photograph.)

nothing of their freedom of speech. But he died prematurely before he had proved his capacity.

Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, an aristocrat by birth and education, was

EPHRAIM BONUS.
1647 (B. 278).

the *choragus* of classicism in the opposite camp. The diction of his insipid pastorals, *pasticci* on Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, remained unchanged—ponderous, invertebrate, full of conceits and affectations. The tragedies by which they were succeeded have

more of grace and nature, but they suffer from the same radical feebleness of conception. Vulgarity jostles pathos at every turn; and the action is impeded by endless digressions and irrelevancies. Hooft's broad and tolerant views raised him above party strife, religious or political, and he had friends of every denomination. A passion for the antique distinguished most of those who gathered round him at his country house at Muiden, near Amsterdam, where he had settled in 1609, on his appointment as warden of the district. The exchange of letters and verses in Latin obtained in this circle, which, under the name of the *Muider Kring*, was of some note in the literary history of the day. The daughters of Roemer Vischer were among its most brilliant members. These learned persons affected Ciceronian graces of style in their correspondence, and racked their brains for laborious paraphrases by which to describe very modern sentiments and transactions. Subtleties akin to the jargon of our own blue-stockings were ill assimilated by the vigorous Dutch temperament. Even with the most highly cultured, these artificial graces were allied to passages of doubtful taste, and to elaborately studied reminiscences, breathing pedantry in every line. Notwithstanding which, Hooft's talents, high position, and nobility of character gave him considerable influence in Dutch literature.

Vondel, the hosier-poet of the Warmoësstraat, was greatly Hooft's superior in originality and strength of conception. High as was his reputation among his contemporaries, his lot was no more prosperous and peaceful than that of Rembrandt and Spinosa, and, like them, he died in poverty. In Vondel's dramas, the man is more apparent than the writer; whether inspired by some Scriptural theme, or some episode in national history, they breathe his innermost convictions. Careless of the animosity he provoked, he worked undauntedly for truth and justice, as he conceived them. Fanatics of every party poured out their wrath upon him. In his *Palamedes, or the Murder of the Innocent*, produced in 1625, he boldly inveighed against the persecutions engendered by religious strife. The *dramatis personæ* were his contemporaries, Prince Maurice, his ministers, and the

murderers of Barneveld, under transparent disguises; the allusions to political events were so numerous and pointed[1] that Vondel, cited to answer for such licence, at the Hague, thought it prudent to escape incognito, and take refuge among friends and relatives. On the intervention of the magistrature, his penalties were commuted to a fine of 300 florins. In spite of this escapade, he was the popular candidate a few years later for the honour of inaugural representation in the new Amsterdam theatre, where his *Gysbrecht van Amstel* was produced, January 3, 1638. Vondel excelled Hooft in lyric sense, in vitality, colour, patriotic fervour, depth and ardour of religious conviction. His free spirit breathed unquenchable vigour, in caustic satires whose shafts went straight to the mark. He was destined, however, to suffer cruelly in his old age for his independent temper.

A contemporary, far below him in talent, was better treated by fortune. Jacob Cats, chiefly remarkable for the minute realism with which he handled familiar themes, had both the qualities and the defects that appeal to the multitude. He was at the height of his reputation in 1630. The works of "*Father Cats*" were to be found in every household, side by side with the Bible. His *Poem on Marriage* (*Formulier van den houwelycken Staet*), published in 1625, was followed in 1632 by the *Mirror of Ancient and Modern Times* (*Spiegel van der ouden en nieuwen tyd*), a work in which he seeks to prove that all practical philosophy may be summed up in popular proverbs. He illustrates his text by exhortations to prudence, order, and economy, conceived in a spirit of somewhat prosaic morality. In his *Nuptial Ring* (*Trouwring*), published shortly afterwards (1637), he details conjugal anecdotes of more than doubtful propriety with a cynical simplicity, and it is curious to find this high functionary of the State indulging in a licence worthy of Jan Steen. Cats was essentially a popular writer, and his works are almost incomprehensible outside his own country. The success of his writings (to which, no doubt, Adriaen van de Venne's illustrations

[1] These allusions have been annotated and explained in a very interesting study by Mr. J H. W. Unger, *Oud-Holland*, 1888, p. 51.

contributed) was so extraordinary, that fifty-five thousand copies were sold by an Amsterdam publisher in a single year. In modern times, however, there has been a marked reaction, even in Holland, against so debased a style of poetry, and his claims to rank in a literary triumvirate, on equal terms with Hooft and Vondel, are now very justly disputed.

It is evident that literary success at this period was proportionate to the writer's knowledge of popular life, and accurate reproduction of its realities. Even in the best society, a certain coarseness marked the habits of persons whose lives were, on the whole, orderly and moral. When we remember that anomalies such as these existed in society throughout Europe, we shall more readily pardon them in the Dutch, a nation but just recovering from a struggle that had convulsed its whole social system. The education of this vigorous and hitherto somewhat uncultured race was derived from camps and ships, or from theological and political treatises. Such a training was little calculated to develop the minor graces of reticence and good breeding. It is not surprising, therefore, that their amusements, public or private, should have been marked by a certain grossness. Although the general demeanour of the people was calm and slow, so that even when most active they never seemed hurried, there were yet times when they threw off all restraint, and gave themselves up to a very Saturnalia of

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL.
1636 (B. 269).

riotous movement. Those who have never witnessed one of the Amsterdam *Kermesses*, recently abolished, can form no idea of the frenzy that suddenly transformed the sober populace, their wild yells, their frantic sarabands, into which inoffensive spectators were whirled relentlessly, if they happened to cross the path

THE RAISING OF JAIRUS'S DAUGHTER.
(Pen drawing, Seymour-Haden Collection.)

of the excited crowd. The *habitués* of the theatres comported themselves in much the same fashion. Decent folks were scared away by the character of the audience, and its behaviour, especially when the piece happened to be one of Brederoo's farces. A motley crew of men, women, and children took possession of the

pit, where they made assignations, drank, smoked, shouted, and very often exchanged any projectiles that lay ready to hand. At family gatherings, people whose normal habits were sober and temperate became, for the nonce, eaters and drinkers of Pantagruelian capacity. The number of joints consumed and bottles emptied at a wedding feast was appalling. Hooft, who condemned such excesses as bestial and degrading, likened Amsterdam to "the island of Circe, where men were changed into swine." In primitive times, the annual feasts held at the meetings of the military and artistic guilds were frugal in the extreme, consisting chiefly of a few herrings, and tankards of beer that passed from hand to hand. But such humble merry-makings gradually developed into banquets of inordinate length. Van der Helst's large canvases instruct us as to the capacity of drinking-horns drained by the civic guards, and the dimensions of the casks they broached. Small wonder that after such potations the eyes of his honest sitters should sparkle, and their cheeks glow! It was towards the close of such a feast, when heads were getting hot, that the aged Vondel, dreading the inevitable uproar, whispered to his neighbour Flinck: "Govert, I love not strife, disputes, and libations. Wilt thou remain? I must be gone."[1]

But such occasions were clearly exceptional, and the manifest sincerity of the Dutch painters has furnished less damaging records of contemporary life. Though they too, and notably the so-called painters of *conversations*, or society pieces, have shown us the pastimes of their countrymen in varying degrees of elegance and decency, from the drunken frolic of the peasant to the refined debauchery of the patrician. With Esaias van de Velde, Dirck Hals, Pieter Potter, Antoni Palamedes, and Pieter Codde for our guides, we run the risk of finding ourselves occasionally in queer company. But interesting as their works and those of their successors are, from certain sides, they are comparatively unimportant in view of the vast mass of testimony, equally trustworthy and

[1] Vosmaer, *Rembrandt*, p. 329.

infinitely more favourable, to be found in the pictures of their contemporaries.

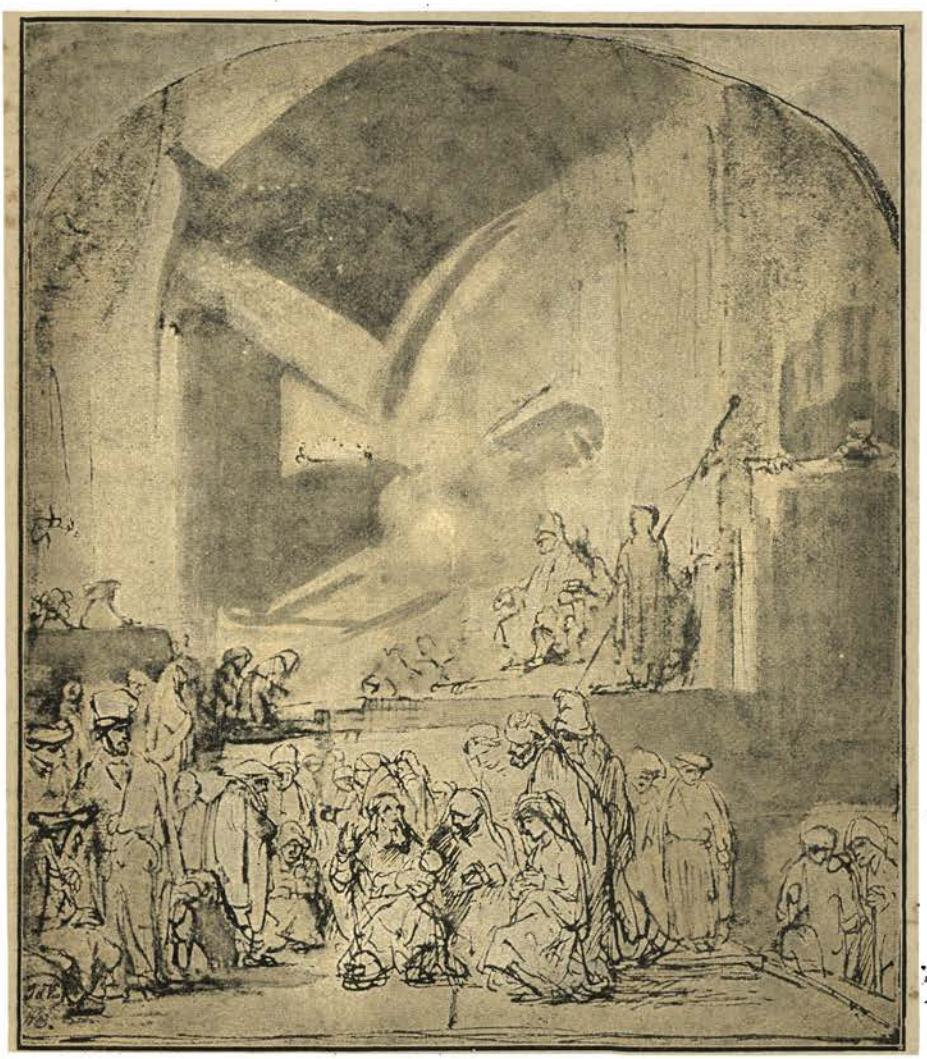
The brush rather than the pen has made Holland famous among nations; and no name in her annals shines with more glorious lustre than that of Rembrandt. Painting is the one art that has flourished supremely on Dutch soil. The others can scarcely be said to have even taken root. In Amsterdam, the only Dutchmen who rose to eminence as musicians were the three generations of Sweelincks; the only sculptors of note were Jansz Vinckenbrink, who produced one masterpiece, the pulpit of the Nieuwekerk (1648), and a number of insignificant works; and Hendrick de Keyser, the author of the tomb of William the Silent at Delft (1621) and the *Erasmus* of Rotterdam (1622). De Keyser, however, was better known as an architect, though his churches and public buildings have little distinction. But painting was nearing its apogee at this period, and never in all the history of art did genius bear such abundant fruit within such narrow limits of time and space. Although her Guild of St. Luke was a somewhat heterogeneous society, far below those of Utrecht, the Hague, Delft, and Haarlem, both in solidarity and importance, Amsterdam reaped the benefit of previous effort in other directions for her art, as she had already done for her commerce. The *Athens of the North*, as her men of letters loved to call her, gradually attracted all the famous masters who had been formed in other centres. There was hardly a single artist of renown who did not make a sojourn more or less prolonged within the city, and who did not look to her approval for the confirmation of his fame. Her inhabitants now formed the richest and most populous community in the country; and among her guilds and private collectors painters found the readiest and most profitable market for their wares. Even now, though many of her masterpieces have been taken from her and scattered throughout Europe, the visitor to Amsterdam realises more strongly than elsewhere that painting was the national art of Holland, the art that has best interpreted her aspirations and reproduced her varied social life. Foremost in genius as in numbers were her portrait-painters. In that vast

iconography of all classes and professions they have transmitted to us, everything that could indicate the tastes and occupations of their models has been noted with the most scrupulous care. The greater number of such portraits are not isolated examples; the wife makes a pair with her husband; or the couple figure on the same canvas, as if to attest the harmony of their union. In some instances the whole family clusters round the parents, the married sons and daughters with their partners, others drawing or making music, the younger children with their playthings. To complete the illusion, servants are placed beside their masters, either in the usual sitting-room or in a landscape before the house. The composition varies in taste with the painter, but the likeness is always sincerely and conscientiously studied.

STUDY OF AN OLD MAN.
(King of Saxony's Collection.)

Together with these domestic portraits, the important canvases painted for the numerous guilds form as it were a series of official documents, illustrating the history of the city, and preserving the memory of great institutions and famous men. Art patronage was now exercised solely by the guilds or private collectors. The demand for votive pictures had passed away with the Catholic worship and its clergy. The princes of the House of Orange were very luke-

warm protectors of the arts, and Frederick Henry was the first among them to give some attention to the building, furnishing, and decoration of his palaces. Even his artistic sympathies were rather Flemish than Dutch, and the rich citizens and



THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.
(Pen and wash, Heseltine Collection.)

men of letters shared his predilections. Hooft, Van Baerle, and even Vondel recognised no rivals to Van Dyck and Rubens. They could not understand Rembrandt, and never allude to him in their writings.

Amateurs who prided themselves on their enlightenment varied their collection of Flemish masters by the purchase of Italian pictures, a predilection for which was supposed to stamp the collector at once as a person of the highest taste. Examples of the Italian masters were consequently much sought after, and fairly numerous in Amsterdam at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Among local painters, the *Italianisers* enjoyed most favour, and commanded the highest prices. The large majority who knew nothing of the artistic quality of a picture was captivated by their choice of elevated themes, and their close adherence to tradition in treatment. The literary and historical episodes they affected further gave the purchaser a chance of displaying his own learning in explanation and comment. The most popular among the landscape-painters were also those who sought inspiration abroad. The painters of Biblical or mythological figures in rocky landscapes and learned perspectives accounted the scenery of Holland tame and unpicturesque. With so little perception of its beauties, they naturally felt no desire to reproduce them. As has happened in every age, the most meretricious talent found the readiest appreciation among so-called connoisseurs, who saw in minute finish, exactness of imitation, and kindred tricks of facile mediocrity the highest artistic achievement. The true masters, whose nobler genius demanded franker and more characteristic expression, had a hard struggle for bare existence.

The *genre* painters of this period often represent very modest interiors as adorned with a surprising number of pictures, and recently published inventories of the seventeenth century prove that many a plain citizen owned a considerable collection. It might therefore be inferred that contemporary painters found a good market for their works. But the absurd prices at which these works were valued and sold at auction bear dismal witness to the true state of affairs. At Amsterdam, as at Leyden, canvases were to be bought for a few florins, signed by masters now famous throughout the world, whose separate works command prices greater than the sum total of their gains in life. Many of them lived needy and neglected, and

died in misery. The shrewder among them supplemented their art by some more lucrative calling. Van Goyen speculated in old pictures, tulips, and house property; his son-in-law Steen rented two breweries, which he turned to profitable account; Hobbema obtained the post of gauger at the Amsterdam docks; Pieter de Hooch was reduced to serve as steward under a master who claimed a proprietary right in a certain number of his pictures; many became bankrupt, or died in the hospitals.

It is the glory of these men that they sought a higher reward than the suffrages of the crowd. But our judgment of the contemporaries who ignored their greatness should not be too harsh. It was hardly possible that they should recognise art presented to them in such novel guise—art not only differing from, but in apparent conflict with, all received standards. It is only by slow degrees that the importance of the great Dutch epoch has been fully established. Its record is no less glorious than complete. Side by side with those correct and impeccable artists, whose accomplished technique satisfied the average taste of the day, it numbers innovators whose vivifying originality gave the crowning excellence to a school in which every diversity of style and talent has had its representative.

Such was the art which furnished the citizens of Amsterdam with the chief ornament of their homes. In these a great change had taken place. The vast halls of Van Bassen's pictures and Vredeman de Vries's engravings had given place to smaller and cosier interiors, better adapted to the tastes and habits of the times. In the architecture of public buildings, Italian influences mainly predominated; but that of private houses preserved its irregular character, each house, even on the exterior, retaining its individuality of aspect. The ornate façades, crowned with gables ending above in "crow-steps," or in huge moulded volutes, displayed every variety of ornament, from the sculptured caryatid or garland to the emblems and devices proclamatory of the owner's profession, political leanings, and moral or religious beliefs. Entering such dwellings, generally of moderate dimensions, even in the most fashionable quarter, the stranger would

be struck by the order, comfort, and exquisite cleanliness in all, and the subdued luxury of the wealthier among them. The all-pervading influence of the Dutch housewife was apparent at a glance. Innumerable portraits have made us familiar with those incomparable helpmeets—familiar with their candid faces, rosy complexions, frank

JOSEPH CONSOLING THE PRISONERS.
(British Museum.)

eyes, and decent sobriety of mien. Some among them have a charming grace and distinction; but, as a rule, health and vigour characterise them, rather than beauty. Marking the rigidity of their closely fitting costumes, the hair drawn tightly under the coif, the throat concealed by a stiffly gauffered ruff, we divine the virtuous regularity of lives devoted to the cares of a household, and the education of children.

With advancing age, the steady practice of honest and wholesome virtues stamps itself on the serene, unruffled faces, giving an indescribable air of dignity that commands respect. Later, as wealth increased, manners changed. But for a long time something of

AN OLD MAN PRAYING.

(Subject unknown. Pen drawing, Bonnat Collection.)

primitive simplicity lingered in certain families, even among the most exalted, and the Dutch *châtelaine* saw nothing derogatory to her rank in the faithful discharge of daily duties, the watchful supervision of her household, and the personal direction of its humblest details.

Thanks to her ceaseless care, everything about her was orderly, and had its appointed place. Coppers sparkled like gold,

tiled floors shone spotless; coffers and presses, bright with incessant waxing and polishing, breathed forth the pleasant fragrance of clean linen, that close fine linen renowned throughout Europe, the chief luxury of the Dutch house-mistress. Along the walls, chairs were ranged at equal distances; on the sideboards stood silver ewers or vases, massive in shape, but delicately chased by some cunning artificer, such as Jan Lutma or Adam van Vianen. Above the carved woodwork, stamped leather, or porcelain tiles that ornamented the lower part of the walls, hung the pictures. These were generally of medium size, bright and luminous, to show up well in the scanty sunlight filtering through the leafy shadows of trees on the neighbouring quay. The execution was usually careful and minute, enabling the owner to make gradual discovery of beauties at first unnoticed. Those whose means denied them what was then the modest luxury of picture, contented themselves with engravings, and the printsellers of the Kalverstraat—the Danckerts, Visscher, Clement de Jonghe, Pieter Nolpe, and many more—offered them a choice among those innumerable plates which circulated from Amsterdam throughout the world. In other rooms, again, we find maps substituted for pictures. In all these Dutch interiors few things were non-utilitarian, none were mere incumbrances. Here and there perhaps was some curiosity brought from the Indies, lacquers, finely carved ivories, pieces of that Chinese or Japanese porcelain which it was becoming the fashion to collect, and beside which the first manufactures of Delft still held their own. In the little garden adjoining the house, narrow finely gravelled paths divided beds neatly bordered with box, gay with bright-leaved shrubs, and flowers; tulips, narcissi, anemones, and all the bulbous plants that flourish in the soil of Holland, and even in those days formed an important branch of her commerce.

The exteriors, so faithfully reproduced by Van der Heyden, were continually washed, and repainted every year, with that minute and apparently superfluous cleanliness which is found on experience to be an essential condition of life in Holland. Indica-

tions of order, care, and foresight strike the observer on every hand; all things bear the impress of that precise and practical spirit of which we might multiply evidences. The formal lines of houses, the rows of trees planted at regular intervals along the canals, the noiseless procession of boats bringing daily necessaries to each dwelling, may seem dull and monotonous to the stranger. The Dutchman never wearies of the scene; the uniformity so familiar to him is reflected in his own life. The bounties disregarded by others because so freely bestowed on them by Nature, he has won by his own exertions; they are his creations; he knows what they cost him, and what he has done to deserve them. The buildings that protect him, the sea from which he draws his wealth, the freedom he enjoys, the very soil on which he stands, recall a long series of determined efforts and heroic struggles. All he has won he has still to defend and preserve, as he declares in his modest device: "I will maintain." Self-reliant and self-sufficing, he has given a noble example to the world. Artists, now the admired of every nation, for whose works the wealthy eagerly compete, worked for him, and for him alone. The great revolution accomplished, the Dutch sought to develop "an art congenial to their tastes and suitable to their conditions." . . . "A race of traders," as Fromentin ably puts it,[1] "practical, industrious, unimaginative, without a touch of mysticism—frugal in habits and essentially anti-Latin in intellect—its traditions overthrown, its worship stripped of symbols and imagery—such a race turned almost involuntarily to a *genre* at once simple and daring—the only one in which it had excelled for fifty years—and demanded *portraits* from its painters."

Rembrandt both conformed to the popular programme, and went immeasurably beyond it. We have tried, not altogether idly, we trust, to paint the population among which he was about to live, in order to give a clear idea of the influences afterwards brought to bear upon him, his gradual emancipation from them, and the final triumph of his originality. He was now to measure

[1] *Les Maîtres d'autrefois*, p. 172.

himself with rivals not unworthy of him. We shall see him presently outshining them all, and becoming a fashionable favourite, but we know that he was not the man to accept the bondage of popularity. He was never a complaisant idol of the multitude, and his success, so far from intoxicating him, rather moved him, by a reactionary impulse, to press forward more resolutely than ever, in the path marked out by his own sincerity.

OLD MAN WITH A POINTED BEARD.

1631 (B. 315).

PEN DRAWING,
(Heseltine Collection.)

CHAPTER VI

REMBRANDT SETTLES AT AMSTERDAM—HIS FIRST PICTURES—HIS FEMALE MODELS—THE 'GOOD SAMARITAN'—THE 'RAPE OF PROSERPINE'—STUDIES OF OLD MEN—THE PORTRAITURE OF THE DUTCH SCHOOL—THOMAS DE KEYSER—PORTRAITS PAINTED BY REMBRANDT IN 1632.

SMALL FIGURE OF A POLANDER.
1631 (B. 142).

ON his arrival at Amsterdam, Rembrandt took up his abode with his friend Hendrick van Uylenborch, with whom he had lodged on former occasions. But his stay was probably brief, for one of his independent character and with his passion for work must have been anxious to find himself in a home of his own, where he could give himself up freely to his studies. The lodging he chose was on the *Bloemgracht*, a canal to the west of the town, in a warehouse, no doubt spacious enough to afford him a studio where he could arrange his models conveniently, under favourable conditions as to light.

Rembrandt found facilities in his new residence that had been denied him in Leyden. Male models were procurable, and some few women sat to him. There was at least one, whose face and form —too easily recognisable, alas!—we find in several etchings of the

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period. We are bound to admit that the so-called *Bathing Diana* (B. 201) has little of the classic grace and beauty suggested by the title. Rembrandt's interpretations of mythologic fable were rarely happy. It is hard to imagine a type more vulgar than this coarse-limbed, harsh-featured wench, with her pendulous breasts, shapeless stomach, and legs scored by the garters she has just discarded. But though we cannot be blind to the repulsiveness of such details, especially in a subject of this kind, we may draw attention to the firmness, the frankness, the skilful sobriety of the handling, the remarkable knowledge of effect, and the airy lightness of the vegetation in this plate, which, though it bears no date, is signed with the monogram affected by Rembrandt at this period. We further note the mantle with embroideries of gold and precious stones, which formed part of Rembrandt's artistic wardrobe at this date, and which he introduced in many contemporary works. The *Naked Woman seated on a Hillock* (B. 198) and the *Danaë* (B. 204) are from the same model, under aspects even more unpleasant, and the cynical and loathsome ugliness of the *Wife of Potiphar* (1634, B. 39), who lolls upon a couch in another etching, was perhaps inspired by the same sitter, and sufficiently accounts for the precipitate flight of Joseph at the revelations made by this shameless creature in the inconceivable hope of his seduction! The study of the feminine form as displayed by these viragoes added little to the master's reputation, and fortunately he soon abandoned these essays, for some time at least.[1] The above bear significant testimony to his exaggerated respect for nature, and his conscientious insistence on her most revolting realities, with that consequent total eclipse of taste we shall have occasionally to notice in his work.

The episode of the Good Samaritan had a peculiar attraction for Rembrandt, and he returned to it several times. He made use of it at about the same period for a picture and an etching (B. 90), very unequal in originality. The composition is the same in both, and is

[1] *He reached occasionally a better type at a much later period. See the "Woman with the Arrow."—F. W.*

identical with that of an earlier plate by Jan van de Velde, save for the modification of certain details. In Van de Velde's print the Samaritan stands in front of the horse, and hands some pieces of money to the host. The latter holds a torch, for night has fallen, and the gloom is further relieved by a second torch in the hand of a child on the steps above. The distant landscape lies in total darkness. Rembrandt, strange to say, though never more absorbed in the problems of chiaroscuro than at this period, neglects the picturesque opportunities proper to such a theme, and sets his figures in broad daylight, against a luminous sky. There is infinite depth in the neutral tonality of this sky in the picture, but the composition has little character. The actors are uninteresting, with the exception of the wounded man, whose look of pain and despair is very moving. The figures are piled one above the other in the same unfortunate manner as in the *Baptism of the Eunuch*. We are far from sharing, or even understanding, the boundless admiration expressed by Goethe, who knew the work only through the etching. He considered the plate "one of the finest in the world; executed with the most scrupulous care, and yet with marvellous facility." His enlargements on this judgment are full of the romantic spirit that informed the art criticism of his day, and caused critics to read into a work of art subtleties never dreamt of by its author—subtleties not merely futile from the artistic point of view, but harmful and grotesque. In this case, Goethe's elucidations overleap all bounds of probability. After indorsing Longhi's praise of the spirited figure of the old man on the threshold, the great writer remarks that the wounded traveller, instead of sinking into the arms of the servant who offers to carry him into the inn, resists, and endeavours, by gesture and expression, to move the pity of a young man, who glances at him indifferently from the window above. In him the sufferer recognises the chief of the brigands who attacked him, and reduced him to his present state. His despair on finding himself in the actual den of the murderers is only too well founded![1] Save for the cask to the right of the etching,

[1] Goethe: *Schriften und Aufsätze zur Kunst: Rembrandt der Denker.*

and the dog who is planted in a somewhat . . . over-familiar attitude in the foreground, the picture of the *Good Samaritan*, now in Lady Wallace's collection, is an exact reproduction (reversed) of the plate.[1] The latter bears on the fifth state only the words *Rembrandt inventor et fecit* 1633. The fact of the reversal proves that the plate was executed after the picture. The attribution of the print to Rembrandt has been warmly contested of late, and notable divergences from his usual treatment in the trees, architecture, and even in some of the figures, have suggested the authorship of Rodermont or of Bol. It would perhaps be nearer the mark to assign a certain portion of the work to Rembrandt, while admitting the probable collaboration of some pupil. But we reserve our opinion as to the names suggested, until we can treat it at length in our discussion of Rembrandt's scholars. The execution of the painting is a further proof of its priority, and, like Dr. Bredius,[2] we consider its analogies with that of the *Presentation in the Temple* so strong as to rank it among the works of 1631 or thereabout.

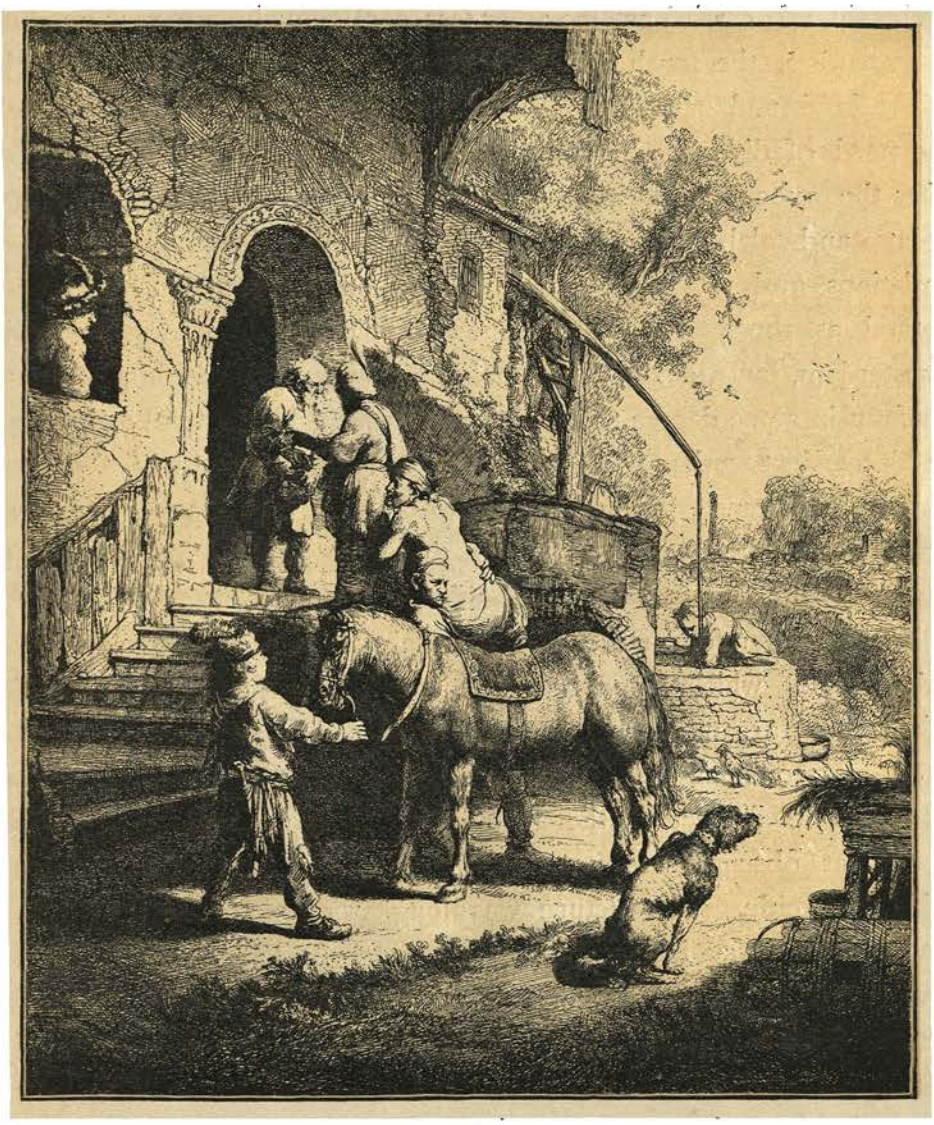
DIANA BATHING.
About 1631 (B. 201).

It must, however, be borne in mind that, in Rembrandt's case, such chronological problems are often delicate matters. In his work as a

[1] It has been stated that the dog originally figured in the picture, and was erased at the desire of a former owner. No trace of such suppression is apparent; if it actually took place, it must have been some considerable time ago, for there is no dog in the engraving in the Choiseul "Gallery," to which collection the *Good Samaritan* belonged at the close of the last century.

[2] *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1889, No. 19: "*Old Masters*" *in Royal Academy*, 1889.

whole we shall find him gaining steadily in breadth and freedom as his talent developed; yet we shall occasionally meet with examples bearing dates that seem almost incredible, taken in conjunction with



THE GOOD SAMARITAN.
1633 (B. 90).

other signed and dated works of the same year. Such anomalies may be variously explained. Many of his canvases remained for a long time in his studio, either because he delayed the finishing touches, or

because purchasers were slow in making up their minds. In either case he probably left them unsigned till finally disposed of. Others were certainly re-painted, wholly or in part, after considerable intervals, and bear distinct traces of successive re-touching. Others again, though carried out more or less continuously, are very unequal in execution, the touch being in some parts minute and careful, in others bold and summary. Finally, Rembrandt seems to have felt the need of diversity in his methods. It was his habit to revert, after the execution of some broad and sketchy work, to his more sedate and elaborate manner, as if by way of discipline. Such variations and returns to earlier stages of development were very natural at the period we are now considering. A new-comer in Amsterdam, and anxious to make his way, it cost him little to conform in some degree to the reigning taste. His natural inclination, as his earliest works proclaim, was towards a minute study of nature, and his reverence for realities now brought him back on several occasions to the scrupulous finish that was his surest passport to public favour.

We are therefore struck by the elaboration of various works of this period which, though later than the *Holy Family* of the Pinacothek, are more closely allied to preceding pictures. We may instance two small examples in the Berlin Museum (Nos. 828c and 823). The subject of the former is, as the Catalogue remarks, somewhat obscure. Is it a Judith?—a Minerva? It is impossible to decide. The picture was long ascribed to Ferdinand Bol, and hidden away in the magazines. Dr. Bode reinstated it, and restored it to the master, to whom it was ascribed in early inventories. The ascription is fully borne out by the handling, and by the half-effaced monogram of Rembrandt's first period. The young woman's fantastic costume belongs to that Oriental Utopia the master loved to render. Her dress of bluish gray is embroidered with silver, and a purple velvet mantle lined with fur, and bordered with gold and precious stones, is thrown across her shoulders. A gaily coloured scarf encircles her waist. On the table at which she sits are books, a suit of armour, and a lute; a trophy consisting of a

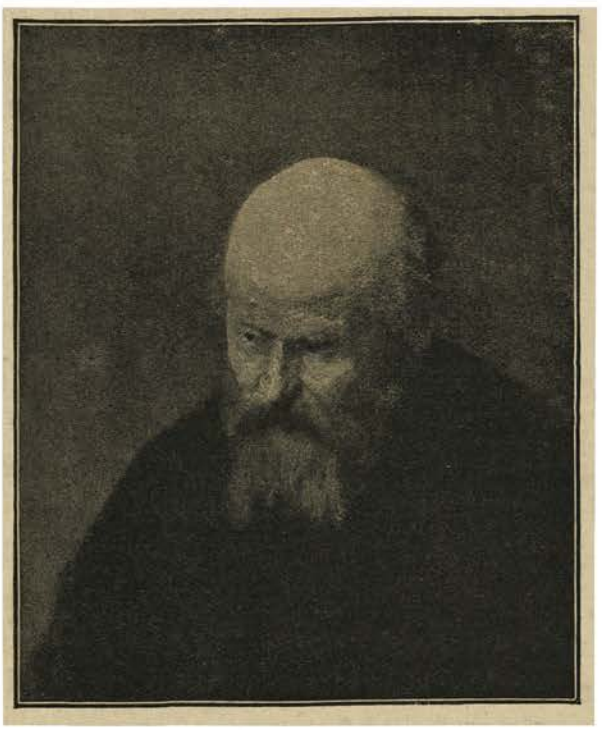
helmet, a sword, and a shield, in the centre of which is a Medusa's head, hangs against the wall. Pale and fragile, her fair hair fastened by a spray of delicate foliage, the young woman gazes resolutely at the spectator. Nothing very precise is to be gleaned either from costume or accessories. The technique is that of an accomplished artist, who has painted the objects on the table with elaborate care, and has done his utmost to suggest differences of texture by dexterous variations in the brushwork. The touch, soft and mellow in velvets and silks, is firm, incisive, and resolute where it expresses the hardness, polish, and metallic brilliance of arms and jewels. It recalls the sincerity and precision that mark the *Presentation in the Temple* at the Hague. But the harmony is cooler and less golden, inclining somewhat to gray, and the shadows of the carnations have a greenish tinge.

None of the obscurity of this subject can be laid to the charge of its companion, the *Rape of Proserpine.* The theme is here apparent at a glance, though Rembrandt has disregarded all classical traditions in his treatment. It was probably painted at about the same date as another picture, a *Rape of Europa*, to which it may have been a pendant. We have been unable to find any traces of this latter, which bore the date 1632, and was included in the Duc de Morny's sale in 1865. The *Proserpine*, however, has great originality, both in conception and composition. The maiden, who wears a robe of white overlaid with gold, has been snatched by the God of Hell from among a band of girlish attendants in rich dresses of varying grays and violets, as they gathered flowers in the adjoining meadow. Throwing herself back in the arms of her ravisher, she struggles vigorously, tearing his face with her nails. But Pluto, though he turns aside to avoid her onslaught, presses her closely to his breast. Beside himself with joy and triumph, he urges on the horses, who dash forward into space, with flaming eyes and smoking nostrils. Catching wildly at her draperies, Proserpine's companions strive in vain to hold her back; the black waters of the Styx already gush out from beneath the feet of the horses, who are about to plunge into the stream. Rembrandt has

turned the picturesque elements with which his imagination clothed the scene to the happiest account. A fine and appropriate effect is won by opposing the glowing sky and rich vegetation of the country to the darkness and desolation of the infernal regions. The contrast between the pale beauty of the victim and the strange features and brown skin of her future lord is no less marked. Two worlds seem to rise before the spectator, and each is characterised by the painter's happy choice of its minutest details. Note the delicate plants, tulips, pinks, and cornflowers, blooming in the sunshine; the creepers hanging from the rocks above; the car of the god, with its powerful wheels, and the golden lion, with gaping jaws and threatening fangs, carved upon its front; the fantastic horses, straining furiously at the steel chains that link them to the car; and, above all, the wild passion and impetuosity that breathe from the whole scene. Mythology, with which Rembrandt so rarely succeeded, inspired him happily for once. Brushing aside established commonplace and decorative convention, he gave reality to the hackneyed legend. His inventive genius transfigured it, informing it with an indescribable vitality and fervour that lift us at once into the higher realms of poetry.

In execution the *Rape of Proserpine* is as highly finished as the first-named picture. The cool, almost cold, tonality of the two is especially characteristic of this period. In each we recognise a feminine type that figures in several earlier works—an oval face, with a small mouth, round eyes, pale complexion, and fair hair. Dr. Bode believes the model to have been Lysbeth, Rembrandt's young sister, and, from the frequent recurrence of the type at this period, he infers that Lysbeth had accompanied Rembrandt to Amsterdam, and was keeping his house. No mention is made of such an arrangement in any of the family records that have survived, and it seems unlikely that Lysbeth should have followed her brother, leaving an aged mother at Leyden, who probably needed her care. We know further, from the arrangements that were made after the mother's death, that Lysbeth was more especially attached to her elder brother Adriaen, for he then took her to live with him, and less than a year later,

in a will dated July 24, 1641, she left the bulk of her property to him, subject only to a small charge in favour of her remaining brothers. On the other hand, there are considerations which give weight to Dr. Bode's theory. Remembering Rembrandt's methods, it seems certain that a person whom he painted so often was a member of his household. In addition to which, we have already pointed out that this young girl figures in several of the Leyden pictures, notably the *Lot and his Daughters*. She reappears in various portraits executed at the beginning of his sojourn at Amsterdam: one, a pendant to a portrait of himself, is in Lord Leconfield's collection at Petworth; another is in the Brera at Milan, and a third belongs to Sir Francis Cook of Richmond. But we think that Dr. Bode has perhaps unwittingly swelled the list of Lysbeth's portraits, by the addition of several that really represent Rembrandt's wife, Saskia, who, as we shall be able to prove, appears in the painter's work somewhat earlier than has been hitherto supposed. It is, in fact, difficult to distinguish very accurately between the two. As we have already explained, the works painted by Rembrandt from members of his family, or from intimate friends, are more in the nature of studies than portraits, and likeness was often subordinated to picturesque effect, or the solution of some problem of chiaroscuro. There seems to have been a certain analogy between the types of the two young girls; or it



STUDY OF AN OLD MAN.
1632 (Cassel Museum).

may be, as Dr. Bode conjectures,[1] that Rembrandt, in his early portraits of Saskia, unconsciously gave her some of the attributes of his sister.

Be this as it may, Rembrandt eagerly availed himself of the new models offered him in Amsterdam, though he continued to paint from the members of his own family. Several fresh types of old age now take the place of those familiar to us in the works of his Leyden period. Among them are two dated 1632, in the Cassel Museum. The first (No. 210 in the Catalogue) is a portrait of an old man with a bald head and gray beard, a high wrinkled forehead, and small eyes under overhanging brows. The face is characterised by a mingled shrewdness and benevolence, and the handling, though apparently very free, is no less careful than assured. The impasto is fairly thick, and is worked up very elaborately in the modelling, the brushing following the surfaces with great precision; the shadows, on the contrary, are very simply indicated by means of a warm transparent wash, through which the oak panel is almost discernible. Certain of the transitions, notably that from beard to cheek, are managed with extraordinary delicacy, and the way in which the contours are "lost" gives as much charm as power to the relief. The other head in the Cassel Museum (No. 211) bears the well-known monogram with the affix: Van Ryn. It represents another gray-bearded old man, with scanty hair and strongly marked eyebrows. The features are somewhat large, and though the wrinkles, many and deep, tell of advanced age, the complexion is fresh and ruddy. The work is carried out in a full impasto, with rapid feverish touches, the strokes sharply juxtaposed, with no attempt at fusion. As in most of the master's early studies, the hair and beard are capriciously drawn with the butt-end of the brush in the moist paint.

Rembrandt seems to have had the model on the premises, or close at hand, for he painted him several times at this period. He is the *Saint Peter* of a picture in the Stockholm Museum (No. 1389 in the

[1] In an interesting study published by the *Graphischen Künste: Rembrandt van Ryn und seine Schule in der Liechtenstein Gallerie.* Vienna, 1891.

Catalogue), which bears the same date as the above, 1632, and also the signature R. H. van Ryn. It is interesting to note how the type has been modified by the artist to suit the title of his work. He has given greater animation and expression to the face. The saint grasps a staff in his right hand, and with his left presses to his breast a key, the symbol of the dignity just conferred upon him. A brown mantle is thrown across his dark dress; full of faith and zeal, he seems ready to start forthwith upon his mission. The Metz Museum owns another head of this same old man, signed: Rembrandt, 1633, and therefore painted just a year later. But here again the work is merely a study, very frankly and boldly handled. The face is turned full to the spectator; the strongly modelled features stand out in startling relief, and the somewhat coarse and downright painting is in excellent preservation. The Marquis d'Ourches, who left this precious relic to the town of Metz,[1] believed it to be a portrait of a member of his family, Charles le Goulon, a pupil of Vauban, who fled from his native town in 1685, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and took refuge in Prussia. It is scarcely necessary to add that this hypothesis is in no wise borne out by the fancy costume and the date on the picture; it is further contradicted by numerous other studies of the same person, evidently a model, whose energetic features had caught the artist's fancy. We recognise him in a life-size study of a Saint, which M. Sedelmeyer bought not long ago in England,[2] and he also figures in a picture in the Oldenburg Museum attributed to Lievens (No. 187 in the Catalogue). In the latter he wears a brown robe bordered with fur, over a red doublet, and a gold medallion on his breast. We may also mention a study of a head in this Museum (No. 167 in the Catalogue) dated 1632, which recalls the Simeon of the *Presentation in the Temple*. The free treatment attests the young painter's accuracy of observation and technical skill. The tumbled hair and grizzly beard are drawn, as usual, with the butt-end of the brush; but the delicate

[1] By his will, dated 1866.

[2] The composition is an exact reproduction of that of a drawing in the Louvre, from which Rembrandt etched the plate known as the *Old Man Studying* (*Vieillard Homme de Lettres*. B. 149). The plate is, however, reversed.

transitions from hair to forehead and from beard to cheek, the dashing bravura of the high lights, the transparency of the shadows, and the vigour and brilliance of the colour, give an extraordinary effect of vitality.

Studies such as these were Rembrandt's relaxation in the intervals of portrait-painting, for the numerous commissions that had brought him to Amsterdam now occupied the greater part of his time. Portraiture had long enjoyed special favour in Holland. It had become in some measure a national specialty, to which the qualities of the Dutch school were peculiarly adapted. Their painters had excelled in this branch from the first dawn of art in the country. It is the kneeling donors painted on the shutters of their votive triptychs that engross our attention, rather than the central composition. The truth and vitality with which they are rendered persist even among mannerists such as Martin van Heemskerk and Cornelis van Haarlem, and all must admire the truth, the dignity, and the austere grandeur that mark the portraits of Antonio Moro. It may perhaps be urged that he was a cosmopolitan, whose adventurous spirit had led him from his native city Antwerp, and the studio of his master Scorel, first to Italy, then to Madrid, Lisbon, London, and Brussels. But masters such as Moreelse and Mierevelt of Delft, Ravesteyn of the Hague, and Frans Hals of Haarlem, were pure Dutchmen. And long before they flourished Amsterdam boasted a school of distinguished portrait-painters. Dirck Jacobsz, Cornelis Teunissen, Dirck Barentsz, and Cornelis Ketel were succeeded by the immediate predecessors of Rembrandt, Cornelis van der Voort, Werner van Valckert, Nicolaes Elias, and many others, whose once-famous names have been brought to light again in recent years, after a long interval of neglect. In his new home Rembrandt had opportunities of studying, not only the best works of these masters, but a considerable number of portraits by Holbein, Van Dyck, Rubens, and the Italians, collected by rich amateurs. We may be sure that one so inquiring, so eager in the pursuit of knowledge, did not fail to profit by the advantages thus offered him. Among painters of an older generation than himself then at work in Amsterdam, the most

prominent was Thomas de Keyser, the son of the sculptor-architect, Hendrick de Keyser. He was from thirty-four to thirty-five years old at the time of Rembrandt's arrival, and had won a great and well-deserved reputation. The *Dr. Egbertsz' Lesson in Anatomy*, now in the Ryksmuseum at Amsterdam, one of his first pictures, was painted in 1619, and was followed by a series of portraits, some of which were single figures, others pendants, and others again groups, in which the various members of a family were assembled. A past master of every resource of his art, he combined faultless drawing and fine colour with the vigour and flexibility of a technique at once lively, tasteful, and dignified. Whether he puts forth all his strength in some large canvas, or proportions his touch to the more restricted dimensions of less important works, his execution is equally free and broad. Though he never parades his accomplishment, De Keyser shows an unfailing respect for reality; and his vigorous and brilliant colouring is largely due to the extreme accuracy of his modelling in a full rich impasto. His composition is always simple, his action always natural; while his technical mastery and sober dignity of treatment fairly entitle him to rank among the Dutch painters side by side with Hals, and only just below Rembrandt, the one master who surpassed them both.

Before he could be accounted the rival of De Keyser, however, the younger artist had several lessons to learn from him. Hitherto he had treated his models as the fancy of the moment suggested. His sitters had consisted chiefly of his own friends and relations. In working for strangers, he was forced to renounce those freaks of costume, attitude, and illumination in which he had formerly delighted, and to content himself with the habitual severity of Dutch dress, and a close adherence to the living model. It was also necessary that he should learn something of the daily lives of those who relied on his genius for faithful transcripts of their diverse personalities. Under these novel conditions he had to measure himself with rivals who had met and conquered the difficulties that beset him. Rembrandt accepted the contest on these terms. Biding his time for the full

manifestation of his genius, he resolved that in equipment at least he would make himself the equal of the most accomplished. Setting aside his own tastes and fancies, he accepted the wholesome discipline of a strict fidelity to nature, and a close investigation of all problems connected with his art. This phase of his development seems to us of great interest. It is touching to note the unswerving courage and tenacity which this youth, naturally fiery and impulsive, brought to bear upon his task.

One of the earliest portraits of this period was not long since in Mr. Wesselhoeft's choice collection at Hamburg, which is now made over to the Museum of the town. It is dated 1632, and in common with many works of this year bears the affix: Van Ryn, after the well-known monogram. It is of small size, and the person represented seems commonplace enough on first inspection. The type is a vulgar one, with a short flat nose and round widely opened eyes under thick eyebrows. Their expression, however, is keen and penetrating; the mouth, with its small curled moustache, is full of subtlety, and the bare head, crowned by a mass of hair, is set well on the shoulders. The dress is extremely simple. The careful execution, and the full and vigorous tonality, though not up to De Keyser's level, recall certain small pictures by him. From an inscription on the back of the panel, we learn that this apparently austere personage was Maurice Huygens, Secretary to the Council of the States at the Hague, and brother of that Constantine Huygens who, as we know, professed so great an admiration for Rembrandt. Such a commission from a person of Maurice's rank proves that Rembrandt's reputation was already considerable.

REMBRANDT'S SIGNATURE.

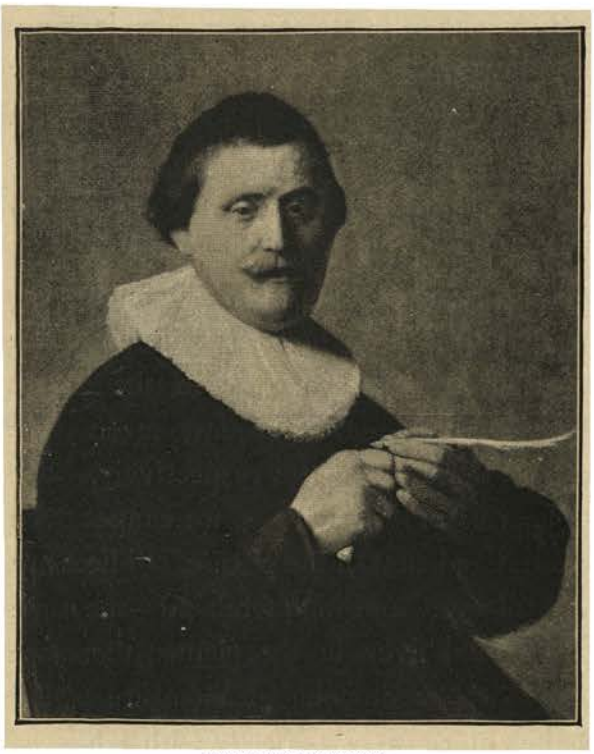
Several more important works of this period bear out the presumption. One of these, the so-called *Portrait of Coppenol* in the Cassel Museum (No. 212 in the Catalogue), represents a man in black, standing near a table covered with books and papers. He holds a pen daintily in his left hand, and cuts it with the pen-knife in his right.

The picture is not dated, but we think it may certainly be assigned to the year 1632. This opinion we base not only on the execution but on the fact that the monogram is followed by the designation: van Ryn; a signature almost exclusively confined to 1632, and only to be found on a single later work, one of the *Philosophers* in the Louvre, painted in 1633.[1] The identity of the sitter has been contested of late, though the picture figures as a portrait of Coppenol in an inventory of 1749, and in G. Hoet's Catalogue of 1752. On comparison of the portrait with one in the Hermitage, and with Rembrandt's two etchings of Coppenol (B. 282 and 283), Dr. Bode came to the conclusion that there were notable differences, especially in the shape of the nose. With regard to the two etchings, there is no possible doubt that they are portraits of Coppenol. The likeness between the two, and the inscriptions on several of the proofs, finally dispose of the question; and, though there is no date on either, we shall show, in due course, that one was executed in 1651, and the other in 1658. It will hardly be disputed that notable changes may have taken place in the sitter's appearance during the intervals of nineteen and twenty-seven years that divide the Cassel picture from these two plates respectively. But though the type is fuller and heavier in the etchings, we cannot trace any essential differences between it and that of the picture. There are the same medium-sized nose, small eyes, and high forehead—the same cut of the beard and moustache—and even in the picture there are indications of the double chin which is so pronounced a feature of the prints. The apparent age of the sitter agrees perfectly with what we know of Coppenol, who was born in 1598. The person represented is evidently a man of about thirty-four, which was Coppenol's age in 1632. Whoever the model may have been, the portrait is unquestionably one of the most remarkable painted by Rembrandt at this period. The placid honest face that confronts the spectator is full of a naïve satisfaction. This expression, and the gravity with which the writer cuts his pen, as if profoundly engrossed by his important occupation, are further proof, in our opinion, that

[1] It occurs once more, but quite at the close of the master's career, on a *Return of the Prodigal*, in the Hermitage, painted about 1668.

the sitter was the famous writing-master, whose vanity was proverbial, and who, according to tradition, formed an early friendship with Rembrandt.

We are less inclined to vouch for another so-called portrait of Coppenol in the Hermitage (No. 808 in the Catalogue), formerly in Count Brühl's collection. The appellation is more modern than that of the Cassel picture, for in the selections from the Brühl collection, published at Dresden in 1754, this portrait bears no distinctive title. There are also notable differences in the type. The eyes are less round, and much more piercing; the nose is thinner, and the moustache thicker. The sitter is placed before a table, on which stands a small bureau, with a number of books and papers. He certainly holds a pen in his hand, but the characters on the half-written sheet before him are by no means choice specimens of calligraphy. They have none of the complicated flourishes and embellishments with which a virtuoso such as Coppenol would have adorned the page. The model, in our opinion, was simply some honest merchant, busy over an account in the ledgers before him. Dr. Bode assigns the picture to the year 1631, and in fact discovered this date upon it. We have been unable to decipher more than the first three figures, but the monogram used, and the style of the execution, make the date a very probable one.



PORTRAIT OF COPPENOL.
About 1632 (Cassel Museum).

Another portrait, bearing the same monogram, and the date 1632, was formerly in Cardinal Fesch's collection, and now belongs to Captain Holford. It represents a man in the prime of life, dressed in black, with a white ruff and cuffs. He wears a high black hat; his right hand is laid upon his breast, and in his left he holds a paper on which is written: Marten Looten, a name not uncommon in Amsterdam at the period, but referring in this case to a well-known merchant of the city. The work is a remarkable one, carried out in a rich impasto at once firm and supple: the skilful handling, which shows no trace of effort or hesitation, recalls the manner of Thomas de Keyser. The same broad yet conscientious workmanship marks the portrait of a young woman, seated, and wearing a black dress with white collar and head-dress, in the Vienna Academy. It bears the same date and monogram. We may add to the list of works thus signed a male portrait which we saw not long ago in the possession of Mr. Quarles van Ufford at the Hague. It is a three-quarters length of a man of fine presence, with regular features and luxuriant hair. He faces the spectator, wearing a military costume with a gold embroidered baldrick, and resting his left hand on a sword. His right hand grasps a gun. According to a study on one of Rembrandt's pupils, Paulus Lesire of Dordrecht, published by Messrs. G.

PORTRAIT OF JORIS DE CAULERY.
1632.

Veth and Bredius in *Oud-Holland,* this martial sitter was probably a certain Captain Joris de Caulery, who seems to have had a mania for portraits of himself. He was painted in turn by M. Uytenbroeck, J. Lievens, P. Lesire, Van Dyck, and Rembrandt, who represented him "with a gun in his hand." As Mr. van Ufford's portrait is the only one by the master in which we have been able to discover this weapon, there seems every reason to suppose it the picture in question.

In addition to these single portraits, Rembrandt painted several pairs, of husband and wife, and, in cases where the two have found their way into the same collection, it is very interesting to note the combinations of costume or attitude by which the painter seeks to make each enhance the effect of the other. This is specially the case in two large oval portraits, which have lately passed to America from the collection of the Princesse de Sagan. In the male portrait, signed, and dated 1632 like the rest, the face, beaming with health and vigour, looks full at the spectator from beneath the broad brim of a black hat.[1] The wife, who is also painted almost full-face, has a somewhat sickly appearance. The handling is marked by great refinement, and there is infinite delicacy in the passage from the somewhat cold lights of the carnations to their transparent shadows.

We may further note (though merely by way of record, for we have not seen them) a pair of large portraits of a man and his wife, formerly belonging to the Beeresteyn family,[2] to which Dr. Bode recently drew attention on the occasion of their purchase by an

[1] The features of this person, and even his costume, recall those of Dr. Tulp in the *Anatomy Lesson,* and this resemblance justifies the very prevalent belief that the portraits represent Tulp and his wife. It would not be easy, however, to determine whether the commission for the *Anatomy Lesson* was given after the execution of the portraits, or whether the success of the former picture brought about the painting of the portraits, for all three belong to the same year.

[2] The signature and date on these two pictures were discovered on the occasion of a sale held by the Beeresteyn family at their *château* of Maurik, near Vecht, October 24th, 1884. The bidding rose rapidly to 75,000 florins, at which price they were bought in by the owners, who had been apprised of the discovery.

American for presentation to the Museum of New York.[1] In a pair of portraits in the Belvedere, probably painted about this same year, 1632, to judge by the execution,[2] the arrangement of the two with a view to their mutual effect is even more obvious. The separate pictures seem to form one harmonious composition. The husband, a man of refined and distinguished appearance, is turned three quarters to the front. He seems to be speaking, and claims his wife's attention by a gesture. She, seated near a table, looks lovingly towards him, and mutely acquiesces in his speech. Neither wife nor husband is remarkable for personal beauty. But the intelligent vivacity of the man's face, the sweetness and affectionate confidence that beam from the dark eyes of his companion, and the devotion with which she listens to him, far from weakening the individual likeness, add the crowning touches of vitality. The young master, not content with a mere application of the technical skill he had acquired, was evidently anxious to produce a lifelike and expressive work. He sought not to discard but to rejuvenate tradition. He spared himself no pains, in spite of his great facility and rich natural gifts, and Houbraken tells us that it was his habit to make innumerable sketches before attacking his final conception. He considered it of vital importance to know exactly what he was attempting, and to plan out his creations, not only as a whole, but in the smallest details. Thanks to this initial effort, into which he threw himself heart and soul, he went at once to the root of the matter. The harmony in which his active imagination and powerful will worked together was one of the distinctive traits of his character. We shall find him full of energy and animation at every point of his career, regardless of sorrows and advancing age. Such careful and scrupulous effort, conjoined

[1] *Münchener neueste Nachrichten*, July 9, 1890.

[2] The date 1630 suggested by Mr. Engerth in his Catalogue (Nos. 1139 and 1140), and based by him on the somewhat cold tonality of the shadows, seems to be inadmissible. Rembrandt was incapable of such work at that date, and the portraits are unlike anything he produced at Leyden.

with such facility, such absolute sincerity of expression, united to such conscientious vigilance, ensured him the suffrages alike of his brother-artists and of the public. His reputation and popularity increased steadily. He was already a painter of note when his great opportunity came with the *Lesson in Anatomy*—the work that was to proclaim the full measure of his genius, and of his superiority to his rivals.

REMBRANDT'S MOTHER
About 1632 (B. 344).

PEN DRAWING WASHED WITH SEPIA.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

CHAPTER VII

THE IMPORTANCE OF CORPORATION PICTURES IN HOLLAND—THE 'ANATOMY-THEATRES'—PICTURES OF 'ANATOMY-LESSONS' IN ITALY AND HOLLAND—REMBRANDT'S PREDECESSORS IN THIS GENRE: AERT PIETERSEN, MICHIEL MIEREVELT, NICOLAES ELIAS, AND THOMAS DE KEYSER—DR. TULP—REMBRANDT'S 'LESSON IN ANATOMY' (1632).

OLD MAN WITH A BALD HEAD.
About 1632 (B. 296).

THROUGHOUT all ages and countries great things have been effected by the spirit of co-operation, and nowhere have its results been more remarkable than in Holland. By its means, the Dutch fashioned their territory, and afterwards defended it against the sea; it nerved them in the heroic struggle by which their political and religious independence was won; and finally, by concentrating all the vital forces of the nation in common action, it effected a material and moral greatness truly astonishing in view of their insignificant dominions, and the enormous difficulties attending their development. It was natural that the numerous corporations which embodied this spirit of national enterprise should exercise no small influence on Dutch art. Their important share in its development was,

however, hardly suspected till the foundation of the Haarlem Museum, with its fine series of the works of Hals. It has since been brilliantly demonstrated by the establishment of the Ryksmuseum of Amsterdam, and the gathering together of the great canvases formerly scattered among the different hospitals and guild-halls of the city. Under these new conditions, the student may readily trace the parallel growth of national art and national history.

Religious painting, or at least that branch of the art which had for its object the decoration of churches, disappeared from the Netherlands after the triumph of the reformed faith. Court patronage ceased with the removal of the Catholic clergy. But the corporations hastened to fill the breach, and soon opened fresh fields to the activity of Dutch painters. The heads of associations were painted in the robes and insignia of their dignity. Their portraits, hanging in council-chamber or banquet-hall, were so many exhortations to the brethren, urging them to follow the example of devotion, patriotism, or charity set them by their predecessors. By these means, miniature museums were gradually formed in every large town, and enriched by successive donations due to the gratitude of members, or the vanity of dignitaries. The idea of a portrait-group soon occurred to both. The vanity of each class found satisfaction in such a scheme. The chiefs, because their superior honours were more apparent thus surrounded by their satellites; the inferior members, because this was their only chance of figuring in such pictures. The painters, as may be supposed, fell in readily enough with arrangements which did not debar them from more interesting tasks, while providing them with lucrative commissions. Payment was generally made by voluntary contributions, proportioned to the rank of each sitter. By this device all were satisfied, the individual outlay being small, though the artist made a reasonable profit. There were, however, other difficulties to be met, for all these sitters had to be brought into unity by some common action characteristic of the special association to which they belonged. This was comparatively easy in the case of the military guilds, by far the most important of these bodies. But we shall find that the first

essays of painters in this field were halting and tentative, their progress slow and painful. Literary and scientific associations offered very unequal facilities in the matter of picturesque treatment. In the case of the former, it was no easy matter to exactly specify the nature of their studies. How, for instance, was a painter to discriminate between professors of law, history, and literature? In dealing with the sciences, his task was simpler. These it was possible to symbolise more explicitly by characteristic episodes or attributes. The study of medicine, in particular, lent itself readily to such treatment. It had long been held in peculiar honour among the Dutch, and its importance had greatly increased during the long warfare of the nation. The great diversity of wounds inflicted by fire-arms was the occasion of incessant research and progress in the domain of surgery; but such investigations could have no solid basis without a more extensive knowledge of the human frame than was then obtainable. Despite the impetus given to science by the Reformation, such study was jealously restricted for a long time to come. It was not until 1555 that Philip II. agreed to authorise the dissection of corpses, and even then, such dissection was limited to the bodies of condemned criminals. It was violently opposed by the nation at large, the popular disapproval being mainly dictated by religious scruples based on the doctrine of the resurrection. Several of the most intelligent men of the day made themselves the spokesmen of the dissentients. Hugo de Groot declared that the ancients, who had produced so many famous physicians, knew nothing of such "torture chambers for the dead." He declaimed against "the useless cruelties practised by the living on the dead" as "sacrilegious profanation."

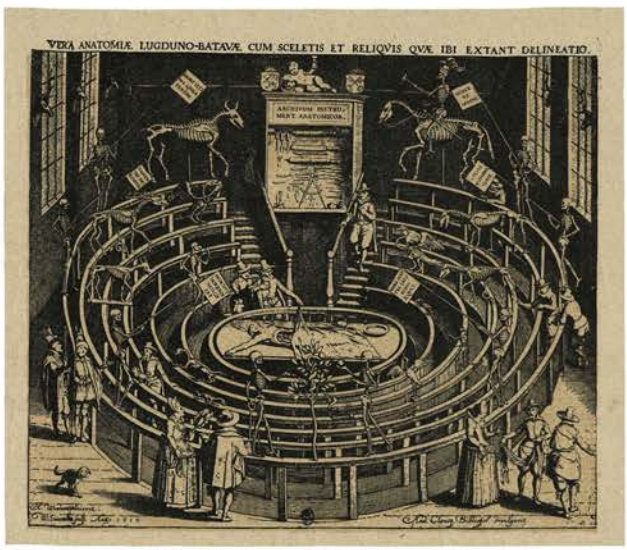
Gradually, however, those higher interests of humanity which were involved won the day, and dissections became more frequent. Among those who contributed most powerfully to this result was the famous Doctor Pieter Paauw, born at Amsterdam in 1564, who had returned from his travels eager to introduce into his own country the system he had seen at work in Italy. Appointed professor of botany and anatomy at Leyden in 1589, he had thrown himself ardently into his work, organising botanical expeditions three or four times a year, to

explore the neighbouring meadows, *dunes*, and marshes. But his zeal and enterprise showed to greatest advantage in his anatomical lectures. In spite of which, however, the total number of bodies he had been able to obtain for dissection during his twenty-two years of professorship amounted only to sixty. For many years to come the Universities had to rely entirely on the corpses of criminals handed over to them by justice. It was not until 1720 that the first dissection of a female corpse was performed by Professor Frederick Ruysch, the father of the famous flower-painter, Rachel Ruysch.

From the moment that such experiments were legalised, physicians and surgeons fully recognised the value of the resources placed at their disposal, and the various anatomical preparations of which they made use in teaching, became the natural ornaments of their lecture-halls. These halls were fitted with concentric tiers of benches, with an open space in the middle for the professor, and a revolving table, on which the various objects necessary to his demonstration were placed before him. This arrangement, which was based on that of the theatres of antiquity, gave rise to the term *Theatre of Anatomy*. The first row of seats was reserved for the professor's colleagues, and persons of distinction, the second for surgeons and students, while the rest were open to the public. The Universities and Guilds of various towns, Leyden, Delft, and Amsterdam, soon vied with each other in decorating these halls with busts, minerals, anatomical preparations, and natural curiosities of every sort. Rembrandt had already seen one of these theatres at Leyden—the most famous indeed then in existence. Its construction had been directed and superintended by its promoter, Pieter Paauw. An exact reproduction of its general appearance has come down to us in the collection of prints already mentioned. The plate engraved by Swanenburch in 1610 [1] shows us a dissecting-table with a corpse already opened upon it. Along the circular benches are arranged skeletons of various animals, stuffed birds and beasts, and human skeletons, holding banners on which are mottoes or philo-

[1] Under the title, *Vera Anatomia Lugduni Batavæ cum selectis et reliquis quæ ibi extant delineatis.*

sophical maxims in the prevailing taste: *Mors ultima linea rerum; Nascentes morimur; Principium moriendi natalis est*, &c. Scalpels, knives, saws, and other surgical instruments are exhibited in glass cases, for these halls rapidly became museums much frequented by the curious, and even by ladies. In Swanenburch's engraving, a lady is being shown round by an inhabitant of the house, who does the honours, and, with gallantry worthy of Diafoirus, gracefully tenders her the skin he has removed from one of the subjects. These strange sights were very popular while their novelty lasted. Visitors of both sexes came in crowds, and we learn from a contemporary description of Leyden that on market days, the peasants of the neighbouring districts flocked to the University lecture-rooms. M. de Monconys, who visited the Leyden *Theatre of Anatomy* in 1663, praised it as "prettily devised, with an amphitheatre of woodwork, which is kept very clean," and mentions that it contained "a great number of skeletons, both of men and animals, and many curiosities." [1]



THE THEATRE OF ANATOMY AT LEYDEN.
Facsimile of Swanenburch's engraving (1610).

Portraits of the most famous professors also adorned these museums, and either at the request of their models, or on their own initiative, artists commissioned to paint the professors soon began to represent them at their work, surrounded by their pupils, and by objects relating to their lectures. In painting these subjects, the Dutch were but following the example of the Italians, whose painters and sculptors, as is well known, took as keen an interest in

[1] *Journal des Voyages de M. de Monconys: Voyage en Hollande en* 1663. Lyons. 1677.

anatomical studies as their physicians and surgeons. Strange to say, the two first works in this *genre* were published in Venice, between which city and Amsterdam such strong analogies may be found in situation, in commercial prosperity, and in intellectual and artistic activity. The earlier of the two occurs in a *Treatise on Medicine* edited by Johannes de Ketham, a German domiciled in Italy. Plate XXVI. in the second edition of this treatise (Venice, 1493), represents the professor, lecturing, hat on head, from his rostrum. On a table at his feet lies a naked corpse, whose chest an operator prepares to open. An assistant seems to be pointing out the exact spot for the insertion of the scalpel. In a treatise by Jacopo Berengerio da Carpi, published some forty years later (Venice, 1535), we find a plate of an anatomy lesson, in which the arrangement is almost the same. But it was reserved for Vesalius to collect and digest the sum of contemporary knowledge on this subject in his work *On the Structure of the Human Body*.[1] The plates in this volume were of such peculiar excellence that they long passed for the work of Titian.[2] One among them, the frontispiece, has a special interest for us. It is a *Lesson in Anatomy*, with certain of the details studied from life, but forming in the main a composition somewhat in the manner of the *School of Athens*. The action takes place in a sort of rotunda with columns; a concourse of persons in various attitudes crowds the arena and the circular seats. Vesalius stands in the centre at a dissecting-table, on which a corpse faces the spectator, the stomach already opened. By the professor's side is a taper, with an inkbottle, a sponge, and various surgical instruments. In his right hand he holds a scalpel, which he rests on the edge of the wound; the left he holds up, pointing with his forefinger to emphasise his exposition. A huge skeleton rises behind him; grouped around are assistants, some sharpening their knives, and scholars, some absorbed in the lesson, others discussing it. To the left, one of the pupils holds a monkey in a leash, and another a dog, the victims no doubt

[1] *Andræ Vesali Bruxellensis Scholæ medicorum Patavinæ professoris: De humani corporis fabrica, libri septem.* Basle. June, 1543.

[2] They are now known to have been drawn by Jan van Calcar.

of an approaching experiment. The whole scene is full of life and movement. In the tail-pieces and initials the decorative motives are of a similar character: children dissecting animals, or fragments of the human body; others setting a skull to boil, or performing surgical operations. All such details testify to the passionate interest excited by research of this kind, which in Italy no less than in Holland had met with much opposition before its formal acceptance in the domain of science. In his preface, Vesalius speaks of the support given to the cause by Charles V. and expresses a hope that Philip II. will continue the favour shown it by his father, and will not allow himself to be prejudiced by the intrigues of antiquated detractors.[1]

In the engravings we have described, the Italians, with the taste and natural aptitude so characteristic of them, pointed out the pictorial capabilities of a branch of art towards which they themselves showed little inclination. They never painted these compositions, and made use of them only for illustrations in books on special subjects. Their painters had no lack of other themes, more in accordance with Italian taste and tradition, and better calculated to find favour with the princes and clergy, their natural protectors. On the other hand, these subjects, intractable as they seemed, were well adapted to Dutch art, an art always swift to observe and eager to interpret the manifestations of national life. The first essays of the Dutch painters were not, however, strikingly successful. Their realism was more uncompromising, their taste less refined, their composition less dexterous, than those of the Italians. Such shortcomings manifested themselves in various attempts, more or less untoward, to which Mr. Vosmaer first drew attention.[2] But here again, as in every branch of their activity, the entire sincerity and unconquerable perseverance of the Dutch at last bore fruit, building up, out of their very difficulties, pregnant and original works.

[1] The greater part of the information relating to pictures of anatomical lectures is borrowed from a curious publication by Dr. Ludwig Choulant, *Geschichte und Bibliographie der anatomischen Abbildungen.* Leipzig. 1852.

[2] *Les Leçons d'Anatomie dans la Peinture hollandaise.* See *L'Art* for 1877, vol. ii. p. 73.

The first essay in this *genre* now extant is the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Sebastian Egbertsz de Vry*, which, after long adorning its original destination, the hall of the Surgeons' Guild at Amsterdam, has been removed to the Ryksmuseum. The picture is dated 1603, and signed with the initials of its author, Aert Pietersen, flanked on either side by his family cipher, the fuller's trident, with which his father, the famous Pieter Aertsen, also signed his works. The professor, an important personage in his time, successively *échevin* and burgomaster of Amsterdam, delivers his lecture, his left hand resting upon the corpse before him, a pair of scissors in his right. The foreshortened body is partially hidden by the assistants in front. The numerous auditors, youths and men of mature age, face the spectator, standing with uncovered heads, and gesticulating in various attitudes. They are ingenuously ranged one above the other in parallel lines, and far from seeming to be absorbed in the lesson, they look neither at the professor nor the corpse ; all eyes are turned towards the spectator. The hands are well drawn, and there is considerable character in the various heads. But the work lacks the force of expression and breadth of handling that make a masterpiece of the painter's *Syndics of the Cloth Hall.* The latter is nevertheless earlier by some four years ; it is dated March, 1599. But the verve, the ease and assurance, so admirable in this group were hardly to be looked for in the same degree in a work of less importance, the execution of which, as we learn from Dr. Tilanus, was impeded by endless delays and obstacles.[1] Begun in 1601, this *Anatomy Lesson* was not finished till 1603. Five of the doctors represented were carried off by the plague in the interval, while the others were kept so ceaselessly employed by it that they had no leisure to sit.

The next in chronological order is the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Willem van der Meer*, a large canvas painted for the Delft Hospital, where it is still preserved. According to its Latin inscription, it was designed and begun by Michiel Mierevelt, and finished by his son Pieter in 1617. Here, though the execution is inferior to that of Pietersen's picture, the arrangement is better, and the professor, who

[1] *Beschryving der Schilderyen afkomstig van het Chirurgyns-Gild te Amsterdam.* 1885.

stands in the centre of the circular reserved space, is more in evidence. But the audience seems perfectly indifferent to the lesson, and the painter, instead of sparing us the more revolting details of his subject, seems to have taken pleasure in dwelling on them. The entrails are visible in the gaping abdomen of the corpse, and a further grim touch is given in the smoke of aromatic balls thrown on a chafing-dish to neutralise the putrid exhalations.

Another picture in the Ryksmuseum represents Dr. Egbertsz giving

VIEW OF THE GATE OF ST. ANTHONY, AMSTERDAM.
(The entrance to the Theatre of Anatomy was in the tower to the right.)
(Drawing by Boudier, after a photograph.)

a lesson in osteology to six students only. This, the earliest known work of Thomas de Keyser, painted in 1619, was probably commissioned for the inauguration of the anatomical theatre of the Surgeons' Guild, which was opened in this year. The painter was barely twenty-three, and, though the commission proves that his reputation was already considerable among his fellow-citizens, the work itself shows a plentiful lack of experience. The skeleton divides the composition vertically into two almost equal parts, in which the figures are symmetrically opposed; two in the foreground on each side seated, and facing the spectator,

the other four standing, and turned towards the skeleton. To avoid all possibility of mistake, numbers are placed over the heads of each, corresponding to those against their names in the list. The various personalities are ably suggested, though the modelling of the heads is summary enough; while the too lavish display of vermilion on their cheek-bones recalls the carnations of Cornelis van der Voort, and gives additional strength to the hypothesis that De Keyser was his pupil.

Finally, another of Rembrandt's predecessors, Nicolaes Elias, who divided the popular favour with De Keyser, painted an *Anatomy Lesson* for the hall of the Guild. The work, which is now in the Ryksmuseum, was ordered on September 6, and delivered a year later, on October 15, 1626. It represents Professor Johann Holland, called Fonteyn, physician to the Prince of Orange, lecturing on a skull. He is surrounded by eleven persons, among whom are the four dignitaries of the Guild. But of the twelve portraits originally contained in the work five have disappeared, in consequence of damages caused by the fire of November 8, 1723. The remainder were much injured, and were restored and partly repainted by Quinckhard in 1785. It is therefore impossible to form any opinion as to the merit of a work which, in its present state, seems vastly inferior to the admirable group of the *Four Regents of the Spinhuis*, painted by Elias shortly afterwards, in 1628.

Thus far, such had been the chief productions of a *genre* in which Rembrandt, after his first successes as a portraitist, was called upon to try his strength in the beginning of 1632, when Dr. Tulp commissioned him to paint the picture he wished to present to the Surgeons' Guild in memory of his professorship. With the exception, perhaps, of the Delft example, all these compositions must have been familiar to the artist, for they all figured in the hall for which his own work was designed. It is very likely that Vesalius's book was also known to him, for successive editions had been published in Holland with great success. One of these indeed had appeared at Leyden, in 1616, with notes by P. Paauw. The

latter had himself published a work on human anatomy a year earlier, entitled: *Primitiæ anatomicæ de humani corporis ossibus.* It contained a quarto plate, engraved by Andreas Stock, after a drawing by Jakob de Gheyn, representing the professor in a long robe, engaged on the dissection of a corpse, into the entrails of which he has plunged his hands. A lighted taper is placed beside him, and scented plants are strewn upon the ground to counteract the poisonous smell. A crowd of persons of all ages and conditions surrounds the professor and his assistants.

The Professor Tulp who gave Rembrandt the commission was one of the most distinguished men of the day. But the name he made famous was merely a pseudonym borrowed from the tulip (in Dutch, *tulpen*) carved upon the façade of his house. His real name was Claes Pietersz. He was the son of a rich Amsterdam merchant, one Pieter Dircksz. Born October 9, 1593, he was in his full prime in 1632. He had been one of the most enthusiastic advocates of anatomical studies, and shortly (in 1636) succeeded in bringing about a complete reorganisation of pharmacy, which had gradually fallen into great disorder. His high reputation was due as much to his benevolence as to his talents, and his life fully bore out the device on one of his portraits: *Aliis inserviendo consumor.*[1] Qualities such as these combined with his progressive energy to bring him prominently before his fellow-citizens. He was chosen *échevin* (sheriff) in 1622, and held the office of burgomaster no less than four times. Tulp had been professor of anatomy since 1628: he lectured twice a week in a room above the lesser Meat Market. When, in 1639, a hall was assigned to the Guild in the Gate of St. Anthony, Rembrandt's picture was removed thither. It has been twice carefully re-lined (in 1817 and 1860), and was cleaned in 1732. In 1781 Quinckhard "repaired Dr. Tulpius's cloak." The work fortunately escaped more severe handling. It has lately under-

[1] In addition to the marble bust carved by A. Quellinus, several engravings by C. van Dalen and J. Visscher, and Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson*, Tulp was painted in 1624 by Cornelis van der Voort, and in 1633 or 1634 by Elias, probably in recognition of his services to the painter's little daughter. See an interesting notice by Dr. J. Six, *Nicolaes Elias: Oud-Holland*, 1886, p. 95.

gone a judicious cleaning, and is, on the whole, in fairly good condition. But Holland has narrowly escaped losing it altogether. In 1828 the funds of the Surgeons' Guild were so reduced that it was found impossible to give sufficient relief to the widows of destitute members. The authorities decided to sell some of their pictures, and, among others, the *Lesson in Anatomy*. Had it been put up to public auction it would very probably have been taken out of the country, but at the instance of a few amateurs William I. bought it for the sum of 32,000 florins (£2,700 approximately), at which price it had been valued by experts.

The main features of this work, now one of the gems of the Hague Museum, are familiar to all. It is also generally known that in signing it the master discarded the monogram he had been in the habit of using, and wrote his name in full, spelt as below:

REMBRANDT'S SIGNATURE.

Tulp, who wears a broad-brimmed felt hat, is seated in a vaulted hall at a dissecting-table, on which the corpse is laid obliquely. The professor holds up one of the tendons of the left arm with a pair of forceps, and seems to be enforcing his demonstration by a gesture of his left hand. Seven students,[1] all men of mature age, are grouped to the right round the corpse, at whose feet lies a great open volume.[2] All are bareheaded, and all, like their master, dressed in black, except the man nearest to Tulp on the right, who wears a dress of neutral tint, inclining to violet. Broad white collars, stiffened or hanging loosely about their necks, enframe their faces. With the exception of two, who look out towards the spectator, all are intent on the

[1] *Not "students" in the ordinary sense. Were they not, like Tulp himself, actual practitioners, though less learned in anatomy?—F. W.*

[2] The name of the criminal whose corpse was the subject of Tulp's lecture has been preserved. He was one Adriaen Adriaensz, known as *het kint* (the child). *Iconographia Batava*, by E. Moes. J. Clausen. 1890.

demonstration. As in De Keyser's picture, numbers are placed over their heads, and their names are inscribed in the following order on a paper held by one of them: 1. Tulp; 2. Jacob Blok; 3. Hartman Hartmansz; 4. Adriaen Slabran; 5. Jacob de Witt; 6. Mathys Kalkoen; 7. Jacob Koolvelt; 8. Frans van Loenen. The figures, painted life-size and three-quarters length, are illuminated by a soft light from the left, which is concentrated on the corpse, on the heads of the two seated auditors in the foreground, and on the face of Tulp, whose calm attitude, air of authority, and expression of confident intelligence at once rivet attention. A transparent penumbra, deepening by imperceptible gradations above, envelops the rest. The unmitigated black of the dresses, the depressed whites of the collars, the tones of the carnations, the pallor of the corpse, and the neutral gray of the wall make up the sober chord of colour.

We may admit, with Fromentin, that "the general tone is neither warm nor cold, but simply yellow"; that "the handling is thin and unimpassioned; that the effect is rather startling than strong; and that there is little richness either in the stuffs, the background, or the atmosphere." We may even agree with him that the corpse is puffy and ill-constructed, and shows a want of knowledge in the modelling; that it is too obviously a mass of pale light in a dark picture, and thus "has neither the beauty, the horror, the characteristic accidents, nor the terrible impressiveness of death." But we think the able critic has scarcely done justice to the work. For, as indeed he adds, "it marks a stage of great advance in the painter's career . . . and though it does not fully indicate his approaching greatness, it gives some hint thereof." Such a rigorous criticism, though it hardly gives due weight to the progress made by the master, may be accepted so far as it measures Rembrandt's work by his own achievements of a few years later. But it seems inadequate when we compare his composition with those of his predecessors. When we consider the earlier *Anatomy Lessons*, and recall the confused assemblies, in which the most revolting details are rendered with manifest enjoyment; the figures ranged side by side, with a symmetry or an irregularity alike

disastrous; the audience, with eyes fixed on the spectator, utterly oblivious of the master and his lesson; the diffused light, equally distributed throughout the composition, and bringing its want of unity and faults of taste into strong relief; when, after the contemplation of such essays, we turn to Rembrandt's conception, its immeasurable superiority cannot fail to be recognised. His work, indeed, is not faultless, and exception may justly be taken to the awkward grouping of his figures, which are ranged pyramidically one above the other in the fashion we have already had to criticise in several of his works, notably the *Samson and Delilah* and the *Baptism of the Eunuch.* The handling, which is somewhat thin throughout, shows traces of timidity here and there; and the chiaroscuro is hesitating in parts. We need not go into the question (a particularly unprofitable one, in our opinion) as to whether the picture is, or is not, an absolute masterpiece. But, with the reservations we have noted, we shall find many beauties to admire; foremost among them the figure of Tulp, its happy simplicity of pose, its decision and vigour of expression, and the intelligent faces of the two disciples nearest the master, who hang upon every word, gazing intently at him, and endeavouring to penetrate his inmost thought. But the composition in its entirety is more striking than any of these fragmentary excellences. It is remarkable for the sobriety of the details, their perfect subordination, and the elimination of all such as by their puerility or vulgarity might impair the gravity of the subject. The arrangement of the masses appeals alike to the eye and the mind of the spectator, bringing out the essential features in strong relief: on the one side the listeners in a compact group; the corpse, the object of their common studies, between them and the professor; and Tulp himself, placed, like the corpse, in a strong light, but apart from the rest, the attention of the spectator being directed to him by the convergence of the principal lines, by the concentration of all eyes upon him, and finally by his own commanding gesture and authoritative mien. In these respects it must be conceded that Rembrandt fully carried out the proposed conditions of his undertaking. His work ably suggests the idea of scientific teaching as it was then understood—of scientific teaching, that is to say,

which concerns itself rather with facts than with abstractions. His predecessors, it is true, had insisted on these facts, but they had failed to make them rightly pictorial. Rembrandt's treatment was at once more convincing and more elevated; and, while basing his conception on a realism as precise as theirs, he gave to his very characteristic interpretation a significance loftier in quality and wider in application. Popular instinct has not been at fault in this case, and the public, while neglecting previous works of this class, or studying them merely as documents, continues to rank Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson* among those typical achievements which sum up and annihilate previous efforts. It will be no over-statement of its historical importance to say that it forms an epoch not only in Rembrandt's career but in the art of his country. For this work consecrated the Dutch ideal, as it were, and awoke in the Dutch school a consciousness of its own strength, exhorting it to persevere in its chosen course; such art was in harmony with its tastes, its love of truth, its conscientious precision, its hankering after perfect technique. But Rembrandt, at every fresh essay in the treatment of contemporary themes, enlarged their horizons, and touched them with new life. The poetry with which he thus informed the national art had nothing in common with the traditions of his first masters, the *Italianisers*. Without recourse to trivial allegory or hackneyed symbol, he personified Science in the men of his own country and times, and expressed it by showing it engaged on the problems that form the basis of its studies. As one of the master's most fervent worshippers has truly said, he has chosen "to render life rather from the actual than the ideal side. He is a painter who paints, and paints well, because he sees well, and who can nevertheless feel and think deeply."[1] But fully as we recognise the expedience of a revolution that rejected academic tradition to return to the exclusive study of Nature, we cannot follow Bürger in his proclamation of the superiority of Dutch to Italian art. Comparisons of this kind, which must always be based to some extent on personal predilection, are absolutely futile. At the period of which we are treating, Italian art had produced its rich harvest of master-

[1] Bürger, *Musées de la Hollande*, pp. 196 *et seq.*

pieces, and had gradually declined. It was soon to die out, exhausted and effete, in the hands of unworthy successors of the great masters. As it was then, it was certainly ill suited to inspire the genius of a nation that had but lately achieved independence, and was eager to proclaim it in every manifestation of its activity. The art this nation had developed was, on the other hand, in its full vigour; a native birth, it faithfully translated native life and manners. And, at this decisive moment, its aims were summed up by Rembrandt's *Lesson in Anatomy*.

OLD MAN WITH A SHORT BEARD.

About 1631 (B. 300).

PEN DRAWING HEIGHTENED WITH WASH.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

CHAPTER VIII

REMBRANDT'S GROWING SUCCESS AS A PORTRAIT-PAINTER—PORTRAITS PAINTED IN 1632 AND 1633—'THE SHIPBUILDER AND HIS WIFE'—'MARTIN DAEY AND HIS WIFE'—COMPOSITIONS OF THIS PERIOD:—'ST. PETER'S BOAT IN THE STORM'; THE 'PHILOSOPHERS'—REMBRANDT'S RELATIONS WITH HUYGENS—THE SERIES OF PICTURES ON THE PASSION PAINTED FOR PRINCE FREDERICK HENRY.

FIGURE OF A POLANDER.
About 1633 (B. 140).

THE success of the *Anatomy Lesson* was brilliant. Rembrandt's name, already well known in Amsterdam, now became famous. His rank among the first living painters was assured, and commissions flowed in rapidly. As Dr. Bode has remarked,[1] whereas in 1631 he painted only two or three portraits besides the studies of himself and his family, in 1632 he had ten in hand, and from 1632 to 1634 at least forty. His manner became broader, though he abated nothing of the sincerity and conscientious care that had made his reputation. He enlarged without substantially altering his style. The execution of his first large canvas had made him sensible of certain deficiencies in freedom and breadth of conception and vigour of drawing.

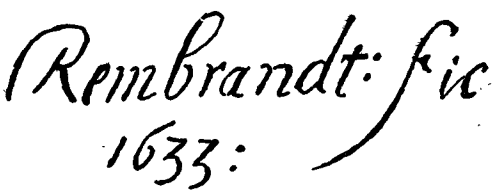
[1] *Studien*, p. 399.

Taking his works in chronological order, we find several young couples among the painter's clients. Occasionally the two portraits, though painted to form a pair, are separated from each other by some twelve months; either Rembrandt's many commissions made it impossible to finish both in the same year, or his talent and success had brought his models into fashion. The earliest examples are in M. Henry Pereire's collection, and belonged to the late Mr. Wynn Ellis. The male portrait is signed Rembrant, and dated 1632; the female is signed Rembrandt, and dated 1633. The husband wears a broad-brimmed black hat, a black dress, and a white collar, which enhances the freshnessof his complexion. He is a man of middle age —forty-seven years old—with curled moustache and grizzled beard; but his vigorous head and confident expression denote a virile and robust character. Deep shadows throw the face into strong relief; the modelling, however, is extremely delicate. The most exact care has been bestowed on every detail, and the scrupulous precision of execution is carried so far that each pleat of the gauffered ruff is in its right place, exactly in perspective, and catching exactly the right amount of light. Notwithstanding which minuteness, the general effect is bold and striking. In the portrait of the young woman, Cornelia Pronck—for both her name and age (thirty-three years) are known—the handling is somewhat less broad. Her long oval face is turned almost full to the spectator, and, in spite of her red lips, she has an ailing look. In accordance with the fashion of the day, her hair is concealed beneath her lace cap, and her white collar stands out from a black dress embroidered with gold. A mild light falls on the pleasant face, which bears in every feature the impress of virtue and sincerity. With the exception of a delicate shadow that subdues the white of the collar, the whole is clear, limpid, transparent, and luminous. The cool, slight half-tones with which the flesh is modelled have the greenish tinge peculiar to the period. It is repeated in the background, against which the charming head is set. The handling is neither brilliant nor even very characteristic. But for its superior delicacy, it might be the work of Thomas de Keyser, and it is by no means extraordinary that the authenticity of these two portraits was questioned in

1876. Rembrandt's youthful works were so little known at that date that the Director of the English National Gallery, who, according to the terms of the Wynn Ellis bequest, was privileged to take his choice of the donor's collection, rejected them.

The portraits of another couple, now in the Brunswick Museum, were painted, like the above, at the interval of a year one from the other; that of the husband in 1632, and its pendant in 1633. They formerly passed for Grotius and his wife, but this idea was plainly a mistaken one, as may be seen by comparing the Brunswick picture with any of the famous writer's known portraits. Like the preceding pair, these are of oval shape, and the sitters are dressed in black, with double white ruffs, each pleat of which is elaborately painted. Here again the portrait of the husband is the more lifelike and expressive of the two, though the earlier by a year. It is a striking face, full of vivacity and decision, with brilliant eyes, upturned moustaches, and hair brushed away from the temples towards the top of the head. The wife's expression, on the other hand, is dull and inert; the eyes have no animation; the lips are set in a peevish pout. This unattractive head was apparently little to the painter's taste.

Another couple, who deserved a better fate, have fared worse than these, and are now separated. Both portraits are signed, and dated 1633. The husband, Willem Burchgraeff of Rotterdam, is in the Dresden Museum; His wife, Margaretha van Bilderbeecq, in the Städel Institute at Frankfort.[1] Both are dressed in black. The faces, which are turned almost full to the spectator, have extraordinary vigour and vitality. The rapid and confident execution shows that Rembrandt painted them in one of his happiest moods; the frankness of handling and colouring are admirably suited to the robust character of the sitters.



REMBRANDT'S SIGNATURE.

The two large portraits, the Burgomaster Pellicorne with his son

[1] Some documents recently discovered by Dr. Bredius have enabled him to correct the spelling of these names. Burchgraeff was a baker and corn-dealer at Leyden.

Casper, and his wife, Suzanna van Collen, with her daughter, are probably of the same date. They are signed Rembrant, and the figures 163 are decipherable on the wife's portrait. Both are in the Wallace collection, having been bought by the late Lord Hertford at the King of Holland's sale. These canvases were unfortunately rolled up at one time; they have suffered much in the process. In arrangement they are not especially happy; Pellicorne, dressed in black, and wearing a broad-brimmed hat, sits in an arm-chair, and offers a purse of money to his little son, a child of about eight years old, who stands beside him in a gray costume. His wife, who wears a black dress embroidered with gold and a wide white collar, is seated. She gives a piece of money to her daughter, a red-haired little damsel with small blinking eyes. The treatment is careful but somewhat dry, and the drawing of the hands is not irreproachable. The illumination is feeble, and little attention has been given to the chiaroscuro. The timid execution and greenish tone of the carnations seem to us strong evidences in favour of the date 1631–1632, which is further confirmed by the signature (*Rembrant*, as in the *Anatomy Lesson*).

PORTRAIT OF A MAN.
1632 (Brunswick Museum).

The portrait of Jan-Hermansz Krul in the Cassel Museum is dated 1633. He is painted three-quarters length, standing, one hand

upon his hip, the other hanging by his side. A strong light falls on the rubicund face, which is relieved against a gray-toned architectural background. The personage thus simply posed was a poet of the school of Cats, and the author of some insipid pastorals imitated from the *Astræa*. A year after the date of this portrait he founded the *Chamber of Music*, a sort of opera-house, at Amsterdam. His elegant dress makes it difficult to imagine that he began life as a locksmith. There are traces of his humble origin, however, in his bulky person and powerful hands, as in the tone of somewhat vulgar gallantry that obtains in many of his pieces, notably the *Theodore and Dejanira*. Notwithstanding his robust appearance, Krul died in 1644, aged barely forty-two. He was intimate with Rembrandt and his circle, for one of his works, the *Pampiere Wereld* (the *Paper World*), contains an etching by Bol, *Death and the Courtier*, formerly attributed to Rembrandt, in which the woman's face bears some likeness to Saskia.

PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN.
1633 (Brunswick Museum).

The year 1633 was such a prolific one that we must be content with a brief mention of the various small portraits of children, examples of which are owned by Lady Wallace, the Rothschild family, and Prince Youssoupoff. The Prince's seems to me one of the best. It represents a bright-looking boy, with a round rosy

face, wearing a fur-trimmed cap and a dark-red costume. Mr. James Simon of Berlin has one of these little portraits ($17\frac{5}{16} \times 14\frac{3}{16}$ inches), painted about 1633–1634, a full-length of a young woman, wearing a black head-dress, a black gown with violet sleeves, and a white collar and cuffs. She stands near a table covered with a crimson Smyrna rug beside a gray chair. The rug, the chair, the light upon the wall, and the charming expression of the young face justify the attribution of the little panel to Rembrandt, in spite of a suspicious clumsiness in the drawing of the hands and heaviness in the execution. A more important work on this small scale is the whole-length portrait of a young couple in a room, about one third of life-size, signed, and dated 1633, in the Hope collection at Deepdene. The husband, a man of rather thick-set figure, stands beside his young wife, who is seated to the left. Both are evidently in high good humour, and neither their faces nor attitudes betray the discomfort of their posture. But it seems that the master, who had inclined to works of this size at the beginning of his career, now began to feel oppressed by their restricted dimensions. He required a larger field for the exercise of his newly acquired qualities. He holds his own by virtue of his superior knowledge of chiaroscuro and deeper insight into character, but he has more than one rival. His small portraits have neither the incisive touch and dazzling bravura of those of Hals nor the firm and delicate modelling and exquisite refinement that mark such masterpieces of De Keyser's as the two family portraits in the Berlin Museum (1628), the portrait of the magistrates in the *Mauritshuis* at the Hague (1631), and the fine male portrait, formerly in the Secrétan collection, and lately acquired by M. Rodolphe Kann.

In the male portrait of the Stockholm Museum (No. 585) Rembrandt returns to the scale in which his supremacy is undisputed. The picture bears neither date nor signature, but we believe it to be a work of 1633. The sitter, who is dressed in black and wears a black skullcap, holds a roll of papers in his hand. The refined and intellectual head is crowned by hair slightly streaked with gray. The work is said to represent Jan Uytenbogaerd, an ardent

The Shipbuilder and His Wife (1633).

(BUCKINGHAM PALACE.)

theologian, who took an active part in the passionate religious controversies of the day. But we can trace no likeness between this and other portraits of the famous minister.[1] Be this as it may, the painter's work has extraordinary vigour and brilliance. Following a practice often adopted by him at this period, he has opposed the most strongly illuminated side of the face to the darkest part of his background.

Of a very different character to this austere conception is the Comte de Pourtalès's fine portrait of a young man, formerly in the Farrer collection. The young patrician, who is painted life-size and rather more than three-quarters length, has just risen from his seat. He rests one hand on the table beside him, and, holding out the other in the light, appears to be welcoming some visitor with much cordiality. His genial face is shadowed by a black hat; he is richly dressed in a black doublet with bows of ribbon and silver shoulder-knots, relieved by a collar and cuffs of white lace. The charm of this beautiful work, one of the most remarkable of its period, lies in the broad yet careful handling, the frankness of the chiaroscuro, and, above all, in the debonair distinction of the sitter.

But Rembrandt's great masterpiece of 1633—a year so rich in important works—is the large canvas known as *The Shipbuilder and his Wife*, in the Royal collection at Buckingham Palace. The husband, an elderly man, with a white beard and moustache, and strongly marked but placid features, sits at a table, busily drawing the plan of a ship's hull. He holds a compass in his right hand, and turns for a moment from his task to his wife, an old woman in a white cap, who has just entered the room to hand him what is doubtless a letter.[2] Both are very simply dressed, and all the details of their modest dwelling indicate an orderly life of mutual affection, honourably maintained by the labours of the old man and the good

[1] *Rembrandt's etched portrait of this theologian is dated* 1635.—*F. W.*

[2] Dr. Bredius thinks that the superscription of this letter, "To the very honourable Jan Vij," gives the name of the shipbuilder. (*Niederlandsche Spectator*, 1889, No. 17.) The plan on which he is engaged bears the signature Rembrandt, and the date 1633.

management of the help-meet who looks at him with so cordial a smile. Worthy pair! We feel the depth of their attachment; we see that, growing old together, they have shared each other's joys and sorrows, and that age has but bound them more closely to each other. Rembrandt seems to have been touched by their tender affection, so sympathetic is his rendering of its moral beauty and serene pathos. The frank and generous execution, the soft warm light, the sober colour, the transparent shadows, are all in exquisite harmony with the homely scene, and attune the spectator's mind to fuller sympathy with the old couple. The idea of painting husband and wife, and even the several members of a family, on the same canvas, was not, of course, a novel one. Many of Rembrandt's predecessors, notably De Keyser, had produced admirable works on these lines. But here the young artist outstripped both predecessors and rivals. Increasing the scale, he used each figure to complete the truth and individuality of the other. By bringing them thus together, he has given us not merely a picture, but an epitome of two lives, which, thanks to his art, are as closely associated in our memories as in reality.

Two years had barely elapsed since Rembrandt's arrival at Amsterdam, yet, as we have seen, he had found patrons in every rank of society. Theologians, doctors, magistrates, poets, and merchants, plain burghers and young patricians, venerable matrons and fashionable ladies, persons of the most diverse temperament, age, and condition, had flocked to his studio, and all had been portrayed with equal sincerity. Great as was his pleasure in fantastic costumes, plumes, weapons, and foreign stuffs, he accepted the uncompromising actuality of Dutch costume, its somewhat monotonous severity, its dark colours, its uniform make. But small as was the licence allowed by such raiment, there were differences in the manner of wearing it, from which the tastes and habits of a life might be inferred. It is in subtleties such as these that the true artist manifests himself; restrictions serve but to develop his infinity of resource and the variety of his combinations. As in the costume of his sitters, so in their gesture and attitude, Rembrandt

observed the sobriety that befits the painter of an undemonstrative race. Simple, natural, and reticent, he yet contrives to pose his models

PORTRAIT OF J.-H. KRUL.
1633 (Cassel Museum).

in a manner appropriate to their occupations and temperaments, marking with unerring instinct the most characteristic features of

their bearing, their faces, their personality at large, and insisting chiefly upon these. He was now a consummate master of every secret of his art—truth of perspective, correctness of drawing, vigour and delicacy of modelling, the expression of surfaces and textures by variations of touch, harmony of colour, and the intricacies of chiaroscuro. But though he recognised that nothing is unimportant in this difficult art, and that the great portrait-painter is he who wins the richest result from his boundless material, he also perceived, with the earlier masters, that the eyes and mouth are the supremely significant features of the human face, the features to which we look for the expression of life, of thought, and of the various emotions that stir the soul. Our other features change comparatively little with years, and are but slightly modified by our moral action, while these are fashioned in great measure by ourselves, and take on the impress of individual habit. In Rembrandt's personages the eye is the centre wherein life, in its infinity of aspect, is most fully manifested. His portraits are distinguished, not only by the absolute fidelity and precision of the likeness, but by a mysterious limpidity of gaze, which seems to reveal the soul of the sitter, inviting us to yet closer study and a yet deeper knowledge of its secrets. Hence it is that it is impossible to forget these portraits. At a distance we are conscious of their vitality. A second inspection has always some fresh revelation in store for us, for they never yield up the full measure of their beauties at first sight, and superb as they may have seemed in retrospect, they surpass our expectations each time we return to them. The master, with his unfailing love of nature and his marvellous powers of perception, could not be indifferent to the humblest of his fellow-creatures. In all he discovered a magic that kindled and inspired him, and throwing himself heart and soul into his beloved work, he informed the personality of his model with something of his own genius.

The success of such an artist and his speedy popularity may be easily imagined. So great was the demand for his works, says Houbraken, that amateurs were content to wait their turn to be

Nathan Admonishing David.

Pen and Wash.

(SEYMOUR HADEN COLLECTION.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

served, and, in the words of a proverb he quotes, would-be purchasers had "not only to pay, but to pray" for a picture. Persons of distinction flocked to his studio, and among his sitters at this period we shall find members of the richest and most fashionable circles in Amsterdam. Such, for instance, is a young man in a broad-brimmed black hat, whose portrait, signed, and dated 1634, is now in the Hermitage. He has regular features, and his rather long face, surrounded by abundant chestnut hair, stands out in frank relief against a background of grayish green. A wide lace collar is turned over his black dress. The painting is discreet and sedate but full of energy, the warm shadows bringing out the cool carnations with admirable effect. The sitter has an air of great distinction, and his refined features proclaim him the son of some noble house. Vosmaer's statement that the portrait represents the Dutch admiral Philip van Dorp seems to us improbable. The youthful elegance of the model tells strongly against such an identification; besides which, we can trace no likeness whatever between this picture and an engraving executed by Savery in 1634, from a portrait of Van Dorp by Rembrandt, in which the admiral is posed almost full-face, and wears a medallion hanging from a chain over his gorget.

Among the works of this period there are further two bust portraits of oval shape at Bridgewater House, the first (dated 1634) of a girl of eighteen in a greenish dress with rich ornaments; the second of another girl, fair and fresh-complexioned, painted nearly full-face, who wears a double lace collar and a gold chain over her black dress.[1]

Both pictures have suffered somewhat from time, the shadows having lost their transparency, but they are marked by a youthful freshness and charm that must have delighted the aristocratic patrons with whom the master had found favour. Abating nothing of his sincerity, Rembrandt here manifests a sense of feminine grace and beauty which some had been disposed to deny him. This grace

[1] This portrait is not dated, and may, as Dr. Bode believes, be later by a year or two than the first.

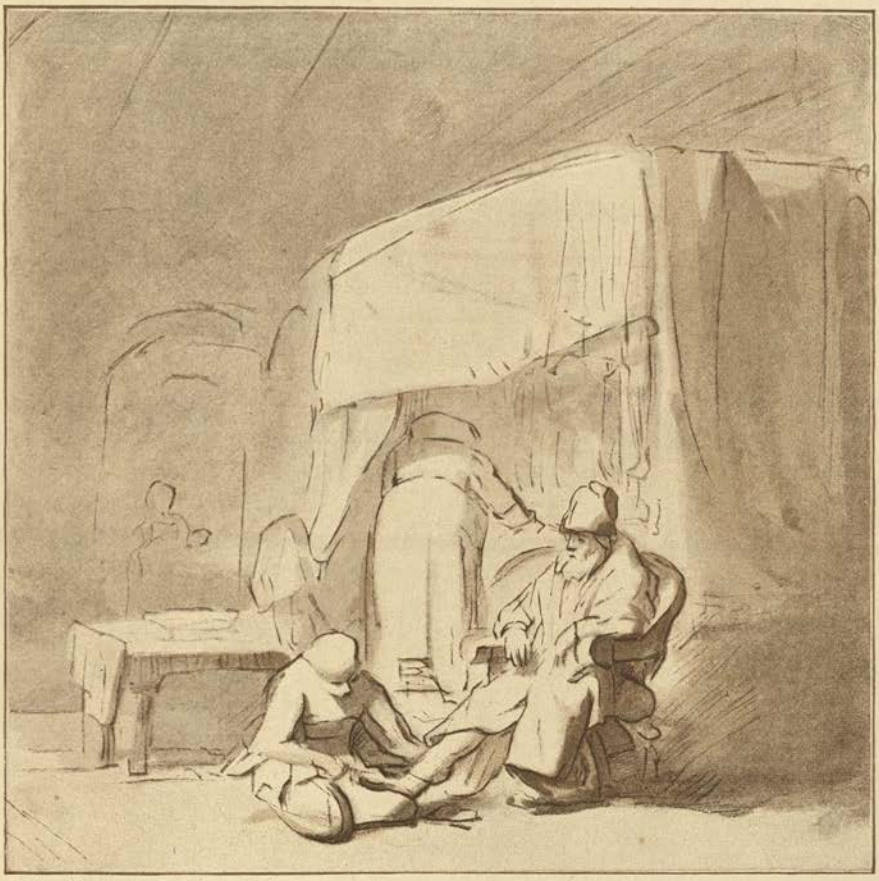
and beauty are even more vividly displayed in a work of greater importance, the life-size full-length of Machteld van Doorn, painted as a pendant to the portrait of her husband, Marten Daey. Both were formerly in the possession of the Van Loon family of Amsterdam, and became the property of Baron Gustave de Rothschild in 1877. Only the portrait of the husband is signed, and dated 1634; but, in spite of Vosmaer, who supposes that of the wife to have been painted in 1643, some nine years later, we agree with the opinion already expressed by Dr. Bode that they belong to the same period, an opinion fully justified by the respective ages of the pair and the character of the execution. Marten Daey, whose grandfather was apparently of English origin, is a well-known personage in Dutch history, whose adventurous career was the subject of a study by Madame Bosboom Toussaint some little time back.[1] Attached to the person of Count Louis of Nassau, he accompanied him to the Brazils, where he served in the twofold capacity of officer and administrator. Rembrandt's portrait represents him as a young dandy of the highest fashion. His elegant dress by no means conforms to the prevailing severity, and is even somewhat extravagant in taste. But the costume, which, we may be sure, was 'built' by some famous tailor, is worn with a gallantry and ease of bearing that preserve it from absurdity. The young man, a smile on his round, ruddy face, advances towards the spectator in an attitude akin to that of the Pourtalès portrait, apparently welcoming a visitor. It was Rembrandt's delight to seize such momentary aspects of life, but he was ever careful to choose such as were appropriate to the condition and personality of his models. In the young wife's portrait he has attempted more; her dignified pose and the chastened elegance of her costume bear out the consummate distinction of her whole personality. Like her husband, she stands almost facing the spectator. She wears a black dress with a white rosette in the bodice, and holds in her right hand a fan, fastened to a gold chain; with the other hand she lifts her ample skirt, revealing a dainty foot in a tiny white satin slipper. What grace in the figure, what serenity in the gaze, what sweet dignity in the bearing! The

[1] *De Gids*, September, 1867.

Man Preparing for Bed.

Pen and Sepia.

(STOCKHOLM PRINT ROOM.)



Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

masterly yet unobtrusive handling, broad, but full of gradation, contributes largely to the general effect; and the slight droop of the head, the illumination of its transparent shadows by reflections from the white collar, and the exquisite modelling of the aristocratic hands, complete the charm of a portrait that may bear comparison with the noblest and most refined works of Van Dyck.

Two other life-size full-lengths, no less remarkable than the above, though of a very different character, are signed, and dated 1634. These are the companion pictures of Hans Alenson and his wife, owned by the Schneider family.[1] In this case the male portrait bears away the palm. The wife's, however, is not unworthy of Rembrandt. The minister's help-meet, dressed in a black gown of voluminous folds, is seated in a very simple attitude, almost facing the spectator. She is a woman of middle age, but her placid face and fresh complexion denote health and vigour. The features of this buxom dame have, however, little character, and though the master ably suggests the flaccid gentleness of her temperament, her somewhat colourless individuality pales to insignificance in the formidable neighbourhood of her husband's portrait. The latter is a masterpiece. We see at a glance that the painter had found a model completely to his taste. Like his wife, the minister is seated, in a rather heavy arm-chair, with a back of red leather studded with gilt nails. Some books are open before him on a table covered with a greenish cloth, and he seems to have paused in his reading of one, probably a Bible. Alenson's dress is a black robe with wide hanging sleeves, a white gauffered ruff, and a small black skull-cap. His powerful head stands out sharply from the background, and the eyes, which look straight at the spectator, are full of fire, intelligence, and authority. His whole personality bears the stamp not only of bodily health but of extraordinary moral energy. His small and somewhat wrinkled left hand is laid upon his breast with a gesture that seems

[1] Vosmaer, who calls him Ellison, says he was a minister of the Anglican church at Amsterdam. The portrait was sold by this name and title in 1860 at the S. Colby sale in London. But Mr. Moes informs us in his *Iconographia Batava* that there was no Anglican minister of the name of Ellison at Amsterdam in 1634. He discovered, however, that there was a Mennonite minister called Alenson living at Haarlem.

to attest the strength and sincerity of his convictions. Rembrandt alone could endue a portrait with such depth and intensity of expression; but even he had never before achieved such mastery and such eloquence. The picture, though absolutely faithful to nature, passes out of the domain of mere portraiture. It is a historical document, a living, irrefragable witness, so to speak, to the nature of those zealous and impassioned religious personalities that figure so prominently in Dutch history of the period, and whose influence was so pronounced in the intellectual and political life of Holland. Save that similar vagaries are common in the records of auctions, it would be difficult to explain the strange reception of these portraits by the public in 1876, when they were offered for sale on the death of Mr. Schneider. Not only did the bidding fall short of the reserve of £4,400, but certain amateurs, whose knowledge of Rembrandt's manner at this period must have been rudimentary indeed, cast doubts on their authenticity, ignoring all those internal evidences that should have placed their genuineness above suspicion. Here again we rejoice to find ourselves in perfect agreement with Dr. Bode, who fully appreciates the beauty and the excellent condition of the two portraits.

A work of less importance, though not less precious, and perhaps even better preserved, is the portrait of an old woman in the National Gallery, signed, and dated 1634. The painter, with a touch of coquetry pardonable enough in view of the age and appearance of his model, has preceded his signature by the inscription: "Æ. Suæ 83." The careful dress of the old lady adheres strictly to the fashion of her day. Her black gown, with its stiffened epaulettes, is very simple in make, and without ornament of any sort. She wears the usual little white cap with detached side pieces over her gray hair. Her face is deeply scarred by time; the wrinkled flesh is drawn tightly over the temples, and hangs loose and shapeless on the cheeks. But the head is a venerable one, nevertheless. The generous blood still pulses under that faded skin; the mouth is tender and benevolent, the eyes still gleam with kindly intelligence under their puckered lids. Though her interest in the outside world

has grown faint, the moral life is still vigorous in this octogenarian, and it is easy to understand how attractive the study of such a personality must have been to the master. His happy insight has enabled him to show us, side by side with the bodily accidents of age, the elevation of a soul purified by the sorrows of a long life, and gradually detaching itself from the world to find its solace within. As in the portrait of Alenson, the expression of the inner life is the keynote of the composition, but here the freedom and individuality of treatment are of a totally different order. The harmony of the colour is only to be equalled by its boldness; on close inspection of the luminous flesh-tints we are amazed at the audacity of the tones, the touches of pure vermilion on lips and cheeks, the daring brilliance of high lights applied with unerring assurance, the resonance of colours juxtaposed without fusion, yet melting into harmony, and, when viewed at a distance, vibrating in unison. On his scrupulous study of reality in its minutest details, Rembrandt brought to bear the knowledge and inspiration of a consummate craftsman, yet he never allowed himself to be carried away by his technical facility. Always master of himself, he subordinates all the resources of his art to the achievement of his proposed end. Though he had now risen to the highest rank among portrait-painters, he had no intention of taking upon himself the bondage such a situation usually implies. He could content himself with nothing short of perfection, and strove unceasingly to satisfy his own aspirations. Among his models of every condition in life, his interest was mainly concentrated on those whose marked individuality promised to reward his penetration. He did not ply a trade after the manner of many fashionable painters, but gave himself unreservedly to his art, with passionate ardour and ever-increasing loftiness of aim. Numerous as were his portraits, they did not entirely absorb the young master. He neglected no opportunity of improvement. Thus about 1634 we find him painting the study of a young negro's head, known as the *Black Archer*, now in the Wallace collection. The model wears a greenish blue costume trimmed with fur, and holds a bow in his hand.

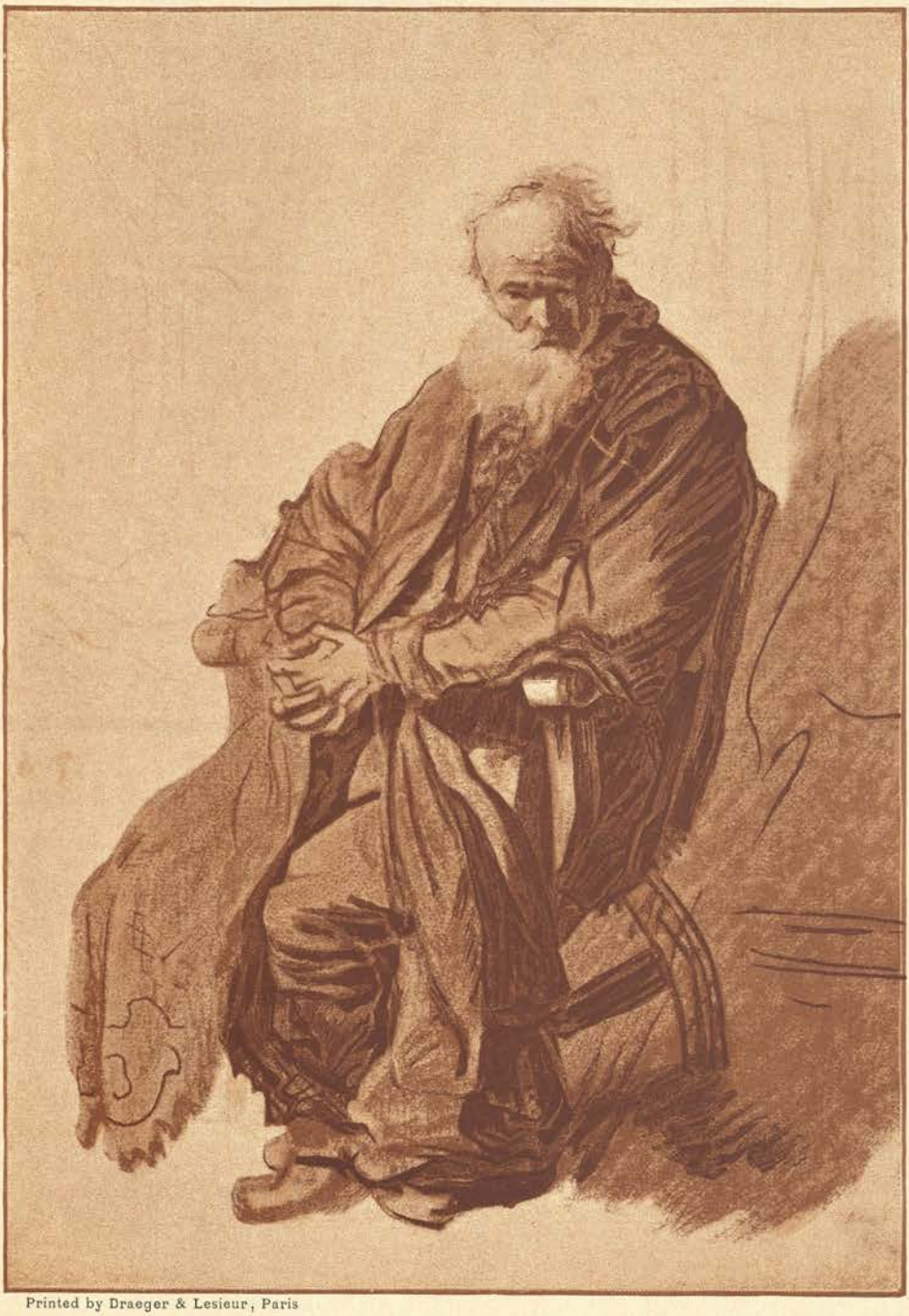
The artist in his zeal perhaps prolonged the sitting unduly, for the little blackamoor has a bored and sulky expression, no doubt faithfully copied from the original.

In addition to studies such as these, Rembrandt devoted a certain portion of his time to the satisfaction of his teeming imagination. No very important compositions date from this period. His days were too fully occupied to allow of serious undertakings demanding study and preparation. But among his productions other than portraits there are several that claim our attention. We may instance the picture dated 1633, and known as *St. Peter's Boat*, which was famous even in the days of Houbraken, who praises its truth of expression and careful finish. At the time he wrote it belonged to a well-known contemporary amateur, the Burgomaster Jan Hinloopen. It is now in England, in the possession of Lord Francis Pelham-Clinton. The episode of Christ sleeping in the storm was one likely to appeal strongly to the painter's imagination, and his rendering is both picturesque and pathetic. The murky sky is partially lighted by a sinister glow, and the waves dash violently against the frail ship, which seems about to sink under the foaming waters. The disciples strain desperately at the ropes and sails, while others turn to rouse the Master, whose peaceful sleep is in strange contrast with their terror. Setting aside a vulgar detail very characteristic of Dutch taste at the period—a passenger leaning his head over the bulwarks, whose discomfort is somewhat too realistically suggested—the scene is impressively and eloquently rendered by one who, from his native shores, had often watched the fierce onslaught of waters let loose by the tempest.

The undated *David playing the Harp before Saul* in the Städel Institute at Frankfort is probably a work of 1633, though it may be earlier by a year or two. The king stands in the centre grasping a spear, and listening, with a wild expression on his face, to the harmonies of the young musician, who is placed a little on one side. The vulgar features of the king the faulty drawing of his hand, and a certain heaviness in the execution have raised doubts as to the authenticity of this work, which the Catalogue ascribes to S. Koninck. But the

Study for the "Philosopher" in the Louvre (1633)

Red Chalk.



Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

quality of the light, the expression on Saul's face, the fine harmony of his red mantle and the cool grays that prevail throughout the picture, and finally the handling itself, which closely resembles that of other early works, all sanction Dr. Bode's restitution of this example to the master. Rembrandt treated the theme again in later years on a more important scale.

No question can possibly be raised as to the two small panels of this date in the Louvre, the pair of *Philosophers absorbed in Meditation.* The more remarkable of the two, No. 408 in the Catalogue, suffers to some extent from an excrescence it could have dispensed with: a woman in the foreground to the right, who is stirring the embers in a wide fireplace, evidently a pretext for the rendering of natural and artificial light in juxtaposition, and their combined reflections. The episode, however, is by no means obtrusive, and scarcely distracts our attention from the real subject, the meditative old man to whom the title refers. He has paused in his reading, and sits in a contemplative attitude, with folded hands, by a window. The waning daylight still illumines his humble retreat. In this peaceful atmosphere he reviews his past life, and, lost in thought, with a fixed gaze that takes no heed of outward things, he looks within. The venerable face of the old man, the subdued tints

PORTRAIT OF AN OLD LADY.
1634 (National Gallery).

of his draperies, the softness of the fading light, the delicate transparency of the deepening shadows, the choice of details, and the exquisite art of their treatment, all combine to charm the spectator by their indefinable poetry. Many other painters before and after Rembrandt attempted similar effects. In the Louvre itself, close to the *Philosopher*, hangs a *Rustic Interior* by Adriaen van Ostade, dated 1642, which seems to have been inspired by the master, and reproduces a similar impression. At a later period, De Hooch perhaps owed something to Rembrandt, when he brought all the perfection of his art to the rendering of those admirable *Interiors*, in which the complex play of light and shadow, exactness of values, and the infinite diversity of reflections, are even more subtly observed than in the works of his great prototype. But the problems with which these artists were concerned were purely picturesque, and we shall look in vain to them for any of that expressive significance and intimate union between subject and treatment so characteristic of Rembrandt. In his art humanity was always the essential element, and he made the infinite modifications of light subservient to the revelation of its moral life or dominant emotions. Such is especially the case in this instance. The importance he attached to the central figure of the philosopher is attested by many preliminary studies. The type is, in fact, that of the old man we have spoken of as the model for many of the earlier pictures and etchings, and for the graceful drawings in red chalk in the Berlin Museum, the Louvre, and the Hermitage. Rembrandt further made a special study from this model in black chalk and wash the year he painted this *Philosopher*. It is now in the Städel Institute at Frankfort. The second *Philosopher* (No. 409 in the Catalogue) differs but slightly from the first, save that the composition is reversed and that it is inferior in quality. The features lack the distinction of the first example, and the distribution of the light, though skilful, is less poetic.

Another picture of this period, the *Christ with the Disciples at Emmäus*, formerly in the Leroy d'Étiolles collection, and lately

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann, Paris (France)

acquired by M. Édouard André, bears the same monogram as one of the *Philosophers*, but is, in our opinion, a rather earlier work. In this first conception of a subject that Rembrandt treated more than once, chiaroscuro again plays an important part. The originality of arrangement borders on eccentricity. But the treatment is thoroughly characteristic even in this early essay, and shows how strong a hold the episode had already taken on the painter's imagination.

At this juncture, when Rembrandt's growing fame was bringing him ever more and more prominently into public notice, his successes were crowned by a series of important purchases and commissions made on behalf of the Prince who, under the title of *Stathouder*, then governed Holland, and whose name will be lastingly associated with her supreme period of prosperity. Frederick Henry, son of William the Silent, found, on succeeding his brother Maurice, that his country was at last free from the most crushing of those difficulties with which his predecessor had to contend. In the calmer days in which his own lot was cast it was possible to devote his leisure to the arts, and to busy himself in the decoration of the palaces he had inherited, or had caused to be built, at Buren, Ryswyk, and Honsholredyk. In common with all the patricians of his day, his tastes inclined rather to the art of the Flemings—Rubens, Van Dyck, Jordaens, and Gonzalez Coques—than to that of his own countrymen. But he could not entirely neglect the latter, and the brilliant achievements of contemporary Dutchmen combined with considerations of public expediency to demand the encouragement of national art. Mierevelt, Ravesteyn, and Honthorst, the accredited portrait-painters of the House of Orange, divided his patronage with the *Italianisers*, notably Moses Uytenbroeck, Pieter de Grebber, and Dirck Bleker. The prince was a liberal paymaster, for we find him giving the then considerable sum of 1,700 florins for a *Venus* by the mediocre Bleker. Constantine Huygens, his secretary, acted as intermediary in his transactions with artists, and we have seen how high was the opinion entertained by Huygens of Rembrandt, who had long been intimate with him and his family. It will be remembered that Rembrandt painted the small

portrait of his brother Maurice in 1632, and that of his brother-in-law, Admiral Philip van Dorp, in 1633, for though the portrait in the Hermitage which is supposed to represent the latter differs both in feature and costume from S. Savery's engraving, this engraving was certainly after a portrait by Rembrandt, as is stated in the inscription. It was probably in consequence of his acquaintance with Huygens that the young master was recommended to the Prince's favour. Several letters exchanged between Rembrandt and Huygens give some interesting information in connection with a series of compositions bought at various intervals by the *Stathouder*. In 1781 these works passed from his collection to that of the Elector Palatine, and subsequently from the Düsseldorf Gallery to the Munich Pinacothek, where they are now preserved.

FRAGMENT FROM THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.
1633 (Munich Pinacothek).

In 1633 Rembrandt had two of the finished works in his studio, the *Elevation of the Cross* and the *Descent from the Cross*. The opening letter of the correspondence doubtless refers to these.[1] One of them had taken the *Stathouder's* fancy,

[1] The original, of which Vosmaer gives both a copy and a translation (p. 187), is in the British Museum.

and he had announced his intention of buying it. The artist invites Huygens to come and see whether the pendant, which is also

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.

1633 (B. 81).

for sale, might not suit the Prince. He values it at 200 livres, but with perfect confidence in the judgment of "his Excellency, he will be content with what he offers." He adds in a postscript

that "the effect of the picture will be much enhanced by hanging it in a strong light." Like all the other works of the series, the *Elevation of the Cross* is an upright picture rounded at the top. As in Rubens's great triptych in Antwerp Cathedral, the cross, held obliquely aloft, divides the gloomy sky, against which the livid body of the Saviour is relieved, into two equal portions. The features bear the marks of unspeakable suffering; the eyes are raised as if in supplication to the Father. A soldier in helmet and armour, and four persons who support the cross below, are endeavouring to raise it. At a little distance a captain in an oriental dress and high turban superintends the execution, mounted on a white horse, only a portion of which is seen. To the left guards are bringing forward the two thieves. A man in a blue cap, whose features bear some likeness to those of the painter himself, clasps the lower part of the cross, and looks pityingly at the pierced and bleeding feet of the Divine Sufferer. Surrounding the central group is a confused crowd of soldiers, women, priests, and curious bystanders. The subject is clearly expressed in its more salient features, and the strongly illuminated figure of Christ is in striking contrast with the mysterious gloom of the background.

In the *Descent from the Cross*, the central group of which we reproduce, the body of Christ has just been detached; His head, convulsed with agony, falls upon His shoulder. A man, leaning over one of the arms of the cross, holds up the winding-sheet on which four persons standing below support the body. The precious burden, drooping, mangled, and inert, is received with tender respect. On the ground below the disciples and the holy women arrange the draperies for His burial, or press forward to aid the Virgin, who falls fainting into the arms of the Magdalene. A man with a gray beard, in a turban, looks on callously at the pathetic scene, his indifference emphasising the emotion of those around him. Though the picture is carefully executed and elaborately finished, we detect various hesitations and corrections. A very evident *pentamento* shows that the two upper figures on either side of the Christ were originally rather higher up.

The condition of this work, as of the others of the series in the Pinacothek, is very unsatisfactory. It is covered with cracks and repaints, and the shadows have become so opaque that it is almost impossible to distinguish the details of background and foreground.

The master's numerous variations on this, the most remarkable picture of the series, show that he himself had a strong predilection for it. The first in order are two etchings, evidently of later date than the picture, for the proofs are reversed. One was left unfinished by Rembrandt, the other was executed under his direction. We shall have more to say of these later on. The following year (1634) he painted a replica, at one time in the Cassel Gallery, whence it passed to the Malmaison collection, and eventually to the Hermitage (No. 800 in the Catalogue). In this instance the master seems to have felt that his increased breadth of manner called for larger dimensions.[1] The excellent condition of the work allows the student to observe the gradations of light more exactly than is possible in the earlier example. Its full brilliance is focused on the body and the white winding sheet, and falling less vividly on the figures that surround the cross, it gradually melts away into shadow relieved only by livid reflections, among the persons of the background. Thanks to the learned economy of these modulations, simplicity and unity are preserved in the general effect, in spite of the multiplicity of episodes and contrasts.

The Prince's purchases were not confined to these two pictures. He was doubtless pleased with his acquisition, for a letter written by Rembrandt in February, 1636,[2] informs us that Frederick Henry had commissioned the painter to produce three other works, an *Entombment*, a *Resurrection*, and an *Ascension*, "uniform with the *Elevation of the Cross* and the *Descent from the Cross*" already received by the *Stathouder*. The artist tells Huygens that "one of the three pictures, the Christ ascending into Heaven, is finished, and the others are

[1] The Pinacothek *Descent from the Cross* measures $35\frac{1}{16}$ by $25\frac{5}{8}$ inches; that in the Hermitage, $62\frac{1}{4}$ by $46\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

[2] This date was added long ago by a different hand, but it seems a very probable one, in view of the letter itself, which, after having been for some time in the Verstolk van Soelen collection, was purchased in England in 1871.

more than half done." He could either send the finished work or keep it till he had completed all three; in this matter he would follow such instructions as he should receive. It seems probable that the *Ascension* was straightway delivered, and that the two remaining canvases were not handed over to the Prince till three years later. The dimensions of the *Ascension* ($36\frac{1}{4} \times 26\frac{3}{8}$ inches) are almost the same as those of the preceding pictures, but it has darkened even more than these, and is indeed the worst preserved as well as the least interesting of the series. Here and there we note a face full of expression, such as that of the old man with the gray beard among the disciples, clasping his hands in an ecstasy of love and adoration. But the little angels scattered about the sky are singularly ungraceful, and the strange attitude and fantastic draperies of Christ Himself are entirely opposed to the sentiment of such a scene.

The last two pictures of the series, the *Entombment* and the *Resurrection*, were not completed till 1639. On the 12th of January in that year Rembrandt writes again to Huygens, informing him that he "has carried them out with great care and diligence . . . that he has endeavoured to make these the most vigorous and natural of the series, which is the main reason why he has had them so long in hand." He asks whether he shall despatch them, and, in recognition of the secretary's good offices in the transaction, reiterates the proposal of the former letter, that he should accompany them by a canvas some ten feet by eight, which he begs Huygens to accept for his own house. The latter seems, however, to have hesitated, but Rembrandt returns to the charge a few days later (January 27, 1639) in another letter, in which he asks for instructions as to the consignment of the pictures, and begs that payment may be made "as promptly as possible." He trusts "that Huygens will not disdain this, the first souvenir he has offered him," seeing what a pleasure it will be to the artist thus to acknowledge his indebtedness to the secretary. He further requests in a postscript, as on a former occasion, that the picture may be hung "in a strong light, so that it may be looked at from a distance, for thus it will be seen to the best advantage." The order for the transmission

The Geographer.

Pen and Wash.

(ALBERTINA.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur. Paris

of the pictures having duly arrived, Rembrandt sent them off, with a few lines stating the price he expected to receive for them. He supposes that he will not be offered "less than 1000 florins for each; however, should his Highness think this more than they are worth, he must give what he thinks right. He (Rembrandt), for his part, relies on the judgment and discretion of his Highness, and will gratefully receive the sum allotted to him."

PORTRAIT OF REMBRANDT.
1633 (B. 17).

Although later by three years than the *Ascension*, the *Entombment* and the *Resurrection*—the latter is dated 1639—might easily be assigned to the same year. This may be explained in a great measure by the fact that all three were begun before 1633, and that Rembrandt, when finishing the two last, evidently tried to make both style and execution conform to his first inception. But we shall see that in the interval he had modified his manner very considerably. His increased breadth and simplicity now enabled him to express himself more vigorously and clearly.

The conception of the *Entombment* lacks neither grandeur nor eloquence. The cave, its entrance hung with creepers; the distant view of Calvary, with the sinister outlines of the three crosses against the horizon; the turbulent crowd, the fitful gleams of light, the heavy shadows round the pallid corpse—all these are details

worthy of the master, and attest the wealth of an imagination that discovered aspects undreamt of by his predecessors in the most hackneyed themes. We must not, however, overlook defects so obvious as the meagre and puny figure of the Christ, the repulsive ugliness of several among the bystanders, the multiplicity of episodes, and the complexity arising from the use of such various sources of light as the golden reflections of the setting sun on the horizon, the flaming torch which Nicodemus shades with his hand, and the lantern to the right of the picture. In spite of such blemishes, the work seems to have been highly appreciated in its day, for three copies, made probably in Rembrandt's studio, are extant, one in the Brunswick Museum, and two in the Dresden Museum. One of the two at Dresden (No. 1566 in the Catalogue) appears to have remained in his studio, for the master worked upon it himself in certain places, and finally added his own signature, and the date 1653. The execution of the work he thus consented to father is very unequal. Certain portions, such as the group of holy women to the right, and the men who are bearing the body, are elaborately finished, while the figures in shadow at the mouth of the cave are touched in with a heavy and inexperienced hand. The figure of Christ is merely indicated, the black outlines of breast, legs, and arms being plainly visible through the paint. The heavy impasto of the winding-sheet is also hastily laid on with a broad brush. Rembrandt afterwards remodelled the composition in two etchings (one executed about 1645, the other in 1654), and in a pen drawing, formerly in the Crozat collection, and now in the Stockholm Museum. The arrangement is much simpler here, but the sketch has the same upright form as the earlier work, and Rembrandt, no doubt, intended to paint it in this shape, for the proposed dimensions of his picture are in his handwriting on the margin.

The complexity, ugliness, and faults of taste that mar the *Entombment* are still more glaring in the *Resurrection.* It would be difficult to conceive of a figure more uncompromisingly vulgar than that of the angel who has rolled away the stone from the sepulchre; and the frightened soldiers, tumbling confusedly one over another, are grotesque in the extreme. And yet, while admitting such defects, we recognise

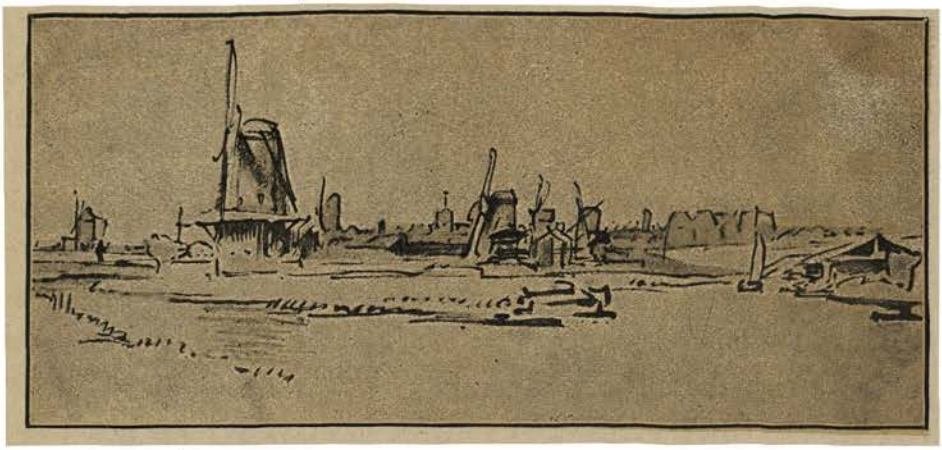
Rembrandt's brilliant creative genius in the figure of the Saviour, which dominates the whole scene, in spite of the complexity of its lines, and its violently contrasted effects. This central figure, raising itself slowly by one hand laid on the edge of the tomb, is little short of a miracle of invention. For those who have once seen it, it is impossible to forget that wan face, hardly living as yet, in which life seems to be slowly dawning as they gaze—the hollow eyes struggling to see—the uncertain gestures of the helpless limbs. It is one of those indefinable conceptions which seem to lie almost beyond the resources of painting—one which only the frank audacity of genius could attempt, or bring to a happy and powerful issue.[1]

The *Resurrection* is the last of this series, which, in spite of the intervals dividing the works, we have taken consecutively, by reason of their analogies of arrangement and execution, and also because they deal continuously with the various episodes of the Passion. Interesting as they are, they cannot be ranked among Rembrandt's masterpieces. His anxiety to please the Prince, and to justify the honour done to himself, led him perhaps to multiply figures and contrasts in works the scale of which unfitted them for such complexity of treatment. It is evident that the master was no longer at his ease in the dimensions he had formerly affected. He seems further to have been haunted by memories of the Italians who had treated these lofty themes before him; but in their passage through his Dutch imagination these involuntary reminiscences lost much of the grandeur and beauty that charm us in the masters of the Renaissance. By forcing his talent to a certain extent, he abated something of his power. He amazes us by the originality of his combinations, but he no longer moves us as in familiar scenes better suited to his temperament. The absence of his characteristic merits emphasises his defects, his eccentricities and vulgarities, his tendency to crowd his compositions with a bewildering mass of details. Yet his sincerity is unquestionable,

[1] The condition of this picture is no better than that of the others of the series, in spite of the somewhat pretentious inscription placed on the back by the Elector's court-painter, who restored it in the eighteenth century: *Rembrandt creavit me; P. H. Brinckmann ressuscitavit.*

and, as he says in the letter already quoted, he believed he had put into these works "as much of life and reality as possible." But such qualities, which were indeed peculiarly his own, are less apparent here than in many earlier works. The time was to come when he would attain to them more absolutely, with infinitely less of effort, preserving all his "reality," with an increasing mastery of the resources of a subject, and a fuller power of expressing its picturesque and its emotional aspects.

REMBRANDT'S MOTHER.
1633 (B. 351).



PEN DRAWING, HEIGHTENED WITH SEPIA.

(Heseltine Collection.)

CHAPTER IX

SASKIA VAN UYLENBORCH AND HER FAMILY—REMBRANDT'S PORTRAITS OF HER—'THE JEWISH BRIDE'—REMBRANDT MARRIES SASKIA (JUNE 22, 1634)—STUDIES AND PICTURES PAINTED FROM HER: THE 'ARTEMISIA' IN THE PRADO, THE 'BURGOMASTER PANCRAS AND HIS WIFE,' THE 'REMBRANDT AND SASKIA' IN THE DRESDEN GALLERY—HIS INDUSTRY.

REMBRANDT WITH MOUSTACHIOS.

About 1634 (B. 2).

WE have seen how laborious were Rembrandt's first years at Amsterdam. But our long list of the works painted at this period is far from complete. To it we must add a number of drawings, and many etchings, executed either by himself, or under his supervision. As, however, any discussion of the latter involves vexed questions as to collaborators, we will consider them in our next chapter, when dealing with the first pupils whom the master's fame attracted to his studio. Indefatigable as was Rembrandt, and jealously as he guarded the time he desired to consecrate wholly to his art, we cannot but marvel that such an extraordinary mass of work should have been accomplished by one man. A whole series of portraits

painted at this period remains to be noticed: those which the young artist, faithful to a habit he retained throughout his life, painted either from himself, or from his intimates. They form an important section of his *œuvre*, and, apart from their intrinsic merits, are interesting as throwing considerable light upon his career at this date.

Among the portraits of 1632 is one in the Haro collection, dated, and signed with the monogram of the period, followed by the words: "Van Ryn." It is an oval, on canvas, and represents a young girl, her face in profile, and turned to the left. The forehead is somewhat prominent, the nose straight and small, but thickening slightly towards the end, the mouth very dainty, the face rather full, with a hint of an approaching double chin, the small eyes rather heavily lidded. These irregular and by no means remarkable features are glorified by a brilliant complexion, and fair hair waving over the forehead in charming disorder. The costume is remarkable for its elegant simplicity, and the execution, agreeing with the attitude and expression, is irreproachably correct and demure. This young girl, whose features we shall recognize in many works painted during the nine years of life that remained to her, was Saskia van Uylenborch, who was shortly to become Rembrandt's bride.

A native of Friesland, she had lost her mother in 1619[1]; her father, the scion of a wealthy patrician family of the province, had served in the magistracy of Leeuwarden either as *échevin* or burgomaster from 1584 to 1597. He was a distinguished jurisconsult, and so well reported of among his fellow-citizens that several political missions had been entrusted to him. One of these took him to Delft in 1584, to communicate with William of Orange, and when a guest at the Prince's table he was almost a witness of his assassination, of which he wrote an account to his employers. Rombertus died himself not long after his wife, in 1624. By this time most

[1] For the details relating to Saskia's family we are indebted to Mr. W. Eckhoff, an archivist of Leeuwarden, who published them in a pamphlet called *La Femme de Rembrandt*. 1862.

of his nine children were settled in life. Two of his sons followed their father's profession; the third was a soldier. His daughters, with the exception of Saskia, were all married: Antje, to one J. Maccovius, a professor of theology at Franeker, and an ardent Calvinist; Hiskia, to Gerrit van Loo, secretary of the commune of the Bildt, who lived in Saint Anna-Parocchie, one of the parishes of this bailiwick, towards the southern extremity of Friesland; Titia, to the commissary Frans Copal; Jeltje, to a compatriot named Doede van Ockema; while the fifth, Hendrickje, wedded, on August 19, 1622, Wybrandt de Geest, the artist. De Geest was an historical painter and clever portraitist, born at Leeuwarden in 1596. From 1611 to 1630 he had travelled, for a time in France, but mainly in Italy, where his talents were so highly appreciated that he received the nickname of the *Eagle of Friesland.* After a short sojourn in Antwerp he settled in his native city, where he died in 1659. The Ryksmuseum owns a considerable number of portraits by him of the Counts of Nassau, *Stathouders* of Friesland, or princes of their family, and, thanks to the generosity of Dr. Bredius, the collection has lately been enriched by a fine portrait of a lady, full-length and life-size. These works, which testify to the esteem in which he was held, are somewhat in the manner of Moreelse and Mierevelt; but his masterpiece, a family portrait in the Stuttgart Museum, painted in 1621, shortly after his return to Leeuwarden, shows greater originality, both of observation and execution.

Saskia, who was left an orphan at the age of twelve, had lived with several of her sisters in turn, and also with a cousin, wife of the minister Jan Cornelis Sylvius, who had worked for a time in Friesland, before his "call" to Amsterdam, in 1610. Another cousin of Saskia's, Hendrick van Uylenborch, was, as we know, established in the town, where, after practising for a time with little success as a painter, he became a dealer in pictures and bric-à-brac. We know further that Rembrandt, even before leaving Leyden, was sufficiently intimate with him to lend him a considerable sum of money, and to accept his hospitality during his brief sojourns

in Amsterdam. When the young master settled in the city, these friendly relations were maintained, and we may naturally conclude that it was Hendrick who induced Saskia to have her portrait painted by Rembrandt. The young couple were thus brought together, and were apparently mutually pleased. It gradually became a habit with Saskia to visit the artist's studio, and she sat to him again twice in this same year, 1632. But on these occasions the result was not a set portrait as before, and the likenesses in the Stockholm Museum and the Liechtenstein Gallery[1] are very different in character to the Haro example. Dated 1632, and signed with the monogram used by Rembrandt at this period, the one represents Saskia in profile, the other full-face. Her peculiar and, in our opinion, easily recognisable features are modelled with no less delicacy than before, but with greater breadth, the result being more a study than a portrait. Her face had become familiar to Rembrandt, and he now lays greater stress on the dazzling bloom of her fair complexion, the expression of her small but brilliant eyes, and the beauty of the silky hair, waving in golden abundance about her face. The costume, which is almost identical in both studies, is less severe than in the earlier portrait. The young sitter has allowed the painter to drape her in the gold-embroidered cloak which was one of his studio "properties," and

PORTRAIT OF SASKIA.
1632 (M. Haro).

[1] The latter was bought at the Secrétan sale.

The Jewish Bride (about 1632).

(LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY.)

Imprimerie Lemercier-Wittmann Paris (France)

in which various members of his family had already figured. The costume and general treatment of these two portraits, which evidently followed close upon the earlier picture, seem to indicate a rapid growth of intimacy between the two young people.

We believe Saskia to be the original of another work, signed, and dated 1632, which was famous at the end of the last century as *The Jewish Bride*.[1] It was recently bought from Sir Charles Robinson by M. Sedelmeyer, and has since passed into the possession of Prince Liechtenstein. Seated, and almost facing the spectator, the young woman wears a white satin dress embroidered with gold, and over it the heavy crimson mantle we have already pointed out in several pictures of this period. An old woman stands behind her, combing her long fair hair. The figures are relieved by an architectural background of warm gray, which brings out the reds of the drapery, and the cool carnations. A low bench and a candelabrum are just distinguishable against the wall. The face and hands of the young woman are exquisitely modelled in very high tones, and the learned precision of touch and transparent delicacy of the chiaroscuro make this labour of love one of the most important, as it is certainly one of the best preserved, works inspired by

PORTRAIT OF SASKIA.
1632 (Stockholm Museum).

[1] It figured in Madame de Bandeville's sale in 1787 under this name.

Saskia at this period. Dr. Bode, however, believes that this picture, and the portraits just described, represent Rembrandt's sister Lysbeth.[1] But against this opinion we may urge that Rembrandt is not likely to have painted an elaborate portrait of his sister, like that in M. Haro's collection, at a time when he was overwhelmed with commissions, and that such careful treatment of the model was entirely opposed to his usual dealings with sitters of his own family. Besides which, a comparison of the various studies here reproduced with the acknowledged portrait of Saskia in the Cassel Gallery, to which we shall return presently, will convince our readers of the identity of type, so far as it is possible to trace it in works so freely treated, and so evidently rather in the nature of studies than of portraits.

Be this as it may, Rembrandt now neglected no opportunity of closer intimacy with Saskia. He had made the acquaintance of the Sylvius family, with whom she was living at this time, and a portrait of the minister occurs among the etchings of 1633. Sylvius was then a man of about sixty-nine, and had been working in the ministry for over forty years. He was held in general respect, and a Latin epigraph, written by C. van Baerle for another portrait of Sylvius, engraved by Rembrandt in 1646, justly extols his learning, his eloquence, his simplicity of life and dignity of manners, and the authority with which such qualities endued his teaching and example. In the print of 1633 Sylvius is represented almost full face. His features are venerable and somewhat austere, and their expression harmonises with his bearing and attitude. He has paused for a moment in his reading, and meditates, his two hands laid upon the open book before him. An inscription made by Rembrandt on one of the prints shows that the artist had presented him with several impressions of the portrait: "To Jan Cornelis Sylvius, these four impressions."[2]

Rembrandt's numerous portraits of Saskia, and his attentions to

[1] See the article in the *Graphischen Künste* already quoted.

[2] The print in question belonged to Madame van Lennep, a descendant of Sylvius, in 1860.

members of her family, proclaim the feelings with which the young girl had inspired him. Love, once admitted into that passionate heart, had taken absolute possession. Up to this date the young painter had lived a very retired life at Amsterdam; he had no taste for the amusements that pleased his brother-artists, and was never to be met with in any of the taverns or other haunts frequented by them. Absorbed in his art, he never willingly left his studio. A man with such habits and with Rembrandt's loving disposition must have longed for a home of his own; his thoughts naturally turned to marriage. His meeting with the gentle well-born girl was not without results. She, he felt, was the mate for him. He accordingly unbosomed himself to the Sylviuses, her guardians. In a family which, though mainly composed of ministers and lawyers, already reckoned several artists among its members, no prejudice was likely to be felt against his calling. De Geest was making an honourable living in Friesland, where he was highly esteemed; a cousin of Saskia's, named Rombertus like her father, was also a painter, and, finally, there was Hendrick van Uylenborch, ready to answer for his friend at need. He had kept up the most friendly relations with the artist, and to him Rembrandt confided in 1633 the sale of the important engraving the *Descent from the Cross*, which, if not actually by the master himself, was at least executed from his design and bears his signature. Hendrick's dealings with collectors enabled him to give his relatives a favourable account of the young painter's means. No artist was more sought after in Amsterdam at that period, nor was there one whose future seemed so full of brilliant promise. He was the fashionable portrait-painter of the day; sitters of the highest social position in Amsterdam were always to be found in his studio; the *Stathouder* himself had honoured him with important commissions. His earnings were therefore considerable, and even to a bride of independent fortune, like Saskia, the position he offered was an enviable one. The evidence as to character was equally favourable, his goodness to his parents, his studious life, and temperate habits being greatly to his credit. His moderation was remarkable, for, according to Houbraken: "He lived very simply, and when at work contented

himself with a herring or a piece of cheese, and bread." His only extravagance was one with which Hendrick was not disposed to find fault. This was his passion for curiosities and *objets d'art*, which he was just beginning to collect. But no one was likely to blame him for thus adorning his dwelling. It seemed, indeed, commendable, and in some measure a guarantee of domesticity. We may add that the portraits he painted of himself at this period —one at Dulwich, and one at Petworth, both dated 1632, and very delicately handled; one in the Hague Museum (about 1633 — 1634), where he figures in the martial costume he loved to don; and two in the Louvre, dated 1633 and 1634, where the treatment is broader and freer—all represent him as peculiarly attractive in person. The last of these, especially, is the portrait of an accomplished cavalier; his open face and confident bearing bespeak the full maturity of strength and of genius, together with the easy good breeding of one at home in society.

PORTRAIT OF SASKIA.
1632 (Liechtenstein Collection).

The career that was opening before Rembrandt, his sober life, his industry, and his personal charm, pleaded powerfully in his favour. The position he had secured by his talents was such as to inspire confidence even in the cautious minds of the Sylviuses, while Saskia was naturally won by his youthful ardour, and the halo of

glory that already encircled his name. His suit was successful, and the numerous portraits he painted of his betrothed show that the young couple were much together. But, whether to test the strength of their attachment, or to allow the young girl herself to bestow her hand upon her lover, the marriage was deferred till after her majority. In the interval, Rembrandt fed his passion, both for Saskia and for his art, by multiplying portraits of her. We recognise her type, as we know it from Prince Liechtenstein's picture of 1632, in an oval painting belonging to Baron Hirsch, dated 1633. The head, with its unruly auburn hair, rounded forehead, and dainty, pouting mouth, is turned almost full to the spectator. The fresh carnations are brought into strong relief by the brown background and the neutral gray of the deep shadows. In another portrait, in the Dresden Museum, signed, and dated 1633, the head is slightly turned, and gaily illuminated by a ray of sunlight. The crimson cap with its gray plume throws a warm transparent shadow over the forehead. A blue dress patterned with white is coquettishly trimmed with gold loops and shoulder-knots, and the hands are encased in gray gloves. The half-closed eyes twinkle roguishly, and the smiling lips reveal teeth whiter than the pearls upon the chemisette. Radiant in all her youthful bloom, Saskia

PORTRAIT OF SASKIA.
About 1634 (Cassel Museum).

seems to be dreaming of the life which looked so full of happy promise.

The portrait of Saskia in the Cassel Gallery is of a totally different character. Though painted with extreme care, and perhaps one of the most finished and elaborate of Rembrandt's works, it is neither signed nor dated. It was probably painted for Saskia herself, and there was no need to attest an authenticity which the picture itself proclaimed.[1] The young girl wears a broad-brimmed hat of red velvet, with a sweeping white feather. Her face is in profile, and this must certainly have been the aspect he thought most favourable to her, for she is about the only person he painted thus. The complexion is as brilliant as ever, and, though the face is now rather thinner than in the Haro and Stockholm portraits, the characteristic features are the same, notably the shape of the eyes, the nose, thickening a little towards the end, and the slightly compressed lips. Saskia's dress and jewels are extremely rich, and her picturesque but *voyante* costume is rendered with great elaboration.[2] It is evident that, together with a scrupulous study of nature, the painter desired to show the utmost refinement of knowledge in his modelling, enhanced by all the additional charm to be won from harmony of colour and delicacy of chiaroscuro. An allusion to the relations between the artist and his model is to be found in the sprig of rosemary—the emblem of betrothal in Holland—which the young girl holds against her heart with her right hand.

As the date fixed for their marriage was still distant, Saskia left Amsterdam for Franeker in the autumn of 1633. She may have been summoned by her sister Antje, who was probably an invalid at the time, for she died November 9, 1633. Saskia then went to the Van Loos, at Anna-Parocchie, where she spent the winter.

[1] The replica of this portrait in the Antwerp Museum, which long passed for an original, is a somewhat heavy and mediocre copy made in Rembrandt's lifetime, probably by one of his pupils.

[2] The skilful restoration undertaken by Herr Hauser in 1888 has revived the extraordinary brilliance of this picture, and has brought to light several *pentamenti*, such as an alteration of the hat, which Rembrandt, eager to beautify his mistress, had at first adorned with one or two more feathers.

Portrait of Saskia (about 1636—1637).

(MR. SAMUEL JOSEPH'S COLLECTION.)

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann Paris (France)

But she must have paid a visit to Amsterdam in the spring of 1634, for Rembrandt then painted a fresh portrait of her. This was the picture in the Hermitage, somewhat unaccountably known as *The Jewish Bride.* The title *Flora* would be more appropriate. Following a very general fashion of the period, Saskia is arrayed as a shepherdess, and stands at the mouth of a grotto hung with creepers. In her right hand she holds a flower-twined crook; on her head is a heavy wreath of ranunculus, anemone, fritillary and iris, a columbine, and a striped red and white tulip. Some sprays of foliage are intermixed with these perhaps somewhat over-abundant spring blossoms. They are, however, very carefully studied from nature, and fix the season at which the picture was painted. The date, 1634, in white figures is placed under the master's signature. The rosy face, turned almost full to the spectator, is strongly illuminated. The luxuriant hair enframing it falls in disorder upon the shoulders. An Oriental scarf is crossed upon her breast, and with her left hand she draws round her the folds of a wide mantle of pale green, which is thrown over her white brocaded gown. Her attitude, the slightly bent figure, and the massing of the folds about the waist, give her a somewhat matronly air, and, but for the unquestionable authenticity of the date, the portrait might well have been painted a year later. Innocent and engaging in her brilliant draperies and gaily tinted flowers, she stands, a graceful apparition, the light falling full upon her. Spring itself seems to be singing a pæan of love and poetry from the master's palette, at the dawn of that year which was to bring about the propitious union. Rembrandt seems to have been pleased with the travesty, for he repeated it, with but slight modifications, in another picture painted not long after, which belonged successively to W. H. Fortescue, the Duke of Buccleuch, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, and in later times to Sir Edmund Lechmere. The composition is almost identical; the young woman faces the spectator, her abundant hair falling about her shoulders. As in the Hermitage picture, she carries a crook wreathed with flowers; but her dress is cut rather lower, and in her left hand she holds a nosegay. The execution is very free, and the treatment more decorative than in the earlier example.

At the beginning of the summer, Saskia returned to her sister Hiskia. The date of the wedding was fixed, and Rembrandt was soon to rejoin her. In the marriage register of Amsterdam, under the date June 10, 1634, we find the declaration made before the commissaries by the *preacher* Jan Cornelis Sylvius, who, as Saskia's cousin, pledges himself on her behalf to give his formal consent to the marriage before the third publication of the banns. On his side Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, of Leyden, aged twenty-six years, residing in the Breestraat, engages to produce his mother's consent in due course, and triumphantly adds the signature of which we give a facsimile.[1]

PORTRAIT OF SASKIA.
1634 (B. 347).

Rembrandt, we may conclude, fetched this consent from Leyden himself, taking the opportunity of a visit to his mother, and then hastened to rejoin Saskia. Four days later, on June 14, he brought the notarial act dealing with the authorisation to Amsterdam, and appealed to the commissaries to abridge some of the formalities connected with the publication of the banns. When all was in order, the artist returned to his bride; the marriage took place in the town-hall of Bildt, in the presence of the Van Loos, June 22, 1634, and was afterwards solemnized at the parish church by the minister, Rodolf Hermansz Luinga.

Ardent in temperament and somewhat unsociable as we know

[1] *Rembrandt: Discours sur sa Vie et son Génie*, by Dr. Scheltema; published and annotated by W. Bürger. Paris. Renouard. 1866.

Rembrandt to have been, we can readily imagine that he hastened to carry off his bride to the home he had prepared, and in which he was impatient to hide his happiness from the world. Saskia's

THE JEWISH BRIDE.
1634 (Hermitage).

simple and loving nature knew no wishes but her husband's. Entirely devoted to him, she never sought to direct his course, and there was no consciousness of sacrifice in the

readiness with which she gave up all to him. Rembrandt's tastes and pleasures should be hers. To him, idleness was impossible; rejoicing in the possibility of combining the two passions of his heart, he set to work at once, taking advantage of the charming model who henceforth was never to leave him. A beautiful silver point sketch in the Berlin Museum, to which Vosmaer was the first to call attention, shows us Saskia's pleasant features, drawn with a firm and elegant touch. The young woman, who wears a broad-brimmed hat, rests her head upon her left hand, and holds a flower in her right. Her face is full of a sweet tranquillity. The inscription written below by Rembrandt gives us the following information: "This is a portrait of my wife at the age of twenty-one, drawn the third day after we were betrothed, June 8, 1633." Vosmaer's rendering of the Dutch term *getrouwt* by the word "married" raises a question as to the authenticity of this drawing, for Rembrandt and Saskia were married, as we know, on June 22, 1634; but, as Dr. Bredius points out, *getrouwt* was also used in the sense of engaged, betrothed. We therefore fully concur with Dr. Bode, who, like Vosmaer, believes the drawing to be by Rembrandt. He justifies the attribution by arguments not merely sufficient in themselves,[1] but fully borne out by the execution, and its analogies with various etchings of this period, representing either Rembrandt himself or Saskia. We may instance a charming little portrait of the latter, dated 1634 (B. 347), drawn with a firm and skilful hand, the face in profile again, and the general appearance marked by great elegance. A fitting pendant may be found in the small portrait of the master himself: *Rembrandt with moustachios* (B. 2). It is neither signed nor dated, but from the great similarity of handling, we believe it to belong to the same year. The air of youth, of manly assurance, and of good breeding that characterise this little etching, make it one of the most attractive of the master's many renderings of himself.

Among the works of this period, many more important than these

[1] *Studien*, p. 423.

Portrait of Saskia (1633).

Lead Pencil.

(BERLIN PRINT ROOM.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

were also inspired by Saskia. Rembrandt, we know, did not wait till after his marriage to deck her according to his fancy. But now that she had become his house-mate, he brought out all the treasures of his wardrobes to vary her attire. For the next few years, she was his most frequent model, and the greater number of his pictures were directly or indirectly suggested by her. Just as in earlier days he had made use of himself and of the various members of his family, for his studies, he now took full advantage of the complaisant model by his side. We recognise Saskia's type in a picture, recently bought by M. Sedelmeyer in England. It belongs to this period, but is disfigured, unfortunately, by several repaints. The likeness to Saskia is more apparent in the picture at the Prado, Madrid, signed and dated 1634.[1] It figures in the Catalogue as *Artemisia receiving the Ashes of Mausolus*, and the title *Cleopatra at her Toilet* has also been suggested. The scene is, in fact, somewhat enigmatical; but we believe it to be probably some episode from Scripture that is represented; *Bathsheba*, the *Bride of Tobias*, or *Judith*, would perhaps more aptly describe it, as Rembrandt rarely drew his subjects from profane history, and showed a marked preference for sacred themes. The young woman, whoever she may be, is turned full to the spectator, and brilliantly illuminated. One hand is laid upon her breast, the other on a table covered with a cloth, on which is an open book. A little girl on the right hands her a small cup, shaped like a nautilus, and an old attendant, who has assisted at her toilet, is just distinguishable in the shadow of the background. She wears a rich costume, and her luxuriant hair floats upon her shoulders. The features, which are somewhat sharply accentuated, and outlined by dark shadows, look rather vulgar in the vivid light, and the only touch of elegance is in the plump and delicate hands. The harmony is high and cool in tone; the colour scheme, as in the *Jewish Bride* of the Hermitage, being made up of pale greens and silvery grays.

Two large portraits dated 1634, which form a pair, were recently

[1] This signature and date are written in white, as in the so-called *Jewish Bride* of the Hermitage, which belongs to the same year.

(in 1889) sold in America. They were at one time in the Princesse de Sagan's collection, and we believe them to represent Rembrandt and Saskia. There are differences, it is true, but the features, though somewhat more elongated, diverge but slightly from the familiar types, and we believe that the artist, here as on other occasions, has concerned himself little with exactitude of likeness, treating the works rather as studies than as portraits. The costumes in which the persons are arrayed confirm such an idea. The yellowish chemisette, worn under a low bodice with a gold trimming, the mantle, fastened both by a clasp and chain, the comb set with pearls, and the numerous jewels, we have already seen in many of Saskia's portraits, and Rembrandt's fondness for the martial accoutrements in which he figures, is attested by several earlier pictures. Both portraits have deteriorated; the opacity of the shadows, which gives them a hard and somewhat gloomy aspect, is due, no doubt, to their indifferent preservation.

The likeness to Saskia and Rembrandt is more apparent, though not very exact, in the so-called *Burgomaster Pancras and his Wife*, in the Queen's collection at Buckingham Palace. Misled by the title, Vosmaer assigned this work to the year 1645, the date of the Burgomaster's marriage. But the husband is undoubtedly Rembrandt, and in the wife's face, save that the oval is rather less pronounced, we recognise Saskia's characteristic features, her rosy mouth, her prominent forehead, and the fair hair waving above it. With Dr. Bredius, we think that the picture must have been painted about 1635.[1] The young woman sits before her mirror, dressed in a rich costume. She is putting the finishing touches to her toilet; with a somewhat affected gesture, she fastens a pearl in her ear, and contemplates the effect with a languishing air. As if she were not already sufficiently bejewelled, her husband, who stands behind her, holds a pearl necklace in readiness for further adornment. He himself wears a rich fancy costume of dark green, the tones of

[1] It is signed: *Rembrant*, and as Dr. Bode has pointed out, this form of the signature, which appears on etchings of 1632, and on the *Susanna* of 1637, in the Hague Museum, was never used after the latter date.

which form a beautiful harmony with the vivid red of the table-cover. On this occasion Rembrandt evidently arrayed his wife himself, enriching her costume with the gorgeous draperies and jewels he had gathered together for her. His

THE BURGOMASTER PANCRAS AND HIS WIFE.
About 1635 (Buckingham Palace).

taste for such acquisitions grew with his delight in thus applying them, and he began to lavish money on the artistic treasures with which he beautified his home. Always something of a recluse, he had none of the desire for change and travel so common among his brother-painters. His world

was but some few feet in extent. It lay between the four walls of a dwelling now doubly dear, since it sheltered both his work and his affections. Some courage may perhaps have been necessary at first, to resist the various temptations that beset his youth and isolated position in a great city. But work had now become an imperious necessity to him. Impatient of all distractions, he wished for no pleasures outside his art, that art which was so closely interwoven with his life, which coloured its every transaction, and to which he turned for the expression of every emotion, profound or transient. Thus the most trifling events of his career are recorded in his pictures. He withdrew himself from the eyes of the world to give his fullest confidence to his art, and in his works his most secret thoughts are revealed to us.

In their happy solitude, forgetful of the outside world, and free from all restraints, the newly married pair found their pleasure, like children, in the merest trifles. Each day some fresh travesty and amusement was devised, some feast or comedy, where each entertained the other, and where they themselves were the sole guests and actors. But even on days like these, the painter could not be idle. He has immortalised one of these innocent orgies in the famous picture of the Dresden Gallery, where he has painted himself, with Saskia sitting on his knee. So fragile and dainty is the little bride that she looks a mere child, in spite of her twenty-two years, and her delicate charm is enhanced by contrast with Rembrandt's robust manhood. The artist is seated in a chair, dressed in a military costume, and brandishes a long glass of sparkling wine in his right hand. With his left, he clasps his wife's waist. Saskia wears a rich, but somewhat fantastic dress. Her sweet, fresh face is turned towards the spectator. Before them is a table covered with an Eastern rug, on which are a plate, and a raised pie surmounted by a peacock with out-spread tail. Rembrandt, whose eyes are slightly misty, laughs aloud, displaying both rows of teeth, and shakes his flowing hair. Saskia's face looks smaller than ever beside his great head; she might be a fairy in the grasp of a giant, confident of her own power, trustful and happy in the love she has inspired. Her expression is

Rembrandt and Saskia (about 1635).

(DRESDEN GALLERY.)

Printed by Eudes et Chassepot Paris (France)

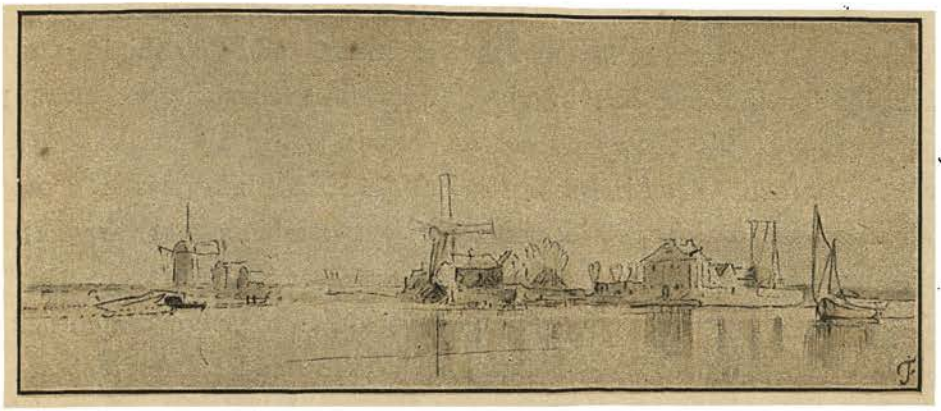
calm, and she seems rather astonished than amused; the faintest suspicion of a smile hovers about her lips. As to the master himself, his noisy gaiety is rather forced; the part he plays seems to involve a certain degree of effort. It is evident that such junketings are not usual with him; that he is a man of sober habits, attracted by the picturesque aspect of the scene, rather than by its appeal to gluttony and sensuality. The exquisite distinction of the harmony, made up of subdued reds and dull greens, the softness and delicacy of the chiaroscuro, the sedate and accurate execution, seem to enter an involuntary protest against Rembrandt's choice of subject.

It is difficult here to avoid an invidious comparison with Hals; we imagine the devil-may-care vigour with which he would have endued such an episode; and recall his rollicking picture of *Ramp and his Mistress.*[1] There, no shadow of constraint or of shame-facedness is to be found. The couple are not posing; they have no thought for the gallery; they are intent on their own amusement, and are enjoying themselves to their hearts' content. What a well-matched pair! With what ardour does the red-cheeked damsel press against the youth, into whose hot head the wine has already mounted! Beside himself, his eyes aflame, he shouts at the top of his voice. A large yellow dog, infected by the excitement of his owners, thrusts his muzzle in between them, begging for a caress. The feverish brilliance of the execution is in perfect harmony with the scene. What decisive vigour in the brushing! With what ease the master rises to the requisite pitch of intoxication! Hals, a frequenter of taverns, had often witnessed such scenes, and delighted to reproduce them. But neither the laxity nor the bravura essential to their treatment was proper to Rembrandt's temperament. He was not at home in this domain, and indeed, made few excursions thither. In his quest for novelty, he seized, it is true, the opportunity of treating a new aspect of life, the elements of which lay ready to his hand. He loved to vary his labours in this fashion, to pass from some study undertaken for his improvement, to a carefully executed portrait, or a composition that stimulated his imagination and his creative faculties. He sought repose in change

[1] Now in the possession of the Comte de Pourtalès in Paris.

of occupation; and though in other respects he was incapable of directing or resisting the impulses of his ardent nature, he at least never failed to turn every successive phase of circumstance to account in the development of his art. The one point on which he showed himself inflexible was in exacting respect for his working hours. This was a matter in which he allowed no trifling. In the hey-day of his happiness, as throughout the cruel sufferings that awaited him, he remained the laborious, indefatigable craftsman, content with nothing short of the highest achievement, and knowing no satisfaction greater than that of entire absorption in his work.

THE CRUCIFIXION.
About 1634 (B. 80).



PEN DRAWING, HEIGHTENED WITH WASH.

(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

CHAPTER X.

REMBRANDT'S ETCHINGS OF THIS PERIOD (1632–1639)—HIS DIVERSITY OF METHOD —STUDIES OF HIMSELF AND FAMILIAR SUBJECTS—PORTRAIT OF J. UYTENBOGAERD —RELIGIOUS COMPOSITIONS—REMBRANDT'S COLLABORATORS—THE 'RESURRECTION OF LAZARUS,' THE 'DESCENT FROM THE CROSS,' AND THE 'ECCO HOMO'—THE THREE 'ORIENTAL HEADS'—THE 'ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE' IN THE HERMITAGE.

TWO TRAVELLING PEASANTS.

About 1634 (B. 144).

AS Rembrandt loved to vary the subjects of his studies, so, too, he took pleasure in constant change from one process to another, and in fully developing the special capacities of each. He painted, drew, and engraved in turn. In his early etchings his methods were extremely simple, in some cases consisting merely of a few strokes of the needle. Even towards the close of his career, he occasionally produced one of these open and simple plates, eloquent in their very concision. But at the same time, he was unwearied in research and experiment bearing on the art in which he had achieved such mastery. He was thus enabled to attempt and to render effects beyond the reach of his predecessors. Learned and complex as were many of his processes, he showed none of the specialist's narrowness in their application; he made free use of them, adapting

them to the exigencies of the moment, and combining them skilfully for the purpose in view. His first consideration was the expression of his thought, and his etchings are always those of a creative artist. The impossibility of detecting his various artifices, and the extraordinary skill with which he combined and varied them, have been much insisted on. But the true secret of his success was his genius. Never relying on mere formulæ to solve difficulties or display technical mastery, he made his docile hand subservient to his commanding mind. A sketch of a few rapid lines was a sufficient record of an idea; while in many instances, his conception of a picture was so vivid, he saw the finished work so completely in his mind's eye, that he was able to dispense entirely with preparation. Instead therefore of tracing from a preliminary drawing, after the manner of most etchers, he sketched his design directly on the copper, and, as Bartsch judiciously observes: "though this perhaps was not the surest means of producing a correct drawing, it effectually preserved all the fire of a first conception."[1] This vitality was indeed a characteristic of his execution, and in many of his works there is such a sudden and vivid quality, such an air of living warmth and movement, that the spectator feels as if he were actually looking on at their creation.

To Rembrandt one of the charms of etching was that it admits of corrections. A severe critic of his own plates, he would lay them aside altogether if they fell below his expectations, or would return to them again and again, never conceiving of them as finished; as with several of his pictures, he overloaded too many by continual retouching. But when he held his hand at the right moment, or worked out an idea methodically, he produced masterpieces of extraordinary originality. The successive retouches, when judiciously applied, gave prodigious flexibility and diversity of effect. In his best plates the mingled audacity and self-control that characterised him find expression in marvellous variety of treatment. The touch is now harsh and abrupt, now mellow and caressing; forms sharply indicated by a few strokes of the needle in the high lights, melt away into

[1] Bartsch, *Essai sur la Vie et les Œuvres de Rembrandt*. Vienna. 1797.

mysterious shadow; in some places the white of the paper is left almost untouched, and plays an important part in the effect; in others it disappears entirely under intense velvety blacks, strong yet transparent. Between the two extremes we note the play of exquisitely delicate modulations, an infinite variety of values, produced either by elaborate gradations of illumination, or by differences of handling. The student is amazed at the expressive power manifested with such restricted methods, at the tones of sonorous harmony the master draws from the instrument he himself created —an instrument which, answering to his every touch, enabled him to call up at will the most vivid of realities, or the most fantastic of visions.

At the period with which we are now concerned, Rembrandt, by dint of unceasing labour and unwearied experiment, had made himself completely master of the difficult art of the aquafortist. His etchings of this date display every aspect of his talent, and range from the most summary[1] sketches to the most finished compositions. He continued to take himself for his model, as he had hitherto done, and as he did indeed to the end of his career. In the plate known as *Rembrandt with a scarf*, signed and dated 1633 (B. 17), he has made his own features the pretext for a study of light. The greater portion of the head is in deep shadow, through which the eyes gleam like carbuncles, while the abruptness of the contrasts, and the somewhat truculent expression of the shaggy head, recall the little portrait in the Cassel Gallery (No. 208), one of his earliest works. In most of these studies he indulges his fancy for travesty. Thus we find him playing the grandee in a plumed cap and braided tunic, a falcon on his wrist (B. 3). This plate was no doubt ill-prepared, and consequently thrown aside by the master, for he neither signed nor dated it. The first state, which is of extreme rarity, was supplemented by some later impressions, but the coarse retouches in these are certainly not by

[1] *I would take leave to remark that the broad landscape etchings—with their novel vision of the world—all belong to a later period, and that the large and luminous method adopted in the 'Clément de Jonghe' of* 1651 *can hardly be said to have been anticipated twelve years before.—F. W.*

his own hand. Two plates, somewhat later in the series (B. 18 and 23), are signed, and dated 1634. In the first, his expression is serious and important; he wears an ermine cape fastened closely round the throat, and a rich gold chain, and grasps a curved sword in his hand. The other, a more delicately executed piece of work, represents him in the costume of a Hungarian magnate; he wears the familiar steel gorget, and a little cap with an aigrette. The likeness is not very striking, and a small wart on the right cheek has caused it to be disputed that Rembrandt was his own model for this plate. But we know that he never adhered very closely to the original in studies of this nature, and the fanciful dress, the general appearance, and the penetrating expression of the eyes, incline us to accept it as a free rendering of his own personality.[1] It was probably his habit to keep several plates always ready to work upon; but if he chanced to be short of these he would take such as came first to hand, even if they happened to be already occupied. A little study of himself, made about 1632, of which only the face is finished (B. 363), is drawn upon a plate on which he had already scratched several heads of old men, and two beggars.

Among the members of his own circle who were his models at this period, none are already familiar to us but Saskia, of whom there is the little portrait already mentioned, with others to be later described, and his mother. An etching of the latter (B. 351) is dated 1633. It may have been executed during some brief visit to Leyden, but is more probably a variation on an earlier plate, the features and attitude bearing a strong likeness to the *Bust Portrait* of 1631 (B. 349). But in addition to these family studies, we shall find a goodly number made from persons of all ranks and ages, more especially from those old men with hooked noses and strongly marked features, of whom he found such a variety of picturesque specimens among the Jewish colony in Amsterdam. To these he turned for the types that figure as rabbis and patriarchs in his Biblical com-

[1] In the first state of this *Rembrandt with a Sword and Aigrette*, the figure is three-quarters length, and the plate is undated; in the later impressions, where the figure is reduced to the head and shoulders, and the plate cut into an oval shape, the date 1634 appears with the signature.

positions. Sometimes these studies were dashed off instantaneously in a few rapid, but purposeful strokes. The *Bald old Man with a short Beard* (B. 306), whom we shall recognise in many subsequent pictures and etchings, is a typical example of this treatment. In other instances very expressive and even elaborate work is contained in the same small dimensions, as in the little plate of *An old Woman asleep* (B. 350). Overcome by drowsiness in the midst of her reading, she leans forward, her head resting on her hand, in a drooping attitude of wonderful truth and reality. An *Old Man with a Long Beard and a Fur Cap* (B. 262) is even finer, though earlier by some years, for it bears the monogram affected by the master in 1632. The print is rich in colour, the execution peculiarly firm and frank, the rendering of the various surfaces —furs, velvets and stuffs—admirably suggestive, while its intimate expression of character places this etching among the most fascinating of the master's works at this period.

BUST OF REMBRANDT, IN AN OVAL.
1634 (B. 23).

Another portrait, more important than that of Sylvius, is signed and dated 1635, and may be said to close this series. It represents the Remonstrant Minister, Jan Uytenbogaerd, a personage who played a great part in the religious history of Holland. Born in 1557, the famous preacher was appointed chaplain to Maurice of Nassau at the outset of his career, and had remained in the prince's service fifteen

years, accompanying him in all his military expeditions. Condemned together with the followers of Arminius at the Synod of Dort in 1618, Maurice's influence had not sufficed to save him from persecution, and he fled the country to escape from his enemies. He took refuge first at Amiens, and afterwards in Paris, till the accession of Prince Frederick Henry enabled him to return to the Hague in 1625. When Rembrandt painted him ten years later, Uytenbogaerd was seventy-eight. His features are somewhat worn, and his benevolent gaze has a touch of sadness; but his frank and open countenance bears the impress of that resolute stoicism which neither age nor suffering could quench, and to which Grotius paid a fitting tribute in the inscription he composed for the portrait: *Jactatus multum; nec tantum fractus ab annis.* The modelling and drawing are equally bold and confident; and the treatment is broad, though sufficiently elaborated. Hence the general effect is simple, and the plate, with which three of the most famous names in Dutch history are associated, worthily inaugurates that great series of etched portraits, nearly all of which may be ranked among Rembrandt's masterpieces.

The execution of these portraits brought Rembrandt into contact with some of his most distinguished countrymen. Meanwhile, his studies of the proletariat were not neglected. He loved to contemplate those scenes of popular life, the actors in which show themselves as they are, and ingenuously display their feelings, with no thought of reserves or affectations. He set himself to reflect this absolute sincerity in his renderings of the street life of Amsterdam. He shows us *Travelling Musicians* (B. 119), performers on bag-pipes and hurdy-gurdy, regaling an astonished audience with their discordant notes; or a *Ratkiller* (B. 121), triumphantly displaying the slain; or a *Mountebank* (B. 129), sword on thigh, vaunting the efficacy of his drugs; or a *Woman making Pancakes* (B. 124) in the open air, and turning her savoury compound in the boiling fat, to the delight of the street-boys round her. These were followed by *A travelling Peasant and his Wife* (B. 144) tramping in vagabond destitution through the country; another *Peasant in Rags* (B. 172) whines for

Portrait of a Man.

Red and Black Chalk.

(LATE HOLFORD COLLECTION.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

an alms, ready at any moment to enforce his demand with the cudgel concealed behind his back.

All these subjects were drawn lightly on the copper, either very frankly sketched from nature, or recorded when the impression of some out-door scene was fresh in the master's memory. The happy facility of the touch shows that he sought distraction in these airy trifles from the more serious works that occupied his days without wholly absorbing his activity. On the other hand, there is manifest effort in the drawings he was commissioned to make for some of the illustrated books Dutch publishers were producing in large numbers at this period. Rembrandt had no aptitude for such tasks. His illustration of Herckmans' text in the plate he engraved for that writer's poem, *The Praise of Navigation* (*Der Zeevaertlof*), should have ensured his exemption from work so little suited to his genius. His incapacity to make himself the medium of another's thoughts on given themes, especially when these were allegorical, resulted in fantastic and incoherent compositions, so obscure that it is impossible to say which particular passage of the author they are intended to illustrate. Thus Vosmaer sees in the engraving *Adverse Fortune* (1633, B. 111), his first essay in this line, a series of allusions to the life of Saint Paul, while others, more plausibly in our opinion, interpret it as dealing with the events that followed the battle of Actium, a subject also touched upon in the text.

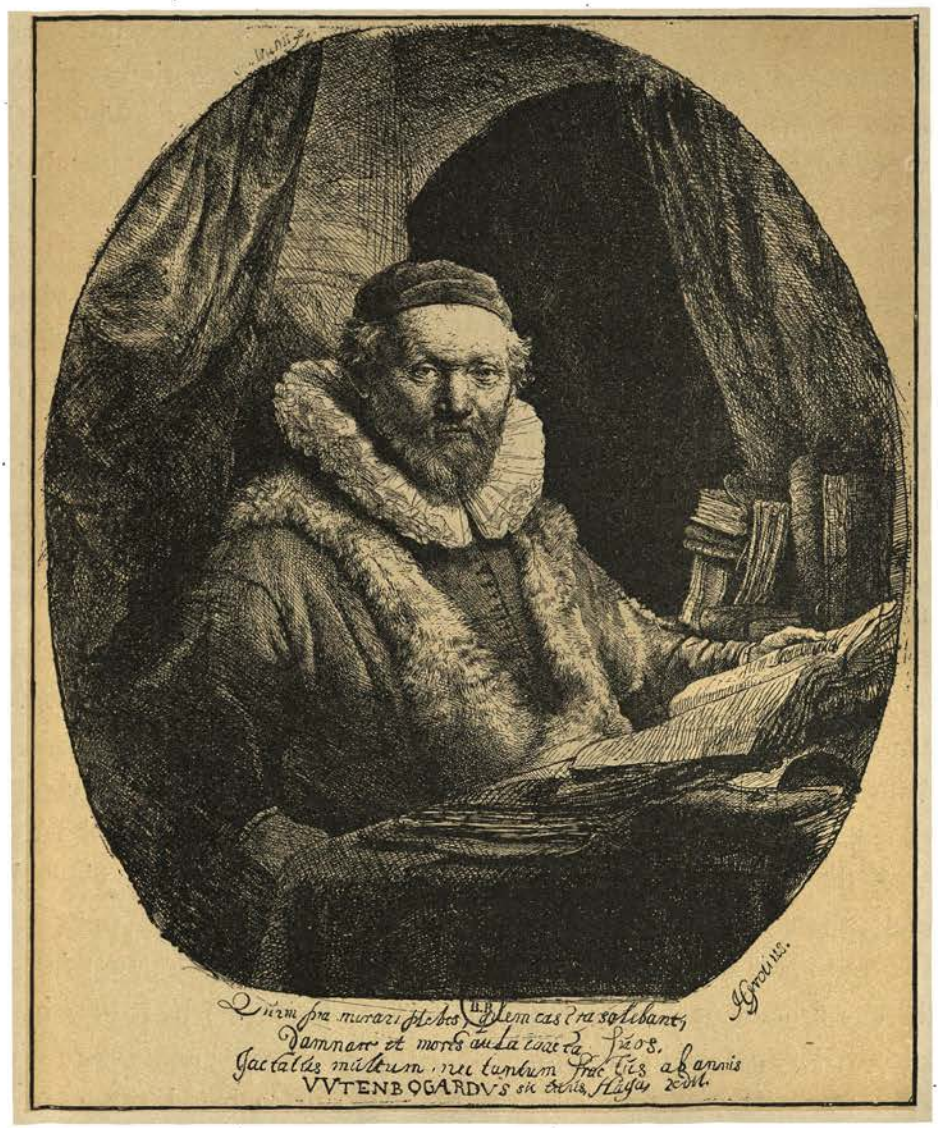
When free to choose his own themes, Rembrandt drew his inspiration mainly from the Scriptures, to him the source alike of the loftiest, and of the most purely human sentiments. Fired by his study of the sacred page, his imagination evoked the episodes he proposed to treat, and marshalled them before his eyes. He then set himself primarily to bring out their most characteristic features. In this endeavour he was often seduced into vulgarity; he introduced details of doubtful taste, and of such excessive homeliness that our sense of fitness is outraged by their presentment in solemn scenes. But he was essentially the child of his century and of his country; and he could not take example by strangers, or conform to received traditions. Some of the episodes that appealed most strongly to him

have already figured in his early works; we shall find that he returned to certain of them throughout his life, and that they never lost their interest for him. At times his mind would be completely possessed by some one subject, which he would take delight in treating from a variety of aspects. We know that he painted a *St. Jerome* in 1631; between 1632 and 1635 three etchings were inspired by the same theme, to which he returned more than once in later years. The earliest of these plates, a *St. Jerome kneeling* (B. 101) was probably executed towards the close of 1632, for it is signed, not with the monogram Rembrandt habitually used throughout this year, but with his full name, as he wrote it at that particular period: *Rembrant.* The other two (B. 100 and 102) are, however, both signed *Rembrandt*, and dated 1634 and 1635 respectively. In all three we find the same impossible heraldic lions, the uncouthness of which has furnished an argument against the authenticity of these plates. The argument loses its force, however, when we remember that these identical beasts figure in the picture of 1631, and in the three *Lion Hunts* (B. 114, 115 and 116) where they are scarcely more realistic, though these plates belong to the year 1641. But even at this date the master had as yet had no opportunity of studying the animals from nature.

Episodes from the lives of the patriarchs, notably Jacob, were also among Rembrandt's favourite subjects. The *Jacob bewailing the Death of Joseph* (B. 38) is of this period. Its authenticity has also been called in question, though both execution and signature seem to us to confirm the attribution to Rembrandt.[1] The frankness of the illumination, the simplicity of the composition, which centres in one happily arranged group, the despair of the old man, even the gestures of the brothers, and the eagerness with which they note the workings of their lie in their father's face, all proclaim the master, and we should look in vain among his pupils and disciples for an artist capable of carrying out such a conception.

[1] This signature, *Rembrant van Ryn*, connects the designation *van Ryn*, which the artist affected in 1632, with the form of the name in which the *d* is omitted, as it appears for a time from 1633 onwards. The etching, therefore, probably belongs to the end of 1632 or beginning of 1633.

Other less important plates, such as the little *Flight into Egypt* (B. 52), *The Tribute Money* (B. 68), *The Crucifixion* (B. 80), and the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* (B. 97), are only noteworthy by reason of



PORTRAIT OF UYTENBOGAERD.

1635 (B. 279).

their picturesque qualities. We have already spoken of the *Good Samaritan* (B. 90). In the little *Disciples at Emmäus* (B. 88) and the so-called *Samaritan Woman "with Ruins"* (B. 71), both of the year 1634, the Christ has much the same characteristics. It is a type of

singular energy, and whether seated at the modest meal at Emmäus, or on the edge of the well by which the woman of Samaria stands, His gaze at the two apostles who have just recognised Him, and at the young woman who hangs upon His words with eager eyes, is full of the same commanding magnetism. But the air of somewhat stern authority and power that marks Rembrandt's conceptions of the Saviour at this period, is better exemplified in a *Christ driving the Money-changers from the Temple*, of 1635 (B. 69). This was a subject often treated by Rembrandt's forerunners, the early Dutch and Flemish masters, who took the opportunity of introducing those masses of vegetables, fowls, and fish which make Beuckelaer's and Pieter Aertsen's renderings of the theme mainly studies of still-life. Rembrandt, though he does not omit these details, uses them merely to emphasise the profanation of the temple. He is rather concerned to oppose the indignation of Jesus, driving the dealers before Him with rods and their tumultuous flight, to the stolidity of the High Priest and his subordinates, who look on impassively at the traffic, tolerant of abuses so profitable to themselves.

As compared with these plates, which, in spite of their various excellences, are somewhat summary in treatment, the *Angel appearing to the Shepherds*, of 1634 (B. 44), is a work of considerable elaboration, and shows evidences of novel aims, together with marked technical advance. The unearthly radiance shining through the gloom, the awe of the shepherds, and the mixed feelings with which they view the miracle, the terror of the flock, and the standing angel, with outspread wings and hand stretched earthward, promising "peace to men of good will," the firmament bright with "a multitude of the heavenly host, singing 'Glory to God in the highest'"—all these were elements suggested by the text. But Rembrandt was the first so to blend them as to draw its full significance from the scene.[1] The rich infinity of the chiaroscuro, and the eloquence of the landscape, to which he gives

[1] The work was carried through with extraordinary vigour and rapidity, as we may see in the first state of this print. The sketch, a very free one, consisting only of a few strokes, merely indicates the places of the animals and figures in the foreground. Govert Flinck, who afterwards treated this subject in a picture now in the Louvre, borrowed the general arrangement of the composition and even many of its details,

greater prominence here than he had hitherto ventured upon, so impress us that we seem to behold all nature trembling at the proclamation of an event that marks a new era in human history. Side by side with broad dense spaces, vague and shadowy in the darkness of night, vigorous silhouettes, defined by gleams of light or intense shadows, detach themselves here and there, and mysterious forms are revealed by dim reflections in the distance. Deep velvety blacks are opposed to exquisitely delicate half-tones, and in the best impressions of this plate every detail proclaims the intimate harmony between handling and conception only to be found in those supreme works in which the soul of the poet breathes through the technical perfection of the artist.

Three etchings of this period have still to be noticed. They are very unequal in merit, but are among the largest of Rembrandt's plates. All three are signed by him, but their authenticity has been questioned, some refusing to see Rembrandt's hand in them at all, others supposing them to be in part by him. In considering them it will therefore be necessary to deal with the more or less active collaboration of Rembrandt's pupils and disciples in some of his works. The point has been widely discussed of late, and has given rise to much lively controversy. We propose to sum up the various opinions of serious students, and to set forth, as concisely as possible, the conclusions at which we have arrived after an impartial survey of the arguments.

It is impossible to deny the fact that Rembrandt accepted the collaboration of his pupils. Universal custom, and even the conditions of artistic apprenticeship at the period, sanctioned the master's exploitation of his scholars. The statutes of the guilds, as we have seen, usually limited the apprenticeship to three years. Throughout this term, and in fact until the pupil had himself become a master in the guild, he had no right either to sign or to sell his works. But in the third year he was allowed, under certain very rigorous restrictions, to paint two or three works of which he shared the profits. All other productions belonged to his master, who, as a rule, did not fail to turn them to good account. Under such

conditions, Rembrandt was not called upon to show himself more scrupulous than his fellows. In the earlier works produced at Leyden, however, we think it impossible that he could have found collaborators among his scholars. The only pupil we can positively assign to him at this date was Gerard Dou, who never practised engraving. As to Willem de Poorter, his apprenticeship to Rembrandt has never been established. He certainly made copies of the master's works,[1] and, like many others, was greatly influenced by him, as we see in his pictures. But there is nothing to prove that De Poorter ever received direct instruction from Rembrandt, and the assumption is in no wise borne out by the little we know of his life. A native of Haarlem, Willem de Poorter was not only himself a member of the Guild of St. Luke in 1635, but had a pupil, Pieter Castelein, whose name he also caused to be inscribed on the list.[2] Besides which, De Poorter was no engraver, and the two etchings formerly ascribed to him on the strength of their signature, P. D. W., have been restored to P. de Witt by general consent. The only other names that can be admitted in this connection among Rembrandt's intimates at Leyden are those of J. Lievens and J. van Vliet, and we know that neither was his pupil.

As regards his sojourn at Amsterdam, however, we have the testimony of Joachim Sandrart, his contemporary, who thus alludes to his industry and his gains: "His house at Amsterdam was frequented by numerous pupils of good family, each of whom paid him as much as a hundred florins yearly, exclusive of his profits from their pictures and engravings, which, in addition to his personal gains, brought him in some 2,000 to 2,500 florins." Such evidence is convincing; but as Sandrart gives neither dates nor names, it is necessary to inquire to what period of the master's career he here refers. Houbraken, who quotes Sandrart's text on this point, remarks that Sandrart was likely to be well informed, as he was personally known to Rembrandt. Now it was from 1637 to 1641 that Sandrart lived in Amsterdam and collected the precious information contained

[1] Notably one from the *Presentation in the Temple* of the Mauritshuis. This copy bears the date 1631, and is in the Dresden Museum.

[2] Van der Willigen, *Les Artistes de Haarlem*, p. 245. 1870.

in the supplement to his reminiscences, the first edition of which was not published till some time afterwards.[1] The period with which Sandrart deals was therefore the time when he was in personal

THE ANGEL APPEARING TO THE SHEPHERDS.
1634 (B. 44).

communication with Rembrandt, some years later than that with

[1] The first edition, which was published in German, appeared in 1675, under the title of *Academia nobilissimæ artis pictoriæ* (Nuremberg). After his departure from Amsterdam, the information touching Dutch artists collected by Sandrart was of a vague and desultory description. In many instances he did not know what had become of the painters of whom he was writing, nor whether they were living or dead.

which we are now concerned, and a question of dates is involved, which has been somewhat laxly treated hitherto. Among the pupils mentioned by Mr. Seymour Haden as possible collaborators of the master on his arrival at Amsterdam is Govert Flinck. Flinck was certainly one of the first of his pupils, but he never engraved. Ferdinand Bol, another of Rembrandt's earliest scholars, no doubt became his assistant in due course, but when he entered the studio (in 1632 at the earliest) he was barely sixteen,[1] and can scarcely have given much help to his master till some years later. Philips de Koninck was not twelve years old in 1632, and Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout was only ten. Lievens, though in no sense a pupil of Rembrandt's, was on such terms of friendship with him, that he might very possibly have been his collaborator. But, as we have already shown, Lievens had left Holland. Mr. Seymour Haden has disputed this fact. He declares that there are no traces of Lievens' sojourn in England, nor of any works there executed by him, though Houbraken, speaking of his departure for Great Britain in 1631, adds explicitly that "he spent three years there, and painted portraits of the King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales." There exists further an engraving by L. Vorsterman after a portrait by Lievens, of Nicholas Lanière, director of music at the English Court. In an inscription on this plate, composed by Lievens, the painter extols the cultivated taste and the talents of Charles I.'s favourite, and speaks of Lanière as his "Mæcenas." Mr. Seymour Haden might have found further proof among Lievens' own etchings. A remarkable plate (B. 59), very delicately etched from another of his own portraits, represents Jacob Gouter, lute-player of the Chapel Royal, to whom the artist "dedicates this souvenir of his constant friendship." Houbraken's very precise statement, supported as it is by these two works, cannot be questioned, and as this finally disposes of Lievens' claims, Joris van Vliet remains the only possible collaborator. A careful examination

[1] The year 1610 was supposed to be the date of his birth until quite recently, when Mr. Veth, in the course of his successful researches among the archives of Dort, discovered that he was really born in 16 6. *Oud-Holland*, 1888, p. 68.

of the three large plates which gave rise to this discussion will show, that in two at least Van Vliet was probably Rembrandt's assistant.

The first of the three, the *Resurrection of Lazarus*, we not only believe to be the work of Rembrandt, but hold also that it was entirely executed by his hand. The monogram with the affix: van Ryn, which forms the signature, seems to us to be alike a confirmation of its authenticity, and an indication of the period to which it belongs, for this monogram was mainly used by the master about 1632. The composition and execution strongly support this hypothesis. The attitude of the Saviour is undoubtedly somewhat theatrical, and, as Charles Blanc remarks, the master seems to suggest that the miracle was the result of some "sublime incantation." But such a conception agrees perfectly with his idea of the Christ at this period, and the air of power and authority with which he has endued Him characterises the various other prints above described. We cannot therefore agree with Mr. Seymour Haden that Rembrandt probably borrowed the idea of his composition from two pictures of the *Resurrection of Lazarus* by J. de Wet, one of which is now at the Hermitage, the other in the Darmstadt Museum, the latter dated 1633. These pictures, which we know, differ essentially from Rembrandt's work, and are in fact considerably later in date. It was, indeed, unlikely that Rembrandt should have been indebted to De Wet for his conception. The subject was one which had long attracted him. Even in the Leyden days it had engaged both himself and his fellow-students. Van Vliet had treated it with his usual coarseness in one of his first plates (B. 4), and Lievens used it both for a picture, recently in Mr. Willett's collection at Brighton, and for one of his best engravings (B. 3). As to Rembrandt, he had twice attempted the rendering of this, an episode so well suited to his powers, before the production of the large plate: once in a pen-drawing now in the Boymans Museum, and again in an early picture, a small panel painted about 1628, and lately acquired by M. Sedelmeyer. In the latter the Saviour stands over the grave, one arm outstretched; at his feet Lazarus struggles to rise, in an awkward but expressive attitude. In the print,

Rembrandt introduces many details of this composition—several of the bystanders, and accessories such as the quiver, the turban, and the Eastern sword which then formed part of his little collection of "properties."[1] But he has remodelled it very successfully, treating it with greater breadth and simplicity. We note however the same exaggerated pantomime among the spectators, the somewhat forced gestures of astonishment and enthusiasm, we have already pointed out in some of the early works, notably the *Presentation in the Temple* of 1628, in the Weber collection at Hamburg. But we look in vain for those conflicting evidences which have led authorities such as Mr. Seymour Haden and Mr. Middleton-Wake to discover, the first the hand of Bol and of Lievens, the second that of Van Vliet, directed by the master. In our opinion Rembrandt is the sole author of the plate, and he alone could have conceived and so eloquently expressed the stupendous miracle, its effects upon the various bystanders, and, above all, the figure of Lazarus, in whose features we note at once exhaustion, suffering, the horror of that death from which he has just been snatched, and the returning life which gradually quickens his enfeebled limbs. Before this creation, one of the most striking produced by the artist, in spite of certain blemishes, we understand and share the admiration so warmly expressed by Alfred Tonnellé: "The omnipotent gesture of the Saviour, whose figure is brilliantly illuminated, is sublime, and everything tends to heighten the general effect; the radiant, unearthly light striking down into the tomb; the pallid corpse rising slowly, in amazement at the splendour that has penetrated his cerements; the gestures of the bystanders, who draw back, dazzled by the blaze of glory, or press forward in transports of delight as the dead man moves. Never was the divine work of resurrection so majestically rendered!"[2]

We have mentioned the *Descent from the Cross* painted for the *Stathouder* in 1633. Rembrandt was evidently pleased with the composition, for he reproduced it almost immediately in a large etching, very elaborately and delicately executed, which he also dated

[1] These accessories also appear in De Wet's picture in the Hermitage, and in Lievens' plate.

[2] Alfred Tonnellé, *Fragments sur l'Art et la Philosophie*, p. 177. Paris. 1860.

1633, signing it with his name, spelt without the d, as we find it on several works of this period. Unhappily, the ground was so imperfectly prepared, that the work suffered greatly in the process

ECCE HOMO.
1636 (B. 77).

of biting, and was even completely destroyed in parts. Only three impressions were taken; the time and trouble bestowed on the plate had proved to be labour in vain, and Rembrandt, who was so fully occupied with other undertakings, shrank from a repetition of the

task. But though he himself abandoned the enterprise, it is very conceivable that he should have commissioned another to carry it out under his direction, hoping to derive some profit from the plate. The originality of the conception, and the author's reputation, ensured it a favourable market. Saskia's cousin, Hendrick van Uylenborch, undertook the publication of this second print, the dimensions of which differed but little from those of the first. It was inscribed with the publisher's name, and with that of Rembrandt, this time correctly spelt, and followed by the words *cum privil.*, in assertion of the rights he had reserved to himself in the undertaking. The most cursory comparison of this copy with the original impression in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* will suffice to show the notable differences between the two. Where, on the one hand, all is ease and freedom, we find on the other the stiffness, monotony, and constraint of imitation. The violent contrasts of blacks and whites and a certain coarseness of touch further betray the hand of Van Vliet, for we agree with Mr. Middleton-Wake, that the execution of the later plate may almost certainly be ascribed to him. Van Vliet seems to have settled in Amsterdam at about the same date as Rembrandt, and the intimate relations existing between them for many years past naturally marked him out for the master's assistant. The choice of Van Vliet as his interpreter was one which Rembrandt found, on the whole, little cause to regret, thanks, no doubt, to his own vigilant surveillance. Notwithstanding the gulf that divides the two, Van Vliet's plate is one of his best, and after a few retouches, Rembrandt thought it not unworthy of his own signature.

The master had some grounds for hesitation, however, when he placed his name beneath an *Ecce Homo* (B. 77) produced a little later. Here it might have been prudent to claim only the honours of conception. A *grisaille* belonging to Lady Eastlake, in which the composition is reversed, formally attests Rembrandt's authorship. It is of great interest, having evidently been drawn by the master for the guidance of his collaborator. Some portions, such as the head of Christ, and the main group, are very carefully elaborated, while others are treated in a most summary manner; the features

of persons in the confused crowd that gathers in the deep shadows of the middle distance are not even suggested. But the general arrangement, the distribution of the light, the style of the architecture, and the surging, tumultuous crowd, agitated by passions so diverse, are such as Rembrandt alone could have conceived in dealing with the episode. On the other hand, the execution betrays the inferiority of the copyist even more unmistakably than in the *Descent from the Cross.* A trial proof pulled before the completion of the plate reveals his almost mechanical methods. Working from the two extremities of the copper towards the middle, he has drawn the shadows cast by various objects before depicting the objects themselves. Another proof, in the second state, belonging to the British Museum, shows corrections made with broad sweeping strokes of the brush to enrich the tonality of the print in certain places, and approximate its values and effects more closely to those of the *grisaille.* These corrections are indubitably by the master's hand. It is even possible that he may have retouched the plate here and there, as, for instance, in several figures of the central group and the foreground. But the execution as a whole is quite unworthy of Rembrandt, as Mr. Seymour Haden and Mr. Middleton-Wake have agreed. It is indeed unworthy even of Lievens, to whom the former critic is disposed to attribute it. We think with Mr. Middleton-Wake that the coarse drawing, the ugly types, the clumsy, heavy handling, all reveal the touch of Van Vliet, and are instinct with that vulgarity which marks his other engravings of this period. Such a production probably convinced Rembrandt that it would be well to rely no further on such an interpreter, and we believe this to have been the last plate on which he employed Van Vliet.[1] He was about to find disciples, Bol, for instance, who proved more docile as interpreters, and whose more refined and subtle intellects better fitted them to grasp and to translate his ideas.

But even at the period when he was surrounded by a numerous band of efficient scholars, Rembrandt never admitted them to

[1] We learn from the inventory of 1656 that the master had a cupboard in his studio full of Van Vliet's engravings from his designs, pictures, or etchings.

any very extensive participation in his works. The peculiar quality of his genius was not such as to gain much by collaboration. He had none of the practical talent which enabled Rubens to profit openly by the labours of a trained body of assistants, each prepared for his special task, in conjunction with whom he found it possible to undertake such vast enterprises as the Medicis series, the great canvases of Antwerp Cathedral, and of the Jesuits' Church, and the Whitehall decorations. Rembrandt's art, always intensely individual and somewhat mysterious, lent itself ill to the intervention of others. As Dr. Bode has justly remarked, he was incapable of utilising the work of his pupils. In a copy from one of his own pictures, *Abraham's Sacrifice*, which he retouched, we find him sweeping away all his disciple's work by a few broad strokes of the brush. It is not surprising, therefore, that Rubens rarely put his name to a picture, while Rembrandt almost invariably signed his. It was his habit to vary the form of his signature on works not entirely by his own hand, as if declining to accept the full responsibility for them. Hence the legends *cum privileg.* or *Rembrandt inventor* already noted on several etchings; also the more enigmatical inscription on three plates, as to which the most contradictory solutions have been proposed. We refer to the three *Oriental Heads* dated 1635 (B. 286, 287, and 288). On these is inscribed beside the name Rembrandt, a word in very minute characters which was long read as *Venetiis*, and adduced in

BUST PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN.
By Lievens (B. 26).

support of the tradition that Rembrandt visited Venice in 1635. M. Charles Blanc, protesting against this groundless hypothesis, made a fresh attempt to decipher the word, and proposed to read it *Renetus* (of the Rhine), the Latin form of *van Ryn*, a solution which, though no nearer the truth, had at least more appearance of probability. The word, as Vosmaer was the first to discover, is really the Dutch participle *geretuckerdt* (retouched), and this pronouncement gives the key to another difficulty in connection with the plates, namely, that all three are also to be found among Lievens' etchings (B. 18, 20, 21)—the first reversed, the second in duplicate right and left, and the third in facsimile. M. Dutuit makes the very plausible suggestion that Lievens' plates were the originals, that Rembrandt gave them to his pupils to copy, and corrected their replicas. His signature would in this case merely assert that the plates have been retouched by him. The scratches in the background show that he made use of a sheet of copper on which another drawing had been begun; he can therefore have attached no great importance to them. M. Dutuit anticipates the only objection to this explanation, namely, that Rembrandt and Lievens were no longer in close communication as formerly, Lievens having taken up his abode in Antwerp after his return from England. His sojourn at Antwerp lasted from

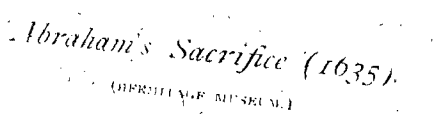
THE MAN IN A MEZÉTIN CAP.
About 1635 (B. 289).

1635 to 1640. But he may possibly have visited Amsterdam, in which city he afterwards settled; or he may simply have sent the plates to his old friend. A detail which seems to support M. Dutuit's conjecture is, that the facial type in two of the plates is that of Rembrandt's father, a fact which would give them a peculiar interest for the master. Nor were these the only plates exchanged by the two artists. There is a fourth which appears among the works of each. This is the charming *Man in a Mezetin Cap* (B. 289) which Rembrandt probably etched in 1635. In Lievens' version (B. 26) the face is beardless, but the composition is reversed; and the attitude, the costume, the headdress, and the upper part of the face are identical, while as regards the execution there is little to choose in point of skill. Here again Rembrandt has merely initialed the copy, in which he has sacrificed strict fidelity to picturesqueness of detail, adding the beard, and some stray locks of hair, indicated by a few skilful touches.

The two friends never lost sight of one another. They were no doubt pleased to renew their former intimacy, when Lievens renounced his wandering life, and settled at Amsterdam shortly after 1643. Rembrandt, we know, had a sincere admiration for his compatriot's talent, as the inventory of 1656 sufficiently proves. It records his possession of a book of prints by Lievens, and no less than nine pictures, among them a *Resurrection of Lazarus*[1] and an *Abraham's Sacrifice*. The latter, which was eulogised by Philip Angel in his *Praise of Painting* so early as 1632, represents the patriarch clasping Isaac tenderly in his arms, and looking gratefully upwards to the Lord who has preserved his son.

Abraham's Sacrifice was one of the Biblical episodes most affected by the *Italianisers*. But the moment they usually chose was not that treated by Lievens. Their theme was more often the Angel staying the hand of the patriarch. This was the point in the drama which also appealed to Rembrandt, not only as the most impressive, but as lending itself most readily to those effects of chiaroscuro which had such fascination for him. The life-size picture in the Hermitage,

[1] Probably the picture owned by Mr. Willett of Brighton.



Abraham's Sacrifice (1635).

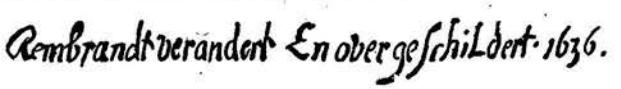
(BERHILLAGE MUSEUM.)

Printed by Ludes et Chassepot Paris (France)

inspired by this episode and painted in 1635, is among his most important works. The composition is extremely striking. In the foreground, Isaac is stretched almost naked at his father's feet. The patriarch, unable to bear the look of his pleading eyes, and anxious to spare him the sight of the blade, covers the youth's face with one broad hand, while from the other the knife falls at the sudden intervention of the heavenly messenger. Vosmaer, who knew the picture only from drawings and engravings, doubted its authenticity. But the transparent softness of the half-tones on the angel's face and on the lad's bare legs, the skilful modelling of the naked body, the building up of the high lights, and the delicate flexibility with which they follow the play of the surfaces, the high-toned harmony of the draperies, the fresh, cool tints of which—pale greens, pearly grays, subdued blues and yellows—recall those of the *Jewish Bride* of 1634 hanging close by—are all characteristic notes of this period. We may further mark the scrupulous study of nature evinced in details such as the angel's wings, which the master has painted from the tawny plumage of some bird of prey. Carefully as these details are rendered, however, they are no mere servile reproductions. In his interpretations of nature, Rembrandt keeps the exigencies of his own conception steadily in view. His progress is very marked in this respect. It was in his own rich imagination that he composed the scene, and brought its most striking aspects into prominence, conceived the bold cast of the angel's head, and the expression of uncertainty on the patriarch's venerable face, combined in graduated harmonies the deep azure of the sky, the greenish blue of the horizon, and the sustained tones of the rock, against which the body of the youthful victim stands out in pathetic relief.

The immediate success of this work was not surprising. So greatly was it admired that a replica, now in the Munich Pinacothek (No. 332 in the Catalogue), was executed by a pupil under Rembrandt's directions the following year. It is of the same size as the original, and affords fresh evidence of the scruples felt by Rembrandt with regard to the circulation of such reproductions, even when worked over by himself. He has again been careful to record below this copy that

he had only re-touched and slightly modified his pupil's work. The inscription on the canvas runs as follows:



REMBRANDT'S INSCRIPTION.

These replicas are not of frequent occurrence in his *œuvre*. We have already noted those of the *Entombment* and the *Descent from the Cross*. In the inventory of 1656 a few such canvases are enumerated; among them are a *Good Samaritan*, a *Flagellation*, and a sketch of the *Crucifixion*. Besides these there are a certain number of still-life studies, of the kind known as *Vanitas*, in which the master's corrections are visible, but which he apparently never tried to sell. While admitting the occasional collaboration of his pupils, we think it necessary to show that it was less important than has been supposed, especially at this period. We agree with Dr. Bode that modern criticism has been inclined to overshoot the mark in dealing with this question.

A RAGGED PEASANT.

About 1635 (B. 172).

PEN DRAWING, WASHED WITH INK.

(Berlin Print Room.)

CHAPTER XI.

DOMESTIC LIFE—SKETCHES AND ETCHINGS MADE BY REMBRANDT FROM SASKIA AND HIMSELF—PORTRAITS AND PICTURES FROM 1635 TO 1640—'GANYMEDE,' AND REMBRANDT'S MYTHOLOGICAL COMPOSITIONS—THE 'DANÄE' IN THE HERMITAGE—'SUSANNA AT THE BATH' AND THE 'MARRIAGE OF SAMSON'—STUDIES OF STILL-LIFE—THE BOOK OF TOBIT—ETCHINGS OF THIS PERIOD—THE 'DEATH OF THE VIRGIN.'

DRAWING, WASHED WITH INDIAN INK.

(British Museum.)

DURING the summer of 1635, Saskia visited her relations in Friesland, and on July 12 she was present at the baptism of a child of Hiskia's. It is not improbable that Rembrandt accompanied her. He loved the country, and he would naturally have taken pleasure in revisiting the scenes among which they had been united the year before. The visit, however, must have been a brief one, for Saskia was herself about to become a mother. Her first child was a boy, who was baptized Rombertus, after his maternal grandfather, in the Oude-Kerk of Amsterdam, December 15, 1635.

Saskia's brother-in-law, Frans Copal, was the chosen godfather. But his journey to Amsterdam was prevented, probably by the bad weather, and the Sylviuses were his proxies at the ceremony. The advent of his first-born must have filled Rembrandt's heart with feelings hitherto unknown. He was able to watch the awakening of life in the little creature, and to study its movements in all their expressive helplessness. He did not fail to take advantage of the tiny model, and made innumerable drawings of its attitudes and gestures. Many sketches from nature which probably belong to this period, show the child in various aspects of its baby life. We see it pressing against its nurse's bosom, and feeding with gluttonous delight; or stiff and replete in its tight swaddling-clothes; or kicking merrily before a blazing fire; or sound asleep.[1]

The master had now a new attraction in the retired life he loved, and cared less than ever to leave his home. Seated side by side round the light at evening, he and his wife occupied themselves, the one in drawing or engraving, the other in needlework. The artist has recorded some such moment of deep and intimate bliss in a charming print dated 1636 (B. 19). He was never weary of reproducing his beloved Saskia's features, and three other plates, the first dated 1636 (B. 365), the second (B. 367) executed probably the same year, and the third (B. 368) in 1637, are covered with sketches, in each of which some variation of pose, costume, or illumination is introduced, the exact likeness to the model being nowhere very scrupulously observed. During the first year of their marriage, Saskia further inspired him in the execution of the more important plate known as the *Great Jewish Bride* (B. 340). It represents a young woman with masses of flowing hair, seated, and holding a roll of paper. The type, however, differs considerably from that of Saskia; the mouth is large, the lips compressed, and the face more angular. But a sketch in the Stockholm Museum was evidently Rembrandt's rough draft for this

[1] The courtesy of Mr. G. Upmark, Director of the Stockholm Museum, has enabled us to reproduce some of the drawings in the establishment. These, as we shall show later on, probably formed part of the collection made by the marine-painter, Van de Cappelle, which was afterwards acquired by Crozat, and finally by the Comte de Tessin, the Swedish ambassador in Paris.

composition. The figure is reversed, and the attitude, the hand grasping the roll of paper, the pillar, and the portion of an arch in the background, even the ample wrapper in which the young woman is draped, are exactly reproduced. In the etching, however, Rembrandt has thrown a fur-trimmed mantle over her shoulders, and has slightly exaggerated the wild expression of his strange creation, and the luxuriant masses of hair that fall about her face.[1] Two years later, Saskia's dainty features reappear in an etching of 1638, known as the *Little Jewish Bride* (B. 342).

Rembrandt, in fact, treated Saskia as he had treated himself, and made her his model on every possible occasion. She occupies the most prominent place in his works of this period, and from 1636 to 1642 his own portrait only appears three times, two of these portraits being etchings very freely treated. He continued to adopt the martial aspect he had affected in so many fancy studies, and figures in a military costume in the plate known as *Rembrandt in a cap with a feather*, dated 1638 (B. 20), as also in the *Rembrandt in a flat cap*, probably of the same year (B. 26). But for the very characteristic cast of his features, it would be difficult to recognise him in this warlike gear. On the other hand, he has given us one of his most individual renderings of himself in the *Rembrandt leaning on a stone sill* (B. 21), dated 1639. The costume, though fanciful, is extremely simple: a velvet cloak with a straight collar, and a cap set jauntily on one side. The head, which is turned nearly full face to the spectator, has none of the commanding airs the painter sometimes assumed before his mirror. Encircled by its luxuriant hair, it impresses by virtue of its power, its intelligence, and its perfect self-possession. Here we have no weather-beaten soldier, but an artist, an observer, whose keen, questioning gaze fascinates us. This Rembrandt knows life, though adversity has not yet touched him. Strength and concentration of mind, no less than of

[1] With Mr. Middleton-Wake, we take the unsigned replica of this plate, catalogued by Bartsch as *A Study for the Great Jewish Bride* (No. 341), to be the work of a pupil in Rembrandt's studio. The authenticity of the original has been called in question by Mr. Kohler, author of a catalogue of works by Rembrandt exhibited at Boston in 1887. But in our opinion its genuineness is fully attested by the Stockholm sketch.

vision, have emphasised that vertical furrow between the brows already noted, which deepened more and more with age. The work is of the most exquisite quality, the execution simple, yet masterly, at once reticent and subtle. It would be impossible to suggest either addition or suppression; the full maturity both of man and artist is made manifest. Among all the master's renderings of himself, this has become the most popular, and public judgment has been well advised for once in adopting it as the most characteristic expression of Rembrandt's genius and personality.

The painted portraits of this period are almost entirely confined to members of the artist's immediate circle. Among the few exceptions are two portraits of old women. The earlier dated 1635, was in the possession of Mr. Lesser, the London dealer, in 1889. It represents an old lady of some seventy years, seated, and painted three-quarters length and life-size. She wears a dress of black damask with velvet epaulettes, a cap with small ear-pieces, and a white ruff and cuffs. The features are commonplace, but the face has a pleasant frankness, and the complexion is fresh and ruddy, very luminous in the high tones, and transparent in the shadows and their reflections. The other portrait, that of an old woman in a white cap, also dressed in black, belongs to M. Alphonse de Rothschild, and was painted about 1635—1636. The execution is careful and minute. The wrinkled face has preserved that sweetness which is the beauty of old age. The next in order are two portraits of young women. One, in Lord Ellesmere's collection, painted about 1634—1635, represents a fair-haired sitter with a somewhat faded complexion. She wears a dark dress, relieved by a double row of lace. The face is refined and intelligent, but unhappily, the picture is in very poor condition, and the shadows have probably darkened. The other portrait, which is known as the *Woman of Utrecht*—it has been for many years in the possession of the Weede van Dyckveld family of that city—is signed and dated 1639. The young lady stands almost facing the spectator, in a costume both elegant and simple: a black dress with loops and embroideries of dull gold, cuffs and epaulettes of white lace, and a flat collar edged with a double

row of lace. She wears a necklace and large earrings of pearls, and holds a fan with ribbons in her hand. Her eyes beam with frank good-nature; the large hands and the fresh colour bespeak health. The broad yet careful handling is that of the portrait of Martin Daey's wife, with greater freedom, but the colouring has been injured by an early restoration, and has lost its brilliance and harmony. The careful execution and the sobriety of the costumes in these portraits show them to have been commissioned by the sitters, while on the other hand we are inclined to consider the portrait of a young woman in the Cassel Gallery (No. 216 in the Catalogue) as a study made at about the same time from some friend or relation of Saskia's, basing such a supposition on the absence of any signature, and on the fanciful dress, one of the master's properties, which he has himself arranged on the sitter. The garb is both picturesque and original. A fur mantle is worn over a greenish dress, with a white chemisette cut low at the neck. A scarf with a deep fringe is drawn round the shoulders. The hair, neck, and ears are adorned with pearls, and the gloved left hand holds two pinks. The pale complexion and red lips, the long nose, thickening slightly towards the tip, the small eyes, and the reddish hair that waves about the face, make up a type of no particular beauty. But the wistful expression and a certain air of astonishment give that effect of strange actuality in which Rembrandt excelled.

PEN SKETCH.
(Stockholm Print Room.)

The male portraits of this period represent for the most part the

painter's family friends. The Minister Swalmius of the Dudley collection, painted by the master in 1637, is a grave personage of severe aspect (probably some acquaintance of the Sylviuses), who pauses in his reading, and looks up at the spectator. The Bridgwater House portrait, painted in 1637, represents another minister, a handsome, delicately-featured old man in a furred green robe, seated at a table. We cannot agree with Dr. Bode in his identification of Rembrandt himself with the life-size full-length of a man, dated 1639, in the Cassel Museum (No. 217 in the Catalogue) which long passed for a portrait of Jan Six. The type has certainly nothing in common with that of the famous burgomaster, who was soon to become Rembrandt's friend. But neither can we discover any likeness to the artist, either in the shape of the face, the hair, or the expression. The sitter, who leans against a wall beside an engaged pedestal, surmounted by an antique bust, is fashionably dressed in a black velvet costume with ribbons, and a black hat. He has the appearance of some wealthy citizen of artistic tastes, sedate and self-satisfied. The somewhat vulgar head, the expressionless eyes, the careful and minute execution of the dress—the gradations of the blacks are admirable in their vigour and variety—all proclaim this work one of the few portraits painted by Rembrandt on commission at this period. On no occasion, as far as we know, did the master represent himself thus, at full-length, in the conventional costume of the day, renouncing all those problems of chiaroscuro and effects of costume which he delighted to introduce into his own portraits. Nor was he at all likely to have made such a departure at this point of his career. He was rejoicing in his independence, and gladly throwing off those restraints to which he had unwillingly submitted when, as a new comer in Amsterdam, he had his reputation to make and his pockets to line. He was now famous; Saskia's dowry and his own earnings had made him independent. Jealous of his liberty, he was not often persuaded to meet the demands of the public. When he posed before his mirror he gave free rein to his fancy, and had no thought beyond his own satisfaction or instruction. This is sufficiently proved by the many studies of himself painted at this period, which we must be

Portrait of Rembrandt (1634).

(BERLIN MUSEUM.)

Printed by Eudes & Chassaque Paris (France)

content merely to enumerate. The first is a picture in the Cassel Museum (No. 215 in the Catalogue) signed and dated 1634. His shoulders are slightly drawn up towards his ears. He is wrapped in a reddish mantle, and wears a curiously shaped plumed helmet of polished steel, which casts a transparent shadow over his ruddy face. Two bust portraits in the Wallace collection, signed, but not dated, must have been painted from about 1633 to 1635. The execution of the first is broad yet delicate; the head is turned to the right; the costume is a velvet cape with fur-trimmed collar. In the second, a hastier and more sketchy study, the master faces the spectator; on his head is a brown cap, and round his neck the familiar steel gorget and a gold chain. A charming portrait of 1634, one of Rembrandt's most attractive renderings of his own personality, is in the Berlin Museum. Another, of about the same date, is in the Hague Museum. Here the face is almost in profile. The master wears a black velvet cap with a vandyked brim. The upper part of the face is in shadow; the lips are parted; the curled moustache and resolute expression give a martial air to the head. A full-face study in the Pitti Palace, painted in the same year, or perhaps in 1635, shows the artist in a large black cap; a cloak is thrown over the steel gorget and gold chain of earlier portraits. The fine condition of the beautiful and important picture of 1635, in the Liechtenstein Gallery, gives full effect to the delicacy of the chiaroscuro. The Louvre owns a portrait signed and dated 1637. The expression of the face is calm and gentle. On the head is a black velvet cap; there are pearls in the ears, and round the shoulders an embroidered mantle, fastened across the breast with a clasp. Finally, we have the National Gallery portrait of 1640, in which the artist wears a broad cap, with vandyked brim, a gold-embroidered gray doublet with a close-fitting collar, and an overdress of brown, striped with yellow. The fresh, ruddy face looks out from the canvas with an alert and somewhat ironical expression. The handling is very elaborate, and slightly cold in effect.

In most of these portraits, Rembrandt shows his partiality for the military disguises he had affected in his earlier studies of himself. They were, in fact, exercises, treated with more

or less of freedom, in which he paid small attention to the actual likeness. Allowing therefore for certain slight differences which may perhaps be explained by the dimensions—the figure is rather larger than life—we think we can detect the master himself in the martial accoutrements of the *Standard-Bearer*, a high-toned, transparent picture in M. Édouard de Rothschild's collection. It bears Rembrandt's signature, and the first three figures (163), of a date, which, judging from the execution, we take to have been 1636. In the somewhat coarse features of the veteran, his thick nose, sturdy neck, and unruly locks, we trace the master's own type, modified and enlarged to suit the character affected. Thus disguised, a high cap throwing its shadow over his rubicund face, a sword by his side, one hand on his hip, the other grasping a standard, the model remains a peaceful citizen, who looks more like a frequenter of taverns than a hero. He may perhaps have borne his banner in a parade, but fortunately for him, he has never been called upon to defend it. We profess no less scepticism as to the nationality of the so-called *Sobieski* in the Hermitage, dated 1637. The apparent age of the model at this date disposes of the identification with Sobieski, which seems to have been one of those fanciful conjectures so freely hazarded at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. Thus, every old woman painted by Rembrandt and his pupils was dubbed *Rembrandt's Mother*, while other portraits received the no less apocryphal names of *Rembrandt's Gilder*, *Rembrandt's Cook*, etc. The master's portrait of himself in the Pitti Palace is christened *Count de Horn* on an engraved reproduction by Golgano Cipriani; the portrait of Rembrandt's father was engraved by R. Savery under the startling title of *Mahomet*, and on an old English print of the *Standard-Bearer* is inscribed the even more curious legend *William Tell.* The vigorous but rather vulgar type of the so-called *Sobieski* is not unlike that of the *Standard-Bearer.* He has the same massive head and neck, the same blunt nose, the same fulness of flesh, the same expression in the eyes, the same high colour. He holds a gold-headed stick in his hand, and the main difference is in the attitude and costume. But the fantastic high cap, the fur tippet, the red robe,

Supposed Portrait of Sobieski (1637).

(BEEMPAGE)

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann Paris (France)

and the curiously wrought pendant that hangs from the gold chain on his breast suggest a masquerade, and we have an instinctive feeling that the wearer of this suspicious disguise is a sham Pole. A closer examination convinces us that we have seen Rembrandt himself wearing the heavy gold chain, the pearl earrings, and the ornament in the cap, and finally, we are led to conclude with M. Mantz that Rembrandt himself was the original of this "fancy Muscovite." Admitting a certain puerility in the disguise, we may justly call attention to the breadth of treatment in this powerful portrait, and to the vigour of chiaroscuro and richness of colour so admirably suggestive of the character and expression depicted.

STUDY OF SASKIA, AND OTHER HEADS.
1636 (B. 365).

In addition to portraits more or less in the nature of studies, such as the above, a large number of studies in the stricter sense of the term belong to this period. We may instance the boldly painted head of 1635, formerly in the San Donato collection, now in the possession of Mr. L. Goldschmidt. The model was probably some workman. The face is of a plebeian type, the hair dishevelled, the dress poor and plain. Such studies were, however, generally made from models the master picked up among the Jewish population of Amsterdam. In the streets close at hand, he was able to choose at will among those types of old men with hooked noses and strongly marked features he noted for use in future compositions. They also

gave him opportunities for the display of rich draperies and military accoutrements. Some such accessory added to a study, transformed the model into a hero of sacred history. Labelled in somewhat random fashion with Scriptural names, the works were more readily disposed of, and such a designation often enhanced the success of a brilliantly executed study. We may note as typical examples the studies of heads belonging to the Duke of Bedford (Woburn Abbey), Lord Derby, Sir Philip Miles, and Count Nostitz of Prague; also an old man (signed, and dated 1633) in the Munich Pinacothek, and another in the Belvedere at Vienna, who no doubt gained the title *St. Paul* from the sword hanging on the wall beside him.[1] But the most famous of these studies is the *Rabbi* at Chatsworth, dated 1635, which represents an old man with massive features, painted almost full face. He wears a high turban and a rich mantle, fastened by a large metal clasp, and sits before a table, on which are some books, his hands upon his breast. Behind him, in the background of the oratory, there is a glimpse of a sanctuary with a column round which is coiled a serpent. The high-toned, transparent harmony formed by the cool, delicate tints and somewhat cold shadows of this canvas recalls the *Jewish Bride* of the preceding year in the Hermitage. Such pictures, under titles more or less appropriate, seem to have been extremely popular in their day, for old copies painted by Rembrandt's pupils or imitators, notably by Salomon Koninck, are to be found in the Museums of Dresden (No. 1590 in the Catalogue), Berlin (No. 821), Turin (No. 450), in the Liechtenstein Gallery, and in many other collections.

Rembrandt had now more time at his disposal. His marriage, and the proceeds of his portraits ensured him a certain income, and he felt himself free to pursue these methods of study. Many of the types he collected were utilised at this period in compositions inspired, as usual, by the sacred writings. Among such compositions is a small picture in the Hermitage, dated 1634, representing *The Incredulity of St. Thomas*. The Saviour, surrounded by the apostles and holy women, displays

[1] According to an old catalogue, it once bore a signature and the date 1636. Both are now illegible.

His wounds, with a gesture of authority, to which the Saint responds with devout amazement. The scene is well arranged, and the colour is not without brilliance. But the handling is timid, awkward, and wanting in breadth, while the cold colour, blue or greenish in tone, to which the master sometimes had recourse at this period, has none of the richness and distinction that mark many of his contemporary works. Neither is distinction the note of the *Samson threatening his Father-in-law*, in the Berlin Museum, a signed canvas, bearing a date the last figure of which (probably a 6) disappeared when the picture was relined. The subject was long a puzzle to students, and the fashion which formerly obtained of referring the episodes treated by Rembrandt to contemporary history favoured the suggestion that the theme was Duke Adolphus of Guelders, shaking his fist at his imprisoned father-in-law. But, as Mr. Ed. Kolloff was the first to point out, Rembrandt never attempted any incident in modern history,[1] and where it seems difficult to identify the subjects of his pictures, the fault generally lies in an imperfect search among those Scriptures which inspired nearly all his compositions, and which he translated with scrupulous precision. The type of Samson, his costume, and the crisp, bushy hair that falls round his massive head, closely resemble those of M. Édouard de Rothschild's *Standard-Bearer* of the same period, about 1636. Rembrandt, as may be supposed, eagerly seized such an opportunity for the display of gold embroidered stuffs and Oriental weapons. The giant, dressed and armed in Turkish fashion, shakes his clenched fist savagely at his father-in-law, a sharp-featured old man, prudently entrenched behind a heavily clamped door, who looks out through a half-open casement, his hand on the latch, beyond the reach of his terrible son-in-law, but ready to decamp at a moment's notice. The action is not specially interesting, and the picture, which is in very poor condition, deals with none of those problems of illumination or expression that abound in Rembrandt's works. The touch is hard and dry, the drawing heavy, and even faulty in places, as in Samson's fist. In spite of these defects, however, Napoleon I. greatly admired the picture.

[1] *Rembrandt's Leben und Werke*, in F. von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, p. 401 *et seq.*

It was part of the spoil he brought to Paris after his victories in 1806, and by his orders it was placed in his private room at Saint Cloud. There Blücher found it, when he established his head-quarters at the palace in 1815, and thence he restored it to his master, the King of Prussia.

Lord Derby's *Belshazzar's Feast*, at Knowsley, probably dates from about the same period. Rembrandt was doubtless fascinated, not only by the decorative splendour proper to such a theme, but by the opportunities it afforded for contrasts of chiaroscuro. The master, as may be supposed, was fully alive to the effect to be won from the display of glittering plate on the table, and the luminous writing on the wall confronting the terror-stricken king. But the coarse handling gives an exaggerated appearance to the contrasts, and the awe of some among the company is expressed by mere grimace. All the defects of this work are intensified in a large canvas dated 1636, in the Schönborn collection at Vienna, *Samson overcome by the Philistines.*[1] The scene is at once horrible and grotesque; the painter seems to have revelled in the repulsive aspects of his subject, and its offensiveness is enhanced by the large scale of the work, the figures being nearly life-size. Betrayed by Delilah, who escapes from the fray, the shorn locks in her hand, Samson has been surprised and overcome by the Philistines. Clutching him by the throat, they fall upon him with spears and halberds; he struggles fiercely, covered with blood, blinded and disfigured by a gaping wound. In spite of the shock produced by such an accumulation of horrors, we are impressed by the elements of wild grandeur and ferocity that characterise the scene. Here the master manifests analogies of temperament, not only with the Dutch writers of his day, but with Shakespeare himself, who, as Dr. Bode has pointed out,[2] does not shrink from the portrayal of kindred brutalities on the stage. In *King Lear*, to take an analogous example, we witness the blinding of Gloucester in all its atrocity of detail.

[1] From the dimensions of this canvas, an old copy of which is in the Cassel Museum No. 230 in the Catalogue), it seems probable that it was the *Samson* offered to Huygens in Rembrandt's letters of January 12th and 27th, 1639, as an acknowledgment of the secretary's services in connection with the two last pictures painted for the *Stathouder*.

[2] *Studien*, p. 429.

Study for the "Jewish Bride" (1634)

Pen and Wash.

(ALBERTINA.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

Taste was clearly not one of Rembrandt's strong points, as is abundantly proved by his occasional treatment of mythological subjects. In the *Rape of Ganymede* he made choice of a peculiarly unfortunate theme. It was notoriously one from which classic art, as if recognising its difficulties, had almost wholly refrained down to the period of the decadence, when it had been utilised mainly as a decorative motive. Setting aside Leochares' conception, described by Pliny, and further known to us by the Vatican copy, representations of the episode were chiefly confined to medals, mirrors, vases or tapestries of the Alexandrine period. The problem was, in fact, a sufficiently complicated one. By dint of great ingenuity the ancients had avoided the pitfalls prepared for them in Pliny's brief description,[1] in adhering to which they had to suggest not only the rapid flight of the eagle, but the care with which he refrains from injuring the stolen child, as he bears him through the air. Rembrandt cared little for subtleties of this sort. The actual phenomenon engrossed his whole attention, and, faithful to his principles, his first thought was to reproduce the incident as it might have taken place. Nature has evidently been consulted both for the conception and details of the Dresden picture, which is signed, and dated 1635. The shape, the tawny plumage, and the

SKETCH FOR THE JEWISH BRIDE.
1634 (Stockholm Print Room).

[1] *Leochares (fecit) aquilam sententiem quid rapiat Ganymede et cui ferat, parcentemque unguibus, vel per vestem.*

flight of the bird were studied from a real eagle, either alive or stuffed, and a fat little Dutch boy of a vulgar type he happened to pick up, and who figures in several drawings, was his model for the favourite of Jupiter.[1] The child, who has been surprised on top of a tree, lets fall the cherries he was gathering, and his face, by no means beautiful at its best, is distorted by pain as the eagle's claws enter his flesh. We need not dwell on the plump contours revealed by the disordered shirt, nor on the unspeakable fashion in which his terror is indicated. Noting these vulgarities of treatment, we might believe the work to be merely the broad jest of some northern Lucian making merry over Olympus, or a questionable anticipation of the caricatures in modern opera bouffe. But nothing was farther from Rembrandt's thoughts. Vosmaer, who expresses a somewhat exaggerated admiration for the modelling of the child's body, protests against the idea of a parody, and Rembrandt himself sets aside the notion by his preliminary drawing in the Dresden collection, in which he endeavours to characterise his subject, though with no very striking success. His incapacity for the treatment of such themes is glaring. Rubens, who both by temperament and by a long course of training in Italy, was better fitted to cope with them, often failed, but his fiascoes have none of the grotesque assurance that distinguishes those of the Dutch master. The naïve impudence displayed by Rembrandt gives a measure of the gulf that divides Dutch from Italian, or even from Flemish art. Even when he attempted to follow tradition in subjects that make the utmost demands on knowledge and respect, the master only succeeded in proclaiming his irreverent fashion of conception and interpretation.

He seems himself to have felt his limitations. His essays in this *genre* become more and more infrequent, and there is little cause for regret on this score in view of such examples as the *Diana discovering the pregnancy of Callisto*, a company of nymphs bathing in a fantastic landscape, with Actæon in the background. The picture is signed and

[1] A composition by Correggio, known to us from a drawing in the Weimar collection, bears a strong resemblance to Rembrandt's picture, save for the grace and elegance of the Italian master's Ganymede.

Copy of the "Ganymede.

By an imitator of Rembrandt.

(DRESDEN MUSEUM.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

dated 1635, and is in the Prince of Salm's collection at Anhalt. On the other hand, the so-called *Danäe* in the Hermitage, dated 1636,[1] shows that Rembrandt was now and then happily inspired by a mythological theme. Dr. Bode, however, believes the picture to represent an episode in the Book of Tobit, in which the master was greatly interested at this period. The subject remains obscure; but Danäe or Sara, the central figure is pre-eminently a study of the nude; and though the type of the face differs in some points from that of Saskia, it is almost certain that she was the model. We have already explained the difficulties experienced by Dutch painters in procuring female models, and it must be confessed that those hitherto obtainable by Rembrandt had been far from seductive. It is not surprising, therefore, that with a beautiful young woman close at hand, willing to satisfy his every wish, he should have taken advantage of his opportunities. From the point of view of conjugal propriety, it might, no doubt, be desired that the husband had shown more reticence. But in matters connected with his art, Rembrandt had no such personal scruples, as is sufficiently proved by his allowing Bol to see, and even to copy this work.[2] It is only fair to add that he kept the canvas in his own possession, for we believe this to be the work which figures in the inventory of 1656 as *Diana* or rather Danäe, "*Seynde Dianäe*," an entry which confirms the present title of the picture. It had been relegated to a lumber-room in the master's studio. But of course Rembrandt must not be judged too severely on this point. If there were any serious need to defend him, we might quote the example of the great Italian masters of the Renaissance, who availed themselves of the privileges accorded to art in all ages far more freely than he. Does it ever occur to us to inquire where Michelangelo, Giorgione, Titian, and Correggio found the models for their Venuses, Ledas, and Antiopes, the fair women who unblushingly reveal their superb nudity in the landscapes of the masters? Rubens, the refined and courtly cavalier, painted his wife, Helena Fourment, in the Blenheim

[1] The figure between the two sixes has disappeared. We give the date 1636 as that indicated by the execution.

[2] In a picture now in the Brunswick Museum, *Tobias brought by Raguel to Sara* (No. 46 in the Catalogue).

Andromeda, now one of the gems of the Berlin Gallery, and in the beautiful picture at Vienna she is shown without even the thin disguise of a mythological title, preparing for the bath, her nudity but slightly veiled by the fur robe drawn round her body.[1]

Rembrandt, then, as we see, might have pleaded the examples of his most illustrious predecessors. Loving nature and art as he did, he must have rejoiced more than any among them in the opportunities now afforded him of carrying out the studies he had long desired to attempt, from a model so superior to the coarse, misshapen types he had hitherto encountered. The young woman, small and dainty of limb, lies on a low bed, raised from the floor by a step. The light falls from the left full on her delicate contours. She appears to see some one advancing towards her, whom she welcomes with a radiant look, a smile on her rosy lips. Her right arm is raised and extended; the other rests upon a pillow. A comb set with pearls fastens her golden brown hair, and on her arms are bracelets of gold and pearls. An old hag, with a bunch of keys in her hand, draws back the curtains of the bed, a bed of gilded wood, with massive supports, carved posts, and a figure of Cupid with outspread wings in high relief at the

PORTRAIT OF REMBRANDT.
About 1634 (Hague Museum).

[1] Like Rembrandt, Rubens kept this study in his studio, and in his will bequeathed it to Helena Fourment herself.

Danaë (1636).

(HERMITAGE MUSEUM.)

head.[1] By the bed is a table with a cover richly embroidered in gold. The dull crimson of this cover, the greenish brown of the curtains, the greenish blues of the bed, and the touches of gold here and there, make up a subdued harmony that brings the strongly illuminated carnations into admirable relief. The figure is not beyond reproach, and there is a certain want of elegance in the plump contours; but the brilliance of the general effect, the transparent warmth of the shadows, the delicacy of the modelling, the gradations of the chiaroscuro, and the freshness and grace of the youthful body, which seems to quiver with life and joy, all combine to make this work unique among the master's creations.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG GIRL.
About 1635 (Cassel Museum).

Saskia's features are more clearly recognisable in two studies of *Susanna at the Bath*, both dated 1637. In the one belonging to Prince Youssoupoff, the face and figure have a certain degree of elegance. The signature, however, we believe to be false, and even the execution would not be above suspicion, but for certain unmistakable traces

[1] The Cupid, the old attendant, and the joyful expression of the young woman, are details that scarcely agree with the text, if the picture represents Sara, and this seems to confirm the traditional title *Danäe*. The bed figures in several other works by Rembrandt, and was, no doubt, among the curiosities collected by him. "A little bed of gilded wood, designed by Verhulst," is mentioned in his inventory.

of the primitive work, which has greatly deteriorated. The other study is in first-rate condition. It belongs to the Hague Museum, and bears the date 1637, together with the name *Rembrant* (without the d), a form of the signature which we here note for the last time. A young woman of Saskia's type and features is represented almost naked. She has thrown off her garments—a purple robe trimmed with gold, and a white chemisette with embroidered sleeves—and is about to step into a bath, above which rise the branches of tall trees, and a palace, the walls of which stand out in relief against a dark sky. A rustling in the foliage startles her as she is about to cast aside the last of her draperies, and turning her rosy face in alarm towards the spectator, she modestly endeavours to hide her nakedness. Behind her, in a tangle of plants and foliage, two heads are slightly indicated, one with gleaming eyes, the other in a turban with a plume. The strong tones of the vegetation, the sky, and the building, emphasise the whiteness of the somewhat thick-set figure. The composition, and the gesture of Susanna, seem to have taken Rembrandt's fancy; we shall find him reproducing the episode, with very slight modifications, in a later work.

Saskia was his model for the chief figure in another Scriptural scene, the *Samson's Marriage Feast* in the Dresden Gallery, dated 1638. The banquet, which took place in a hall hung with splendid tapestries, and lasted seven days, according to the Bible narrative, seems to be drawing to its close. The guests, if we may judge by the licence of their attitudes, have hardly observed the strict sobriety proper to the East. They sit or lie on couches round the table, and divert themselves with small respect for the proprieties. A cavalier in the foreground, more enterprising than the rest, clasps his neighbour closely round the waist; another of the ladies, to whom a gallant offers a cup of wine, proclaims by her gesture that further libations would be perilous. Bedecked like some heathen idol, loaded with necklaces and jewels, a diadem on her head, her hands folded sanctimoniously across her breast, the daughter of the Philistines, who has Saskia's features, sits almost in the centre of the composition, a stolid spectator of the feast.

Samson's Marriage Feast (1638).

(DRESDEN GALLERY.)

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann Paris (France)

Samson reclines by her side, but turns away as if no longer greatly interested in her. A garland of leaves rests on his shaggy hair, and his loose robe of green, embroidered with gold and precious stones, is open across his brawny chest. Illustrating his words by a somewhat vulgar gesture, he propounds one of his riddles to a group of musicians in fanciful Turkish dresses behind him. He looks like some herculean acrobat, chatting familiarly with his orchestra. It is difficult to understand what was the master's attraction in this uninteresting episode. Style, by which I mean the harmony between methods of expression and the subject expressed, was clearly out of the question here. But if, setting aside the peculiarities of the composition, we examine its technical qualities, we shall find that the execution has become broader and freer. The play of light is more accurately defined; it is concentrated on the principal group, and the objects in shadow, though less obtrusive, are more distinct, owing to the greater transparency of the low tones. Finally, though there is a want of dignity in the figures, the harmonious splendours of the East are skilfully suggested in their rich costumes, and in the picturesque display of costly stuffs—blues interwoven with silver, and reds embroidered with gold—by which the predominant green tones are happily balanced.

The chief interest of the work lies in the variety of its colour scheme. The tints, though subdued, are gayer than heretofore, and are no longer confined to the monotonous, and somewhat perfunctory russets of the master's early works. In many passages some dominant chord is struck which vibrates throughout an infinity of exquisitely modulated gradations. And whether sustained or vigorously frank in its modulations, this primary tone is never denaturalised. Subtle and flowing as it is, lending itself to every exigency of effect, to every accident of light, and every reflection from neighbouring objects, it never becomes ambiguous. Throughout it preserves its essential qualities.

The *Sportsman with a Bittern* of 1639, also in the Dresden Gallery, is of great interest as showing the results of those studies from nature which deal more especially with colour, and as manifesting

Rembrandt's conscientious earnestness in such investigations. The work is not what we might have expected—a rapid impression, such as those in which many of the master's *confrères* sought relaxation from more serious tasks. It proclaims a definite intention, and attacks a recognised problem. The sportsman, almost wholly in shadow, is partly hidden behind a bird he holds up by its legs. The light falls full on its carefully painted plumage, which under Rembrandt's brush yields a richness of effect truly surprising in view of the restricted colour-scheme. By means of tones closely allied and very simple—grays, pale yellows, yellows rather more intense, russets streaked or flecked with browns, the happy distribution of which he utilises with great skill—the master produces a most original harmony, at once reticent and sonorous. Fine as the result unquestionably is, we believe the work to have been primarily an instructive exercise to which Rembrandt looked for ulterior advantages. Later we shall find him profiting by the experience thus acquired, and making use of the scale of colour he had here learnt to handle, as an expressive accompaniment to the more animated and frankly resonant notes contained in the carnations of his portraits, and of the figures in his compositions. When he brought some strongly

SAMSON THREATENING HIS FATHER-IN-LAW.
About 1635 (Berlin Museum).

The Bittern (1639).

(DRESDEN GALLERY.)

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann, Paris. (France)

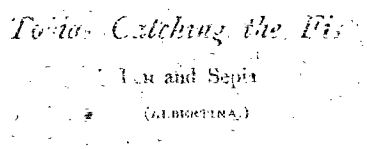
illuminated head into brilliant relief against tawny furs or dark velvets, the painter was in fact utilising studies where nature had supplied the raw material his rare genius turned to such intelligent account.

Though the picture in the Dresden Gallery seemed to us convincing evidence of the methods above suggested, we should perhaps have hesitated to pronounce what might possibly have been a mere fortuitous essay, one in a deliberate series of experimental studies. But there is ample proof that Rembrandt made such exercises a frequent practice. Several works of this class figure in his inventory, notably a *Fish*, a *Hare*, a *Bittern* (perhaps the Dresden picture), and three *Vanitas*, which he had retouched. We have already pointed out that several of the early works painted at Leyden contained studies of still-life. Mr. W. C. Cartwright, of London, owns a study of a dead peahen, with a peacock hung up by the legs, and the figure of a little girl lightly sketched in the background. The execution, though drier and more summary than that of the Dresden picture, is sufficiently like it to suggest that both were painted at the same period. Finally, the *Carcase of a Bullock* (the *Bœuf Écorché* of the

FRAGMENT OF THE SUSANNA IN THE HAGUE MUSEUM.
1637.

Louvre), painted in 1655, shows that even at the most advanced period of his development the master still pursued the researches which, by the cultivation of his natural gifts, renewed his powers, and gave him an ever-increasing knowledge of Nature's harmonies. In addition to the artists before and after him who devoted themselves exclusively to such studies, many have sought in them a diversion from their ordinary work, or a vehicle for the display of technical mastery. It was reserved for Rembrandt, resolute to seek extraneous aids from reality alone, to reduce such essays to a method of study which he not only practised himself, but constantly recommended to his pupils. It is one of the functions of the greater artists to systematise exercises, which for others are merely occasional essays, and no master has surpassed Rembrandt in the art of varying his methods, and so combining them on a definite principle as to gain from them the widest experience and the fullest benefit.

We shall find further and most significant proof of the penetration and unwearying enterprise that characterised his genius, in the persistence with which he returned again and again to certain subjects, either remodelling a former conception, or rendering the theme in some aspect totally new. The Bible we know to have been an unfailing source of inspiration to him throughout all his career. But he shows a marked predilection for special episodes. Certain characters of Holy Writ seem to have had a peculiar attraction for him. He follows them from their birth upwards, attaching himself to them, learning the details of their career, living their lives with them; and as his knowledge of them grows, revealing facts concerning them, either newly discovered, or set forth in some original form never attempted by any of his predecessors. We have seen that he had already treated numerous episodes in the history of Samson. But this story, with its stratagems, violence, and opportunities for decorative display, lends itself at best merely to picturesque treatment, and even the character of the hero, and the incidents in which he figures, are hardly such as to stir the feelings very deeply. In the Book of Tobit, on the other hand, the master found subjects loftier and more expressive, in which the


Tobias Catching the Fis
Ink and Sepia
(ALBERTINA)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

deepest and noblest feelings of humanity are called into play. The tenderness, faith, and patient courage of the old man, whose piety sustains him through the most cruel afflictions, the devotion he inspires in his son, the sacrifice of his own happiness involved in the separation from this beloved child; the youth's journey with his mysterious companion, his adventures by the way, the events connected with his marriage, the growing anxiety of the parents at his prolonged absence, the reproaches with which the wife assails the blind old man; his own regrets; the joy of the return and of the miraculous cure; the amazement of the family when the angel reveals himself, and vanishes from their sight—all these varied and moving incidents Rembrandt treated, some several times over. Pictures, drawings, and etchings form a series of compositions in which all the essential features of the poetic cycle are rendered. Some among the paintings we must allow to be not absolutely above suspicion. The *Tobias restoring his Father's sight*, in the Arenberg Gallery, for instance, duly signed, and dated 1634 or 1636 (the last figure is almost illegible), is a work which does the master small credit, though we do not share Dr. Bode's doubts as to its authenticity.[1] As much may be said for the small panel in the Oldenburg Museum, *The Departure of Tobias with the Angel*. The assertion in the catalogue, that this work is the pendant of the *Tobit's Wife with the Kid* in the Berlin Museum, dated 1647, is somewhat gratuitous. They differ considerably in dimensions—the Oldenburg picture is but $6\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, the Berlin example measures $7\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ inches—and though in arrangement and general effect the former recalls other works by the master, its awkward, heavy execution proclaims it more probably a studio picture, for many of Rembrandt's pupils affected these same subjects.

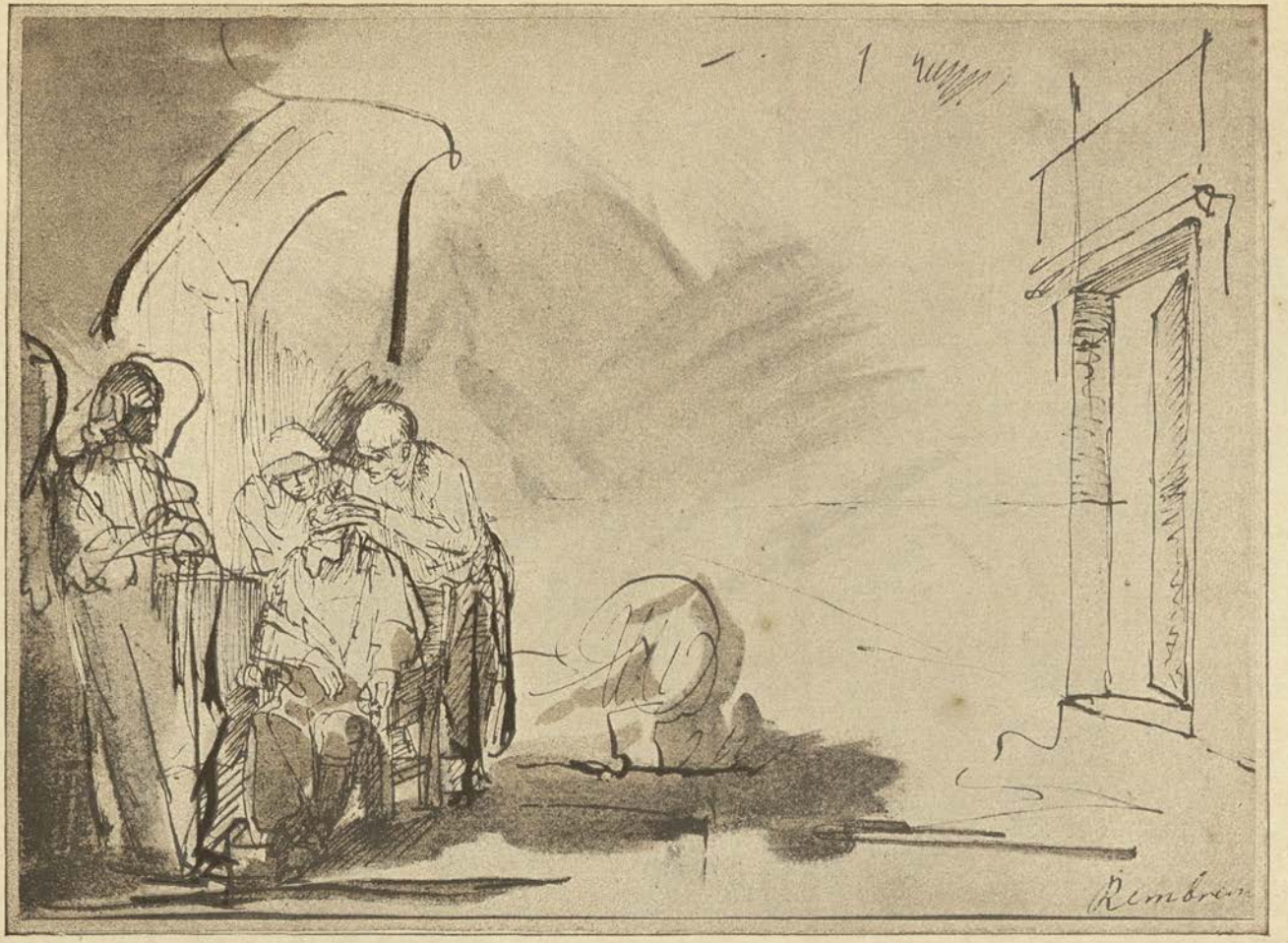
On the other hand, the *Angel Raphael leaving Tobias*, in the Louvre, signed, and dated 1637, is unquestionably one of Rembrandt's masterpieces. The drawing in the Albertina here reproduced, shows how carefully he had studied the composition, the arrangement of which he retains with a few slight modifications in an etching of 1641 (B. 43).

[1] There is a pen drawing of this composition in the Louvre.

The moment chosen by the master is that in which the Angel, his mission accomplished, reveals himself to the family at the threshold of their dwelling, and takes flight. Prostrate in adoration, the aged Tobit kneels, his face bowed humbly towards the ground; his wife, overcome with emotion, drops the staff on which she was leaning. The young couple, bolder than their elders, gaze with respectful curiosity at the mysterious visitant, who, with extended arms and outspread wings, soars triumphantly towards the light. The simplicity and originality of the composition, the ingenious device by which the master, concentrating his group towards the left, yet contrives to draw attention to the Angel by the flow of the lines, and the looks and gestures of the persons below, the flashing radiance of the ascending figure, with its floating hair and draperies, the beautiful adjustment of the pale blue dress over the white tunic, the nervous grace of the iridescent wings, the contrast of their brilliant tints with the sober, yet vigorous tonality of the whole—grays, yellows, greens and russets on an amber ground, forming a harmony in golden brown from a distance—the expression of the faces, each exactly attuned to the age and character of the actor—the austerity of the landscape and the execution, sober, animated, facile, and insistent only in the most important passages—all these qualities combine to make the work one of the most original and complete of the master's creations.[1]

But the crowning beauty of the whole lies in the master's treatment of chiaroscuro, and the extraordinary eloquence with which his effects characterise the subject, and bring out its essential elements of the sublime and the unexpected. Effects of light Rembrandt had already turned to picturesque account on many occasions; but never before had he won them to such significant expression of his thought. Here again that attentive observation of nature he had so successfully

[1] We saw a slightly modified version of the Louvre picture not long ago in Paris, the Angel turned towards the spectator, with arms outstretched to the front. The dog is also differently treated. But though this picture figures as a replica by the master in Smith's Catalogue, we cannot accept it as the work of Rembrandt. In our opinion the heaviness of the handling and of the gradations, the harsh reds of the carnations, and the want of subtlety in the chiaroscuro, betray the hand of a pupil.



Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

practised in his studies of colour bore rich fruit. Chiaroscuro, as we have pointed out, had occupied him very early in his career; his researches in this connection had been steady and extensive. Of this we shall find innumerable proofs in his drawings of this period. He found subjects for experiments in his own home, in his neighbours' houses, in the barns and cattle-sheds he met with in his walks about Amsterdam. He loved such interiors, in which the daylight is concentrated, throwing out vivid rays here and there, whilst all the details round about are veiled in partial shadow. The painter carefully noted all these contrasts and modulations. With such effects he learnt to build up a composition, using them as others before him had used line and colour. In this novel treatment of light, which he had now completely mastered, he found endless resources. Infinite possibilities opened up before him through the medium of that marvellous element, which lends itself to such myriad combinations for the expression of human thought. The forms called up by Rembrandt seem to be transformed as we gaze. They emerge from the gloom and develop; he breathes into them the breath of life; and in a moment they melt away into darkness once more. The most commonplace objects take on poetry and mystery in this atmosphere. They appear to us at once material and transfigured, with the exact degree of definition or of uncertainty demanded by the master's conception. Borrowed from the world around us, they tell also of that world of imagination treated by the painter, and by him revealed to us.

A little picture of a year earlier, at the Hermitage, the *Workers in the Vineyard*, is as bright and limpid in tone and sentiment as the *Tobias* of the Louvre is mysterious and complex. Rembrandt's aim seems to have been an epitome of his studies in colour and chiaroscuro, and a formal demonstration of the results to be won by a process of composition he had adapted to his own requirements. Seated at a table, at the other end of which is the scribe who keeps his accounts, the master of the vineyard, calm, and confident of his rights, checks the complaints of two discontented

workers with an authoritative gesture. On the one side three of their comrades discuss their earnings, while others in the background are rolling casks. Here Rembrandt has emphasised the salient features of the scene by a learned subordination of its details, and has further ensured the harmony of the picture by deliberately minimising all the tones save the resonant blue of the sky beyond the windows.

The *Noli me tangere* in the Queen's collection at Buckingham Palace, an upright panel dated 1638, is less happily inspired. The soft golden tonality is not wanting in distinction, nor are the attitude of the Magdalene and her radiant expression unworthy of the master. But the costume of the Saviour, His broad-brimmed straw hat, the white tunic girt about His waist, and the spade in His hand, the pose of the angels seated on the stones of the sepulchre, the landscape, and the fantastic buildings enframing it, verge on the grotesque. Here the painter has given a very imperfect rendering of an episode which must nevertheless have appealed strongly to him. In the touching picture of a later date in the Brunswick Gallery, he has done justice to the inherent poetry and significance of the theme.

Numerous as these works are—and we must include among them several of the scenes from the *Passion* painted for the *Stathouder*—they give but an incomplete idea of Rembrandt's activity at this period. We must further note the drawings and etchings executed during these years. The subjects are, as before, drawn mainly from the Scriptures. The first we are concerned with is a *Return of the Prodigal*, dated 1636 (B. 91), the treatment of which is free and somewhat hasty. As in many of the master's works, the action takes place on the threshold of a house, raised above the level of the ground by two or three steps. The wanderer returns after the many trials he has undergone, and kneels, ragged and dishevelled, at his father's feet. The old man presses him tenderly to his heart; his mother and the servants, hearing the noise, have hurried to the spot. The *Abraham dismissing Hagar* (B. 30), though

Tobias and the Angel (about 1636).

(MR. M. H. SPIELMANN'S COLLECTION.)

later by a year, has neither the breadth of treatment nor the expressive power of the earlier plate. Both types and composition have a certain vulgarity; and the master has made local colour a pretext for the indulgence of his taste for Orientalisms: he represents Ishmael in Turkish costume, and the patriarch in a turban and a long fur-lined robe. Hagar dries her tears with a voluminous handkerchief, while her rival watches her departure with manifest satisfaction from a window above. In the landscape background we recognise the lofty buildings that shut out the horizon in the *Susanna at the Bath* of the Hague Museum, which was painted at the same period. The *Abraham caressing Isaac* (B. 33), probably executed the same year, has more of breadth, if not of distinction. The firm, decisive handling marks important technical advance, and the master has given great richness and animation to the plate by the flow and close intersection of the lines. But the two figures are utterly without style. The Abraham was discovered in the streets of Amsterdam, and the urchin between his knees bears an unfortunate likeness to the *Ganymede* already described. The figures in an etching of 1638, *Adam and Eve in Paradise* (B. 28), are as vulgar, and more repulsively ugly than these. It is hard to say which is the more unattractive of the well-matched pair, and the grotesque dragon who tempts them is a fitting complement to the scene. The execution of this plate however is remarkably free and delicate. Another plate dated 1638, *Joseph relating his Dreams* (B. 37), was preceded by a *grisaille* of the same subject, belonging to Mr. Six, painted probably some years earlier. It is carried out in yellow tones, the details put in lightly upon a thin glaze of colour, heightened here and there by semi-transparent touches. Beauty is scarcely the strong point of the persons either in the print or in the sketch; but their various expressions are very characteristic of the subject, notably those of the young speaker and the old man,[1] who looks at him earnestly as if already

[1] The type of the old man is that of one of the *Philosophers* and of several etchings of his period.

presaging the future greatness of his son. The same expressive qualities are combined with very happy arrangement in a *Presentation in the Temple* (B. 49), which was no doubt begun the year following. Judging by the finished portions, it seems probable that the artist intended to treat this plate with a good deal of elaboration. But whether from some defect in the copper, or some accident in the biting, all the impressions are monotonously gray, and the work was never completed.

A YOUNG MAN MUSING.
1637 (B. 268).

Among the engraved portraits of this period, the first belongs to the year 1636, and represents the *Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel* (B. 269), a half-length figure, almost full-face, wearing a broad-brimmed hat. As we have already said, he was a man distinguished for his intelligence and uprightness, and one of the most eminent members of the Jewish colony in Amsterdam. Born in 1604, he was nearly of the same age as Rembrandt, and the painter no doubt took pleasure in his society, and often consulted him as to readings of the Scripture texts. A friendship had grown up between them, and the intimacy thus established was a lasting one, for in 1654 Menasseh commissioned Rembrandt to illustrate one of his books. The artist has admirably expressed the frank and loyal character of his sitter by the simplicity of his portrait. The head is drawn in outline, and very slightly

The Angel Raphael leaving Tobias (1637).

(LOUVRE.)

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann, Paris (France)

shaded. The *Old Man with a Square Beard and a velvet cap* (B. 313) of the following year is more elaborately treated, as

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN.
1639 (B. 99).

befitted the type, of which a sagacious prudence is the dominant characteristic. The drawing is somewhat round and soft, very

different to that of another portrait of the same year, *A Young Man seated and musing* (B. 268). The firmness and exquisite sobriety of the handling in this plate entitle it to rank among Rembrandt's masterpieces. It is impossible to forget the depth of expression in the sitter's melancholy face, his mournful eyes and suffering look, his air of weakness and ill-health. The cap on his head and the scarf about his neck seem to proclaim him one of Rembrandt's intimates. Taking into account the extreme simplicity of the execution, it seems to us that expressive power could hardly go further. A portrait of Uytenbogaerd, dated 1639, and commonly known as *The Gold-weigher* (B. 281), is a more highly finished work. Rembrandt, as we know, had certain dealings at this time with Uytenbogaerd, the Treasurer of the States of Holland, in connection with payments for the pictures ordered by Prince Frederick Henry. He represents the Treasurer in a velvet cap and fur-trimmed dress seated at a table, his ledger before him, and a pair of scales ready to test the weight of the bullion in the money-bags by his side. He holds his pen in his right hand, and with his left gives one of the bags to a kneeling boy, who is busy packing the coin into little barrels ranged on the ground near a great strong-box clamped with iron. A man and woman in the background bring more bags; an arched picture, representing the incident of the *Brazen Serpent*, hangs on the wall. In the first state of this print, Uytenbogaerd's head is indicated by a few slight strokes of the needle; in the second, the refined and very individual face is treated with the same sobriety of execution we have admired in several preceding portraits, while in other portions of the plate, as for instance the table-cloth and the kneeling boy, we recognise the hand of a pupil, perhaps Ferdinand Bol. But the general effect, and the skilful distribution of the light, show that the assistance of another was kept within narrow limits.

The large plate of the *Death of the Virgin* (B. 99), also a work

of 1639, is greatly superior to this, not only by reason of its more important dimensions, but in its beauty of arrangement and originality of treatment. It is, in fact, one of the most masterly of Rembrandt's creations.[1] Having made up his mind not to carry his work throughout the whole plate, he frankly proclaims his resolution, and the decision he shows in adhering to it proves the completeness of his initial conception. Before touching the copper he made a number of preliminary studies, notably one of the doctor holding the dying woman's hand, whose figure, exactly reproduced, but reversed, is to be found in another of the master's plates (B. 155). In the Berlin Print Room there is a study for one of the kneeling women, and the bed, with its carved posts and canopy, is that of the *Danäe* in the Hermitage, the only modification being the omission of the carved Cupid at the head. Every emotion brought into play by the death of one long loved and venerated is mirrored here. Some among the persons who gather round the Virgin's bed try to relieve her sufferings, as, for instance, the old man who supports her head with tender respect, and holds some restorative perfume to her nostrils; others kneel in prayer; others gaze lovingly at her, or give way to uncontrollable grief. But in spite of the multiplicity of figures, the pathetic interest and the emotional aspect of the scene predominate throughout. The details, though peculiarly rich and varied, all contribute to the general effect, and, far from impairing the unity of the conception, serve to intensify it. It would be hard to say too much in praise of the bold contrasts which give richness and colour to this plate by the simplest means. Reserving all the light for the centre of the composition, Rembrandt was content to render the persons whose faces and

[1] "*Every lover of Art comes in time to have private predilections which he cannot always readily account for and explain. Thus, of all the plates of Rembrandt, the 'Death of the Virgin' is the one that fascinates and moves me most.*" *Thus interestingly writes Mr. Hamerton, in his "Etching and Etchers." He is assuming, of course, that the impression you look at is really a fine one.—F. W.*

attitudes he so vigorously characterises, by outlines no less expressive than concise. The eloquent brevity of such treatment will give some idea of his consummate draughtsmanship. In no creation has he proclaimed his intentions more emphatically, or given nobler expression to the emotions aroused in him by the poetry of a beautiful theme.

THE GRANDMOTHER.

Pen drawing (Stockholm Print Room).

PEN DRAWING HEIGHTENED WITH SEPIA.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

CHAPTER XII

REMBRANDT'S GROWING FAME—HIS INFLUENCE ON HIS CONTEMPORARIES—HIS FIRST PUPILS AT AMSTERDAM: FERDINAND BOL, GOVERT FLINCK, GERBRANDT VAN DEN EECKHOUT, JAN VICTORS, PHILIPS DE KONINCK, ETC.—HIS REPUTED AVARICE—HIS TASTES AS A COLLECTOR—PURCHASE OF A HOUSE IN THE BREESTRAAT—REMBRANDT'S FRIENDS AND DOMESTIC HABITS—ETCHINGS OF SASKIA—THE DEATH OF REMBRANDT'S MOTHER.

BUST OF A MAN WITH CURLING HAIR, AND HIS UNDER-LIP THRUST OUT.
About 1635 (B. 305).

REMBRANDT'S talents, and the favour he enjoyed at Amsterdam, had now made him widely known. His etchings, which had been well received from the first, spread his fame not only throughout his own country, but in foreign lands, and many pupils came to seek instruction from him. We do not think, however, that he received any into his studio in the very early days of his residence. He was then less extensively known. Besides which, the ages of those who are found to have been his first pupils sufficiently prove that they cannot have become Rembrandt's apprentices till some few years after his arrival. When he had rather more time at his disposal, he found it impossible to refuse all of the many applicants for admission. He was at once the most fashionable portraitist and the most con-

spicuous historical painter of the day. Various circumstances, as we shall see, had combined with his superiority over his rivals to secure his pre-eminence.

We have already spoken of the fascination which drew so many Dutch painters to Italy. On their return these emigrants introduced the taste for Biblical and mythological subjects, together with that interest in problems of chiaroscuro they had acquired in the cosmopolitan colony of Caravaggio's disciples. We need but quote the names of Ribera at Naples, Valentin and Claude Lorraine in France, Elsheimer in Germany, and Honthorst in Holland, to prove that painters of all countries were busying themselves with researches bearing on the properties and effects of light. The band of *Italianisers* who had preceded Rembrandt was gradually dwindling and declining. The most famous of them—his master, Lastman—had died at the beginning of February 1633, shortly after Rembrandt's arrival at Amsterdam. Others, such as the Pynases, Leonard Bramer, Moses Uytenbroeck, and Dirck Bleker, found themselves eclipsed by their young rival; several among them became his imitators. Rembrandt, though faithful to many of the principles of his national art, had extended its domain. To the charm of an incomparable technique he added the splendour of a rich imagination; but more than this, his interpretation of the Scriptures appealed to the religious sentiment of his contemporaries, and he drew unexpected eloquence from apparently exhausted themes. He had thus a strong title to public favour, and his influence extended far beyond Amsterdam, making itself felt in cities which, by virtue of their distance or of their own artistic preoccupations, might have been supposed to lie beyond its reach. Dordrecht, which reckoned several masters of distinction among its painters, sent him a number of pupils in succession. Artists already established in the city, such as Benjamin Cuyp, imitated him in their choice of subjects; and Albert Cuyp, Benjamin's famous nephew, soon adopted Rembrandt's methods in the arrangement and illumination of his portraits. Another of the Dordrecht artists, Paulus Lesire, who entered the guild of the city in 1631, made a more complete surrender of independence. In several of his por-

traits[1] his sitter masquerades in the martial trappings so dear to Rembrandt, and but for their feeble execution they might easily be mistaken for works of his exemplar. In other towns—at Haarlem, Delft, and even at Deventer, among the Terborchs—we shall find similar evidence of the master's prestige—a prestige so great that, in the words of Houbraken, "none but imitators of his manner had any chance of popularity."

Such being the case, pupils flocked to Rembrandt from all quarters of Holland, and even from neighbouring countries, as soon as he announced his willingness to receive them. But among the scholars imputed to him there are some whose claim to the title we are inclined to doubt. We have already given reasons for considering Willem de Poorter a disciple rather than a pupil of Rembrandt. Neither do we believe Jacob de Wet to have been his scholar. A similarity of names has caused a good deal of confusion between the various De Wets, and the question of their identity is still obscure; but in our opinion there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Van der Willigen's statements as to Jacob.[2] We have already mentioned this artist, whose works show a strong affinity to Rembrandt, in spite of a certain roughness of style and execution. We have also pointed out the differences between the two *Resurrections of Lazarus* signed De Wet (in the Hermitage and the Darmstadt Museum) and the large plate of 1633 ascribed to Rembrandt. The fact that this same date appears on the second of the two pictures seems to us conclusive evidence against De Wet's supposed apprenticeship to Rembrandt. The similarities to Rembrandt which we shall find in various other works by De Wet, such, for instance, as the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* belonging to M. Semenoff, and the *Christ on Calvary* in the Orloff-Davidoff collection, are no less conspicuous in the works of many contemporary painters.

As to Jacob Adriaensz Backer, if he, as is commonly supposed, ever studied under Rembrandt, his novitiate must have been of the

[1] Notably one in the Haussmann collection at Hanover, and another in the Semenoff collection at St. Petersburg.

[2] *Les Artistes de Haarlem*, p. 324.

briefest. Born at Harlingen in 1608 or 1609, he was nearly of the same age as his reputed master, and when he arrived at Amsterdam after his apprenticeship to Lambert Jacobsz at Leeuwarden, Houbraken tells us it was with the intention of practising independently. He was in fact already an accomplished artist. A first-rate draughtsman, he excelled in life-studies in black and white chalk, more particularly in those from female models, and as a painter he was famed for the extraordinary rapidity of his execution. Houbraken, who repeatedly takes occasion to praise his amiability and sweetness of disposition, mentions a female portrait which he completed in a day. Some of his more important works, such as the *Portrait of Uytenbogaerd* of 1638, in the Council Chamber of the Remonstrants at Amsterdam, the *Regents of the Municipal Orphanage* in that city, and the beautiful *Dutch Family* belonging to Mr. H. Krafft, give a very favourable impression of the refinement, sincerity, pleasant colour, and admirable arrangement that distinguish his portraits, some of which are equal to any painted by De Keyser and Rembrandt at this period. Backer was on excellent terms with both artists, and De Keyser painted a portrait of him, which survives only in a print by Th. Matham.

Born at Dordrecht in June 1616, Ferdinand Bol was brought as a child to Amsterdam. He must have entered Rembrandt's studio at an early age, probably when he was about sixteen. Both as painter and engraver he was one of the master's first and best pupils. He is supposed to have remained some eight or nine years with him. But he had certainly left him before 1642, for there is a *Portrait of an old Lady* by him in the Berlin Museum bearing this date, which also appears on three of his etchings. His early works are very unequal. One, a *Salome dancing before Herod*, is positively grotesque in its awkwardness. But by 1644 Bol's powers were fully developed. A *Flight into Egypt* of this year in the Dresden Gallery is a well-composed picture, slightly monotonous in its brown tonality, but marked by great sweetness and charm of expression. In the *Angels at the Tomb of Jesus* in the Copenhagen Museum, a very important work of the same year, with life-size figures, the scene, which takes place in a

cave, is Rembrandtesque in its grandeur of conception and knowledge of chiaroscuro. Several of the figures are indeed borrowed from Rembrandt, among them the woman with arms outstretched, who gazes wonderingly at the Saviour, and another, who kneels on the ground in an attitude identical with that of Tobit in the *Angel Raphael* of the Louvre. The figure of Sara in the *Tobias and his Bride* of the Brunswick Museum is almost an exact reproduction of the *Danäe* in the Hermitage, and we shall find Bol levying contributions on his master for various other pictures and engravings. His skill as an etcher no doubt enabled him to give valuable help to Rembrandt towards the close of his apprenticeship, for, as Bartsch remarks, "his management of the point is so strikingly akin to that of Rembrandt himself, that we should have some difficulty in distinguishing between the works of the two, if we relied solely on the technique for guidance." Of the fifteen plates catalogued by Bartsch, three are dated 1642, and three others 1645, 1649, and 1651 respectively. Bol's indebtedness to Rembrandt is no less apparent in these than in his pictures. In plates such as the *Aged Philosopher*, the *Old Man with a curling Beard*, the *Man in a Cap*, dated 1642 (B. 6, 9, and 13), and the *Portrait of an Officer*, in a plumed cap and steel gorget, of 1645 (B. 11), types, arrangement, and execution are closely allied to those of

JOSEPH TELLING HIS DREAMS.
1638 (B. 37).

the master. The large plate of *Abraham's Sacrifice* (B. 1), the *Gideon's Sacrifice* (B. 2), and the *Family* (B. 4), a plate of 1649 seem to be copies, more or less free, of compositions by Rembrandt.[1] The rich colour and the distribution of light in many of Bol's early portraits are so closely allied to like features in his master's works that it is not unusual, even in the best collections, to find pictures by Bol on which Rembrandt's signature has been substituted for that of his pupil. Such are the two charming portraits in the Munich Pinacothek, probably Govert Flinck and his wife (Nos. 338 and 339). They were formerly catalogued as by Rembrandt, and bear a forged signature and the date 1642. On two other portraits, belonging to Lord Ashburton, the date 1641 has been left, and the B of the original signature is incorporated with the name Rembrandt, which now figures on each.[2] We may mention in conclusion two portraits at Grosvenor House ascribed to Rembrandt, and dated 1643, in which both Dr. Bredius and I fancied we could detect the hand of Bol. As time went on the pupil gradually emancipated himself from the master's influence, and showed himself the possessor of a pleasing original talent in many pictures lighter in tone and better suited to popular taste, which were much admired. Bol was honoured by commissions from princes, municipalities, and corporations; he was employed on the decorations of the Town Hall of Amsterdam, and in the Museum and the Burgomasters' Gallery there are portraits by him of the Regents of various charitable institutions, the most notable of which is the group of the seven Regents of the Huiszittenhuis, painted in 1657. The artist became one of the managers of this establishment himself, and retained the office, which was then much in request, until his death. In his later portraits there is a certain tameness in the drawing, and the heads, somewhat round and heavy in modelling, have little of the individuality which distinguishes those of Rembrandt's portraits. Yet Bol was high in popular favour when Rembrandt was forsaken and neglected.

[1] The latter reproduces the grouping of the *Carpenter's Family* in the Louvre, reversing it, however.

[2] They were Nos. 69 and 76 in the Winter Exhibition of 1890.

Poets sang his praises; he had amassed a modest fortune at his death in July 1680; and Houbraken, commenting on his happy and well-spent life, remarked that he had been "the favourite alike of nature and of fortune."

Govert Flinck, who was nearly of the same age as Bol, must certainly have been his fellow-pupil in Rembrandt's studio. Flinck's apprenticeship was, however, a very brief one. He was born at Cleves, January 25, 1615; but his family had resolutely opposed his passionate desire to become an artist. It happened, however, that a Mennonite preacher visited Cleves, by whose eloquence Flinck's parents were deeply moved. They were greatly astonished to learn that a man of such exemplary character and high attainments was no other than the famous painter Lambert Jacobsz, of Leeuwarden. They forthwith decided to entrust him with the education of their son, who made rapid progress under his teaching. Jacob Backer, a fellow-pupil in Jacobsz's studio, having left Leeuwarden to settle at Amsterdam, Flinck followed him, and placed himself under Rembrandt, with whom he remained a year. It was probably at his master's recommendation that he lodged with Rembrandt's friend and cousin, Hendrick van Uylenborch, the art-dealer, of whose house he was an inmate in 1637. His pupilage must have been at an end as early as 1636, for in that year he signed a portrait of a young girl, now in the Brunswick Museum. This portrait, together with one of a young officer (1637) in the Hermitage, and another in the Louvre, of a little girl masquerading as a shepherdess (1641), after the fashion of the day, have a freshness and brilliance of colour, and a delicacy in the shadows, which recall portraits painted by Rembrandt about 1633-34. Several of Flinck's pictures were based on the master's creations. His *Angel appearing to the Shepherds*, in the Louvre, was unquestionably inspired by Rembrandt's plate (B. 44), and his *Jacob's Blessing*, in the Ryksmuseum, was as evidently founded on a drawing by the master in the Stockholm collection. At a later period Flinck was fascinated by the examples of Rubens and Vandyck he probably saw at Antwerp. He abandoned his exercises in the

treatment of light, and gradually adopted a bright, limpid, cheerful manner, in strong contrast with that of his master. His sober handling was better suited to the general taste, and his vogue increased as Rembrandt's popularity declined. His works were even more admired than those of Bol, and he became the fashionable painter of the day. Vondel, whose portrait Flinck painted, applauds him in several of his poems, and other writers compare him with Rembrandt, only to proclaim his superiority to the master. Various important works for the Town Hall of Amsterdam and the House in the Wood (*Huis ten Bosch*), near the Hague, were entrusted to him; he divided the patronage of the civic guards with Van der Helst, and received many commissions from the Elector of Brandenburg. His marriage with the daughter of the Director of the East India Company at Rotterdam greatly advanced his fortunes, and he was respected as a man of means by his fellow-citizens. He built himself a fine studio, with a gallery lighted from above, in which he arranged his collection of statues, casts, pictures, and drawings. Connoisseurs and distinguished men met at his house to discuss art questions, and when Prince Maurice came to Amsterdam he was a frequent visitor in Flinck's studio. The two large pictures in the Ryksmuseum, *Captain Bas with his Company* (1645), and the *Banquet in Honour of the Peace of Westphalia* (1648), are typical examples of his powers. The proportions of the figures are not always correct, but the grouping is very happy, the execution is broad and supple, and the gay variety of the colours makes a pleasant harmony, more especially in the earlier work, in which there are echoes here and there of the handling of Van Dyck and of the intonations of Velasquez.

Unlike Bol and Flinck, who soon abandoned Rembrandt's manner, a somewhat younger pupil, Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout—born at Amsterdam, August 19, 1620—remained faithful to the instruction he had shared with them. He was the son of a goldsmith, with whom Rembrandt may have had dealings, and had received some education—sufficient at least to enable him to write verses. Two of his effusions have been preserved, one written under a drawing of his own, the

other under one by Jan van de Cappelle, in a *Liber Amicorum*, or family album, a fashionable possession of that period. These verses, however, show no great poetic faculty, and abound in the laborious subtleties and conceits approved by the taste of the day. His artistic education was completed by 1641: a picture signed by him and bearing that date was shown to me in London. It is remarkable for its soft, golden tonality, and represents *Jacob Blessing his Children.* Van den Eeckhout painted several good portraits, among others that of a *Savant* in the Städel Institute; but his best works are on a small scale. Though he had a certain measure of individuality, he shows himself a docile imitator of Rembrandt in choice of subject, as in composition, and treatment of chiaroscuro. His *Woman taken in Adultery*, in the Ryksmuseum, is a manifest *pasticcio* on Rembrandt's picture of 1644, in the National Gallery. But when he makes choice of historical subjects, and treats them on a large scale, as in his *Darius and his Family*, in the Hermitage (1662), or the *Sophonisba*, at Brunswick (1664), his execution becomes tame, and on the pretext of local colour he loads his figures with the most fantastic accoutrements. It was no doubt his inability to work satisfactorily in large dimensions which prevented Eeckhout from undertaking those portrait groups of the civic guards which gave employment to most of his fellow-students. On the other hand, he showed some taste for decorative art. Two series of ornamental subjects are extant which he made from designs by himself, J. Lutma, and the two Van Vianens, for the use of goldsmiths, sculptors, and painters. Throughout his life he retained a tender affection for his master, whom he did not long survive, for he was buried at Amsterdam, September 29, 1674. We learn from Houbraken that he was also greatly attached to the landscape-painter R. Roghman, one of Rembrandt's most faithful friends.

Several painters, very inferior to those we have enumerated, must be added to the list of Rembrandt's pupils at this period. Among these was Jan Victors, born at Amsterdam in 1620. He must have quitted the master's studio by 1640, for his *Continence of Scipio* at the

Hermitage, and his *Young Girl at a Window* in the Louvre, both bear that date. In the latter, as in some of his portraits, notably that of the Burgomaster J. Appelman (1661) in the Haarlem Museum, and in the *Pork-butcher* (1648), a study in the Ryksmuseum, Victors shows that the master's teaching had not been entirely lost on him. But in most of his large compositions, as, for instance, the *Joseph interpreting the Dreams* (1648), the *Dentist* (1654) in the Ryksmuseum, and the three pictures in the Brunswick Museum: *Esther and Haman* (1642), *David and Solomon* (1653), and *Samson captured by the Philistines*, there is little to redeem the vulgarity of his types and arrangement, his insipidity of expression, and the peculiarly unpleasant effect of his dingy yellow tones. Though Victors was but a mediocre artist, we learn from a document lately discovered among the archives that he shone in good works; he accepted the post of nurse or attendant to the sick on board a ship, and died in India, after one of his voyages.

To Dr. Bredius we owe our knowledge of another pupil of Rembrandt's, hitherto ignored. In March, 1637, on the occasion of the sale of the painter Pieter Bassée at Amsterdam, Rembrandt, as was not unfrequently his custom, desired "his pupil," one Leendert Cornelisz van Beyeren, to attend. The latter bought a book of drawings and prints by Lucas van Leyden for the respectable sum of 637 florins.[1] Born at Amsterdam, probably in 1620, Leendert Cornelisz was the son of a rich timber merchant of the town, whose second wife was the widow of Jan Pynas the painter. He had frequented Rembrandt's studio, and his inventory, and also that of his father, mention several copies by him after the master, studies of heads, one of them representing a soldier. His early death, in 1649, accounts for the extreme rarity of his works. Dr. Bredius is of opinion that the only picture we may ascribe to him with any show of probability is an *Ecce Homo* in the Buda-Pesth Museum. The execution of this work, which is painted in the Rembrandtesque manner, is quite unlike that of any known pupil of the master; and the inventory of Leendert's effects, dated October

[1] *Oud-Holland*, v. p. 217.

10, 1649, mentions a picture by him the subject of which was an *Ecce Homo*.

Salomon Koninck has been erroneously included among Rembrandt's scholars. Born in 1609, he was but little younger than the master. He had received a very similar training, and ended by falling completely under Rembrandt's influence. David Colyns, Frans Venant, Lastman's brother-in-law, and Claes Moeyaert, one of the most prominent artists of the day, were successively his masters. Though he may be considered a disciple of Moeyaert, his affinities to Rembrandt are still more strongly marked, and his *Praying Hermits* and *Contemplative Philosophers* are candid *pasticci* on those of his model. He even went beyond mere imitation, and we have already mentioned the numerous copies by him of the *Rabbi* of 1635, at Chatsworth. The mistake as to Koninck's relations with Rembrandt arose, no doubt, from the fact that Philips Koninck, probably his cousin, was Rembrandt's pupil at the time we are dealing with. Philips was born at Amsterdam in 1619, and buried there October 4, 1688. He is best known as a painter of landscape, but Gerard Hoet mentions a *Girl at a Window* by him, and another of his works, a *Sleeping Venus*, was praised in some verses by Vondel, with whom the artist seems to have been on terms of friendship all his life, for he drew and painted many portraits of the poet. Of Philips Koninck's landscapes we shall have more to say when we speak of his master's.

Hitherto, neither biographers nor archives have yielded any additions to the restricted list of Rembrandt's pupils at this period. Even allowing that some may have escaped notice, we cannot but think that Sandrart slightly exaggerated their numbers in the passage we have quoted. Though Rembrandt, in common with his brother artists, availed himself of his pupil's collaboration to a certain extent, he never systematically relied upon it. We have noticed his reluctance to sign works not entirely by his own hand, and the care with which he pointed out his own share in a composition. Houbraken, who quotes Sandrart's text in this connection, adds some particulars as to the methods adopted in Rembrandt's studio: "Each pupil worked in

a cell, divided from his neighbour by partitions of canvas, or even of paper, so that he might be entirely undisturbed and independent of others, in his studies from nature." A drawing by Rembrandt, bequeathed to the Louvre by M. His de la Salle (No. 202), o which we give a reproduction, represents the interior of the *atelier*, and confirms Houbraken's description. In the foreground a painter, probably one of the pupils, is seated before an easel, palette in hand, engaged on the portrait of a lady near him. Under a window to the left is a man in a large hat, drawing or engraving, and, in the background behind, an assistant grinding colours on a small table. Beyond him are compartments like the stalls in a stable, opening upon a corridor; a large parasol, some draperies, a death's-head, and various objects arranged as a trophy adorn the walls.

Rembrandt, who well knew the importance of individual work, was doubtless anxious to secure it for his pupils, by this sub-division. He was also quite capable of maintaining order and discipline among the young men, when they showed signs of abusing the liberty allowed them. A story told by Houbraken sufficiently proves this. One summer day, the master, coming unexpectedly into the studio, heard one of his pupils, who was shut into his cell with a female model, laughingly exclaim: "Here we are, for all the world like Adam and Eve in Paradise!"—"And like them you shall be driven out!" cried Rembrandt, and instantly ordering the door to be opened he chased them down the staircase and into the street, barely allowing them time to snatch up a few of their garments.

We have seen that the master, in addition to his studies from the human body, turned everything around him to account for his own instruction. The animals, objects of still-life, and stuffs he used were also copied by his pupils. Several of their studies, some retouched by himself, are enumerated in his inventory. He was careful to vary such work as much as possible, and to this end he made his house a perfect museum of curiosities, and seemed never weary of adding new acquisitions to his stores, costly materials, stuffed animals, richly

Rembrandt's Studio.

Pen and Wash.

(LOUVRE.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

ornamented weapons, plasters, casts from nature or the antique, pictures and engravings by various masters. He transacted business with all the principal art-dealers, and was a frequent attendant at sales. So early as 1635 he bought a number of drawings, chiefly by Adriaen Brauwer, at the Van Sommeren sale, on February 22. In 1637 his name is often to be met with in the registers of sales held by order of the courts of justice. He bought pictures, prints, shells, horns, &c.[1] In an account book which belonged to the Advocate Trojanus de Magistris, one of the best-known amateurs of the day, a sum of 424 florins is entered under the date October 8, 1637, as received from Rembrandt for a picture of *Hero and Leander* by Rubens, which had been deposited with Trojanus. When Rembrandt wished to make a purchase himself, he very often commissioned one of his pupils to bid for him, as we know he did in the case of Pieter Bassée's sale. His interests were certainly safer in their hands than his own. A very significant piece of information on this point is furnished by the Florentine writer Baldinucci,[2] to whom we owe some curious details as to Rembrandt's character and habits—details we may safely accept in the main, as he derived them from the master's Danish pupil, Bernard Keilh, who lived with him for eight years. "When Rembrandt was present at a sale," he tells us, "it was his habit, especially when pictures or drawings by great masters were put up, to make an enormous advance on the first bid, which generally silenced all competitors. To those who expressed their surprise at such a proceeding he replied that by this means he hoped to raise the status of his profession." Baldinucci adds that this man, who has too long been represented as a miser, "willingly lent all his possessions to artists who required them for their works."

Houbraken was the first to accuse Rembrandt of avarice, thus opening up a new field of calumny to his successors. The instance he cites in support of his charge is anything but conclusive, even

[1] *Oud-Holland*, v. p. 214.

[2] Filippo Baldinucci: *Cominciamento e progresso dell' arte dell' intagliare in rame.* Florence. 1686.

if its authenticity be admitted. He relates that some of Rembrandt's pupils, having detected his weakness, occasionally amused themselves by painting a small coin on the floor, which the master would endeavour to pick up. We know that Rembrandt's temper, though kindly, was not very long-suffering, and he was not the person to tolerate the repetition of such an impertinence. Granting that he may have been victimised on one occasion, it is absurd to lay stress on such a very natural impulse, one to which his habitual absence of mind made him especially liable, and which may be readily accounted for on other grounds than that of avarice. Few artists, indeed, have shown such a lack of worldly wisdom in the conduct of their affairs, and he was destined to cruelly expiate his want of method at the close of his career. He squandered his money in the most prodigal fashion: that which Saskia brought him, no less than his own earnings, and the legacies that fell to him from time to time. Far from watching keenly over his own interests, he was always too ready to neglect them, and in the administration of family affairs he was invariably guided by his natural generosity, and by a kindliness which, as Baldinucci assures us, "often led him into extravagances." As his money came in, it was immediately spent on acquisitions of all sorts: he also drew largely on his credit: and in the matter of ornaments for his beloved Saskia, nothing was too magnificent. The pearls, precious stones, rich necklaces, clasps, and bracelets of every kind she wears in her portraits, and in the pictures for which she sat, were not, as Vosmaer supposes, gems of Rembrandt's imagination, created by a stroke of the brush. From these portraits and pictures we might make an inventory of the young wife's jewel-case. We shall give the actual list further on. Urged alike by his love for Saskia and his devotion to his art, Rembrandt found it impossible to resist the temptation of these purchases. In addition to the silver basins, ewers, and cups he introduces in many of his compositions, note the jewels that sparkle in the hair and ears, on the arms, neck, and breast of the *Artemisia* in the Prado and of *Samson's Bride* at Dresden, as

also those which are the sole adornment of the *Danäe* in the Hermitage.

Certain of Saskia's relatives, prompted either by jealousy or by genuine disapproval of the lavish expenditure and unconventional proceedings of the young couple, began to criticise the household with some severity. Divisions had sprung up in the family in connection with the distribution of old Rombertus' estate. A series of law-suits engaged in by the disputants had caused mutual estrangements. Rembrandt had espoused the cause of the Gerard van Loos, who had his entire confidence. On the eve of his marriage he had, in fact, placed all his interests in Friesland in Gerard's hands. By a deed drawn up at Rotterdam, on July 22, 1634, Gerard was empowered to deal with all sums due to the young couple and to "sign all contracts and receipts for them."[1] The result of the litigation above mentioned was a judgment given by the court of Friesland in the Van Loos' favour, and their opponents had no doubt vented their chagrin in somewhat free strictures on Rembrandt and his wife, declaring that Saskia had "squandered her patrimony in jewels and display." Greatly incensed by attacks which he felt to be not wholly groundless, Rembrandt brought an action against the Albert van Loos, and supported by his brother-in-law, Ulric van Uylenborch, he demanded damages for "a calumny in no respect true," declaring that he and his wife were on the contrary "richly and even superabundantly (*ex superabundanti*) provided with means," and that they had, therefore, just claims to compensation. The court, however, adjudged his grievance insufficient, and non-suited him by a decree of July 16, 1638.[2]

In spite of his assertion of solvency, Rembrandt had already been in difficulties, and even before 1637 he had been obliged to raise money. His correspondence with Huygens furnishes evidence of his embarrassments. Writing to the Prince's secretary, on January 27, 1639, to announce the completion of the two pictures the *Entombment* and the *Resurrection*, he begs for immediate payment, "as the money would be

[1] *Oud-Holland*, viii. p. 208.

[2] Scheltema: *Discours sur Rembrandt;* notes to the French edition, p. 61.

very acceptable just now." He further interviewed the Treasurer, Uytenbogaerd, who told him that payment might be made at his office.[1] On the thirteenth of February following, Rembrandt, having agreed to the proposed price of 600 florins each for his pictures, *plus* 44 florins for frames and case, returned to the charge, asking that payment might be made "as quickly as possible at Amsterdam." As however there was a further delay of some days, he repeated his request more urgently than before, begging that "the order might be made out immediately." His importunity was needless, for in the interval (on February 17) Huygens had instructed the Treasurer-General Volbergen to discharge the Prince's debt.

REMBRANDT'S HOUSE IN THE BREESTRAAT.
(In its present state.)

We learn from other sources the cause of Rembrandt's impatience, and his solicitations for payment. A few days before he had bought a house. On his arrival at Amsterdam he had, according to Houbraken, taken up his quarters in a warehouse on the Bloemgracht. His letters to Huygens mention various subsequent domiciles. In February 1636 he was living in the Nieuwe Doel Straet; three years later he removed to a house on a new quay at the end of the town, on the Binnen

[1] It was probably one of these visits to Uytenbogaerd which suggested to Rembrandt the idea and the motive of his *Gold-weigher*, the print we described in the last chapter. It was also in acknowledgment of Huygens' good offices in this matter that he offered the large picture the Secretary had hesitated to accept. The date and dimensions (10 feet by 8) of this picture seem to indicate, as we have already remarked, that the *Samson* in the Schönborn collection was the work in question.

Amstel. It was known as the *Sugar Refinery* (*t'huys is genaemt die Suykerbackery*). Such changes were little to the taste of a recluse like Rembrandt; he felt the need of a home in which he could set up his studio, install his pupils, and arrange his collections. On January 5, 1639, he bought a house belonging to the heirs of P. Beltens in the Joden-Breestraat (a continuation of the Saint Anthonis Breestraat), the second beyond the bridge. This house, which was in

VIEW OF THE BINNEN AMSTEL.

(The *Suykerbackery* was to the left, on the quay with trees.)

(Facsimile of a contemporary engraving.)

the very heart of the Jewish quarter, adjoined that of the Jew, Salvador Rodrigues, on the east, and on the west, that of Rembrandt's brother-artist, Nicolaes Elias. The price was 13,000 florins, a fourth of which was to be paid a year after possession, and the remainder in five or six years. A sum so considerable in those days shows that the property was a valuable one. The house must have been in excellent repair, for it was a comparatively new building, as we

know from the date, 1606, inscribed on a stone modillion of the second story. Rembrandt evidently counted on his annual gains for these successive payments. He now received considerable sums, ranging from 500 to 600 florins, for his portraits and pictures. He was beginning to make a good deal by his etchings; he had further the payments from his pupils, and the occasional legacies that fell to him. In 1640, on the death of an aunt of Saskia's—probably her godmother, for she too was called Saskia—Rembrandt gave his pupil, Ferdinand Bol, a power of attorney, dated August 30, authorising him to receive his share of her property. The death of his mother shortly afterwards brought him in another sum of money. This had enabled him to pay off half the purchase-money of his house, and thus proclaim his intention of discharging the whole debt as soon as possible. Unhappily, his virtuous zeal was short-lived. He made no further payments, and the accumulated interest on the debt eventually became one of the main causes of his ruin.

But so far the future seemed bright enough. In May of the year 1639 he took up his abode in the house he was to inhabit till the time of disaster, and, as may be readily imagined, set to work at its arrangement and adornment. His home had always been dear to him, and in this, which he hoped would be a permanent one, he delighted to store everything pleasant to the eye, and serviceable to his art. The life he marked out for himself was now, as always, methodical; everything was made subordinate to his work. On this point his biographers are all agreed. Sandrart, Houbraken, and after them Baldinucci, bear witness to the jealous care with which he guarded his working hours. "When he was painting he would not have given audience to the greatest monarch on earth, but would have compelled even such an one to wait, or to come again when he was at leisure." We know he had little love for society, and that he never appeared at any of the gatherings of his brother-artists. Though his pupils, Flinck, Bol, Koninck, and Van den Eeckhout, all figured more or less prominently in public life, he himself was a dweller apart. His name, unlike theirs, appears neither among the members of the Painters' Guild nor among

those of the Civic Guards. When in 1638 Marie de' Medici announced her intention of visiting Amsterdam, the municipality arranged to give her a magnificent reception. While Hooft, at his country house at Muiden, was assembling some of the best known writers of the day—Van Baerle, Dr. Coster, Francisca Duart, and Maria Tesselschade—to celebrate the daughter of the Medici in Latin, Dutch, and Italian poems, the municipality on their part prepared triumphal arches and decorations, the splendours of which they perpetuated in a work published at the civic expense.[1] Moeyaert, De Keyser, Martsen de Jonge, and Sandrart, were employed in the undertaking, but Rembrandt was excluded. He never put himself forward, and was readily forgotten. Neither did he take much pleasure in intercourse with the polished devotees of classic culture who gave the tone to society, and they, on their part, had little sympathy with him. Sandrart's Italian doctrines, and respect for magniloquent tradition were infinitely more to their taste, and in some of the latter's reflections on Rembrandt we find the echo of their grievances against the master. After a passage in which he admits Rembrandt's genius and industry, Sandrart goes on to say: "What he chiefly lacked was a knowledge of Italy, and of other places which afford opportunities for the study of the antique, and of the theory of art." What was to be expected of a painter who, setting at naught "established principles, the usefulness of antiques, Raphael's draughtsmanship and his admirable works, and the academic teaching so necessary to the profession," maintained that "Nature should be the artist's guide, and to her rules only should he submit"! The German painter, a man accustomed to live in the great world, further remarks: "Had he managed his affairs more prudently, and shown more amenity in society, he might have been a richer man. But though he was no spendthrift, he could not maintain his position, and his art suffered from his predilection for the society of the vulgar." [2]

[1] *A History of the Reception given to the Queen-Mother of the most Christian King by the Municipality and Citizens of Amsterdam.* J. and C. Bleau. 1638.

[2] Yet Sandrart himself did not escape Rembrandt's influence, as is evident in his large picture of the *Banquet of the Plenipotentiaries on the Occasion of the Peace of Münster*, dated 1650, in the Nuremberg Town Hall.

Such sentiments were natural enough in a familiar of the Muiden circle, where Sandrart and his works were alike high in favour. Rembrandt, on his side, preferred those simpler folks whose minds were more in touch with the familiar life of the nation, and whose tastes agreed with his own. That intimacy with small tradespeople, and with the lower orders, which scandalised his detractors, profited him more than the acquaintances he might have cultivated among the great, had he been so minded. Among the poor and owly he found opportunities of observing the lively and spontaneous manifestation of feelings he could never have studied in patrician society. Herein lay his strength, that by virtue of the truth and intense vitality of his art, he was able to revivify apparently exhausted themes. By giving shape to the vague aspirations then seething among the masses he had shown the eternal freshness of the greatest subjects.

PORTRAIT OF TITIA VAN UYLENBORCH.
Pen and wash, 1639 (Stockholm Print Room).

Though he admitted but few to his own fireside, he could reckon many distinguished men in whose society he took genuine pleasure, among his relatives and friends. We know that he had secured the lasting affection of members of Saskia's family. He had lately lost the aged Sylvius, who had always shown the warmest attachment to him. The minister died November 19, 1638, after marrying his son in May of the same year. But through the intermediary of the Sylviuses, Rembrandt had made the acquaintance of other clergy of the city, such as Alenson, Eleazar Swalm, and Renier Anslo, whose portrait he afterwards painted. With them, as with the Rabbis and Hebrew scholars of his quarter, he was able to discuss the sacred writings, and the problems of their interpretation. Among his intimates were also collectors and art-dealers, such as his cousin,

Hendrick van Uylenborch, and a certain number of artists, chiefly landscape-painters, like R. Roghman, one of his most constant friends; also a few favourite pupils whom he admitted to his domestic circle.

His own home, however, was all-sufficient for him. There he found

TWO WOMEN IN BEDS, AND OTHER SKETCHES.
About 164 (B. 369).

the two things dearest to him on earth, his work and his wife, that loving companion who anticipated his every wish, and shared his joys and his sorrows. Unhappily, Saskia's health had given him great cause for anxiety for some time past. Her strength had been severely taxed by the birth of several children. She had lost her

eldest son, who was born at the end of 1635. A daughter, born on July 1, 1638, was baptised at the Oude Kerk on July 22 of the following year, by the name of Cornelia, after Rembrandt's mother. But this child too had died, and on July 29, 1640, a second little daughter was given the same name, in the presence of Frans Copal and Titia van Uylenborch. This child in her turn passed away a month later, and was buried August 24, 1640, in the Zuider Kerk, which had become the parish church of the family on their change of dwelling.

Faithful to his early habits, Rembrandt continued to take Saskia for his model, and the etchings he made from her at this period mark the gradual decline of a constitution never very robust. In a plate of 1636 (B. 365), which contains five sketches of her, together with the turbaned head of an old Turk, she is represented in various head-dresses and draperies, much as she appears in a few pictures of this period, still plump, and full of youthful grace. She has the same blooming appearance in one of three heads on a plate executed about this period (B 367), which represents her leaning meditatively on her hand, the sunlight falling full on her. In the *Female Heads* of 1636 (B. 368) the oval of the face in that which seems to us the best likeness is a little sharper, and in the *Little Jewish Bride* of 1638 (B. 342), where the master has drawn her in a loose wrapper with her hair unbound, her features are perceptibly thinner. Finally, in the plate containing some half a dozen disconnected studies, probably executed in 1639 (B. 369), we recognise her in two slight sketches. She is represented in bed, and the feverish anxiety of her face seems to betray some secret terror. Her sister Titia probably came to her for a time at this date, for it was then the master made the charming little washed drawing in the Stockholm Museum. Titia's nimble fingers are engaged on some feminine work, over which she bends, spectacles on nose. Rembrandt himself wrote his sister-in-law's name and the date 1639 beneath the sketch. Saskia's continued ill-health, and the loss of their children, who had followed each other to the grave in such rapid

succession, seem to have greatly depressed the master. Two of the etchings of this period attest his melancholy frame of mind. We have already described the *Death of the Virgin*, the chief figure in which was manifestly inspired by the two sketches on the plate above mentioned. The execution of a very significant allegory, *Youth surprised by Death* (B. 109), must also, we think, be referred to 1639.[1] In this conception Rembrandt reveals the gloomy presentiments that were working in his own mind. A brilliant young couple in rich dresses advance towards the spectator, the woman holding a flower in her hand. At their feet crouches a skeleton, who shows them an hour-glass, reminding them how swiftly the sands of life are running out. These sorrowful fancies were too soon to be realised; in September or October of 1640 Rembrandt lost his mother. She may have paid her son a short visit the previous year, or, as seems more probable, he may have gone to her at Leyden, and there have painted the bust portrait in the Belvedere, signed, and dated 1639, in which she faces the spectator, seated, and leaning upon her stick. Her face has still the same kindly expression, but her broken appearance and air of fatigue and exhaustion proclaim the approaching end.

On the application of her four children, an inventory of her effects was taken preliminary to a division of the estate. This consisted of the house in the Weddesteeg with the land adjoining, several other houses, a few outlying sums of money, a garden, and a half-share in the mill at the White Gate. The net valuation, amounted to 9,960 florins, the share for each child being 2,490 florins. Adriaen, with his sister Lysbeth as coadjutor, undertook the realisation of the property. He was a debtor to the extent of some 1,600 florins to the estate, the administration of which necessitated a new deed of partition on November 2 following.[2] To relieve Adriaen, Rembrandt had accepted his portion in the form of a mortgage at long date on the share of the mill. But being pressed for money, he gave his brother Willem a power of attorney to sell this mortgage. In

[1] *Certainly. It is signed and dated in that year.—F. W.*

[2] *Oud-Holland*, v. p. 220, and viii. p. 174.

spite of his habitual difficulties, he was the first of the family to repay to Adriaen his part of advances made by the latter on the property to be realised. Anxious to simplify matters as far as possible for his co-heirs, he agreed to their various proposals in that spirit of generous affection which marked all his dealings with his family.

A BEGGAR STANDING.

About 1639 (B. 163).

LANDSCAPE, WITH A MILL-SAIL ABOVE A COTTAGE.

1641 (B. 226).

CHAPTER XIII

'THE CARPENTER'S HOUSEHOLD' (1640)—'THE MEETING OF ST. ELIZABETH AND THE VIRGIN'—'MANOAH'S PRAYER' (1641)—PORTRAITS OF THIS PERIOD: THE 'LADY WITH THE FAN' AND 'RENIER ANSLO'—ETCHINGS FROM 1640 TO 1642—PICTURES OF THE MILITARY GUILDS IN HOLLAND—'THE SORTIE OF FRANS BANNING COCQ'S COMPANY,' COMMONLY CALLED 'THE NIGHT WATCH' (1642).

A WOMAN WITH A BASKET.

About 1642 (B. 356).

AFTER the death of his mother, Rembrandt naturally sought solace and distraction in his work, and in the affections that still remained to him. And, as may be readily imagined, seeing how intimate the union between his life and art had always been, his works of this period faithfully reflect the thoughts that filled his mind. The subjects that attracted him are all closely allied to his most intimate musings. They are chiefly scenes of family life, in which he seeks to express, even more deeply than before, joys dearer to him than ever, now that his mother's death and Saskia's failing health had suggested their uncertainty. The smaller dimensions to which he returned in these works allowed of greater care and finish, and enabled him to give a more personal and penetrating charm of expression to every detail. Throughout Rembrandt's career, we shall note these unexpected recurrences to

an earlier manner. After a series of large pictures painted with the utmost breadth and vigour, he constantly goes back to the small canvases of his first period, and accommodates his handling to their dimensions.

The *Carpenter's Household* in the Louvre, signed, and dated 1640, is one of the best among the small pictures painted by Rembrandt at this date. The composition is extremely simple. A young woman, whose sweet, dignified face is seen in profile, is seated beside a cradle, suckling a child, whom the old grandmother turns from her book to caress. The father planes a board near the high window to the left. Around these four figures, in an interior which serves the double purpose of workshop and living-room, are ranged the tools and utensils of their modest home. A cat purrs contentedly at a little distance from the group. The sprays of the vine that clusters about the open window are relieved against a deep blue sky, and the sunshine pours gaily into the room, falling full on the mother and child. The minute finish, the delicate modelling, the radiant aspects both of life and nature in this work, seem to suggest that the painter had put forth all his powers to shed lustre on this poetic conception of work and family life—the two things dearest to him upon earth.

The *Meeting of St. Elizabeth and the Virgin*, also signed, and dated 1640, is in the Grosvenor House collection. It has the same technical qualities, and the same poetic charm. The old couple, informed of Mary's approach, hasten to meet her. Zacharias, a venerable man with a long white beard, hurries down the steps in front of his house with the help of a boy on whom he leans for support. Elizabeth has outstripped him, staff in hand; and embraces her cousin, gazing at her with tender reverence. The young girl submits to her caresses in some confusion at the honour with which she is received. The skilfully grouped figures are surrounded by the picturesque disorder of a farmyard, with climbing plants and scattered animals, a goose, some fowls, a peacock on a wall. The easy elegance of the handling equals the charm of the chiaroscuro. The light

The Carpenter's Household (1640).

(LOUVRE.)

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann, Paris (France)

falls full on the two women, the central group of the cheerful scene, and the spectator's attention is at once riveted on them. Elizabeth's somewhat sombre dress, and the shadow cast on her face by her yellowish wimple, accentuate the brilliant figure of the Virgin, the flower-like freshness and harmony of her many-tinted garments, the sweet refinement of her innocent face, and the delicate bloom of a complexion pink and transparent as a briar-rose.

In 1641 Rembrandt executed a more important work, the *Manoah's Prayer* in the Dresden Gallery. The subject was one to which he was anxious to do justice, for he made two preliminary drawings for this picture; one is in the Stockholm Print Room, the other in the Berlin Museum. The composition in the former, the more finished and elaborate of the two, agrees with that of the picture. The other, which is probably the later work, consists merely of a few strokes drawn with a hasty, feverish touch, and presents quite a different aspect of the scene. Manoah's awe and amazement at the angel's heavenward flight, his wife's terror at the thought that the divine vision may cause their death, these were the features of the sacred story which Rembrandt emphasised in his striking interpretation of the episode. It is much to be regretted that he made no further use of the angel in this drawing, and that he discarded the boldly rendered spiral of smoke in which the ascending figure floats from sight. The angel of the Dresden picture is a truly grotesque conception—a clumsy, loutish boy, encumbered by a long tunic, whose wings seem quite insufficient for his support. On the other hand, the life-size figures of Manoah and his wife are among the most beautiful and touching of artistic creations. Never did the master so eloquently express the intimate communion of two souls, mingling in the fervour of a common prayer. Their reverent devotion impresses itself on the spectator, and so absorbs him that he scarcely notes the breadth and simplicity of the execution, the dignified cast of the draperies, and the magnificent quality of the skilfully contrasted reds. In Manoah's robes these are somewhat subdued, while in his wife's they glow with extraordinary

intensity, both tones blending into absolute harmony with the smoking entrails of the sacrificial victim.

Something of the same charm that marks these Biblical compositions may be traced in several portraits of this period. Rembrandt had always taken pleasure in painting old men, and it may be that memories of the mother he had lately lost influenced him in his predilection for old women as models at this stage of his career. Among his portraits of these we may mention one belonging to Lord Yarborough, which figured in the Winter Exhibition of 1890. It represents an old woman of about eighty, seated with folded hands in an arm-chair. She wears a loose jacket of dark velvet bordered with fur, a white ruff and a white cap. A kindly expression beams through the network of wrinkles on the aged face, and Dr. Bode justly praises "the distribution of the lights, and the broad, fat painting of the carnations, through the shadows of which the rich brown of the transparent ground appears here and there."[1] A portrait very much akin to this in the Six collection at Amsterdam is dated 1641, and represents Anna Wymer, mother of the Burgomaster Six. She too is seated in an armchair almost

STUDY FOR "MANOAH'S PRAYER."
Pen and wash. 1641 (Stockholm Print Room).

[1] Bode, p. 461, *Studien*. A replica of this portrait which we once saw in a collection in Paris bears the date 1640, with the age of the sitter, eighty-seven years. It appeared to be an old copy, smaller and less frank in manner. Another copy, probably by J. Backer, was sold by auction in London in March, 1889.

facing the spectator, and wears a costume the elegance of which is tempered by a certain austerity—a black dress trimmed with fur, a stiffly-gauffered collar, and over her smooth hair a white cap. The pleasant face of this elderly sitter—she was fifty-seven at the date of this portrait—her high, broad forehead, the gentle gaze of her dim eyes, suggest a loyal, benevolent nature, and the careful finish of

STUDY FOR "MANOAH'S PRAYER."
Pen drawing (Berlin Print Room).

the execution even in the smallest details, shows an evident desire on Rembrandt's part to please a family high in repute as citizens, and well disposed towards the arts—a family with whom he was soon to form a close and lasting friendship.

Portraits of well-known persons and of the master's friends are rarer at this period than before, and are more carefully

treated. Among them is a work famous not only by reason of the price recently paid for it, but further in connection with the name by which it has been known for over a century—*Le Doreur* (*Rembrandt's Gilder*). At the Duc de Morny's sale this portrait was bought in for £6,200 (155,000 francs) by his widow. She sold it shortly afterwards to an American purchaser, and it is now in Mr. Havemeyer's collection. In answer to Vosmaer's suggestion that the traditional title *Doreur* was probably a corruption of Doomer, the name of one of Rembrandt's pupils, Dr. Bode points out that in 1640—the date on the portrait—Doomer was barely twenty years old, whereas the sitter is obviously forty at least. Vosmaer's hypothesis has proved quite compatible with the received tradition, however; for a document lately discovered by Dr. Bredius shows the sitter to have been, not the painter Lambert Doomer, but his father Paulus, gilder and frame-maker—"*lystemaker*." Here again the brushwork is delicate, minute, and highly fused; and this execution, which harmonises admirably with the age and character of the old ladies painted at this period, is in curious contrast with the energetic and somewhat coarse personality of the *Gilder*, the masculine vigour of whose features is accentuated by the shadow cast by his broad-brimmed hat, and by the white ruff encircling his face. In these perhaps involuntary reversions to the timidity of his early handling, the master gives fresh evidence of those conscientious doubts which beset him when about to adopt greater breadth and freedom of manner. This somewhat petty touch, reappears, strange to say, in a portrait of himself in the National Gallery (painted the same year) in which he is represented leaning his right arm on a balustrade, his face turned three-quarters to the front. He wears a gray doublet with a straight collar, over which is thrown a brown robe trimmed with black velvet and fur. As in the portrait of the *Gilder*, the white chemisette and the brown cap with vandyked edges bring out the vitality and force of the face, its keen gaze, and bold intelligence of expression. But the somewhat tame handling, and the evenness of the laboured impasto detract greatly

Fragment of "Manoah's Prayer" (1641).

(DRESDEN GALLERY.)

Printed by Chanson-Wittmann, Paris (France)

from that spirited ease so characteristic of the master's renderings of himself.

A pair of portraits executed the following year are marked by the same conscientious thoroughness, but are freer and more masterly in treatment. The man's portrait is in the Brussels Museum, that of his wife at Buckingham Palace. Both are signed, and dated 1641. The husband is turned slightly to the right, and wears a broad-brimmed hat, a cloak edged with velvet, and a ruff and cuffs bordered with lace. He holds his gloves in one hand, and rests the other on a window-sill. His face is placid, his attitude calm and simple; the expression and the careful modelling of the head admirably suggest the sitter's individuality. Remarkable as this work is, it in no wise equals the pendant, the so-called *Lady with the Fan*, a work which is undoubtedly one of Rembrandt's masterpieces in this *genre*. The young matron faces the spectator, her fan in one hand, the other resting against the window-frame. The utmost refinement of tasteful elegance is displayed in her rich dress. She has no great beauty of feature, her eyes are small, her nose rather long. But the sweet contours of the face, the lower part of which is slightly in shadow, the high, pure forehead, above which the fair hair waves in graceful abundance, the candid expression, the touch of melancholy in the gaze, are so sympathetically observed and delicately rendered as to give an irresistible charm and distinction to the gentle sitter. The spectator turns reluctantly from this exquisite work, the beautiful presentment of a pure and lofty soul.

Two pictures belonging to Count Lanckoroncki of Vienna, signed and dated 1641 like the above, enjoyed a great reputation even in the last century. They are known as *The Jewish Bride* and *The Bride's Father counting out her Dowry*, and these titles, together with Schmidt's engravings, did much to make them popular. But their cold tonality, their execution, and pallid colour, no less than certain peculiarities in the types and composition, suggest grave doubts as to their authenticity. We share the opinion expressed by various critics

that they are the work of Rembrandt's pupil, Christophel Paudiss, several of whose pictures are in the Vienna Museum. This, as we have already pointed out, is no isolated instance of false ascriptions in connection with well-known pictures in famous collections. The two portraits by Ferdinand Bol in Lord Ashburton's collection which bear forged signatures of Rembrandt's name belong to the same year (1641).

PORTRAIT OF A MAN.
1641 (Brussels Museum).

Lady Ashburnham however owns a fine work of this period, the authenticity of which is above suspicion. It is another example of those double portraits so admirably typified by *The Shipbuilder and his Wife.* The picture is dated 1641, and has been variously described as *Renier Anslo with his Mother* and *Renier Anslo with his Wife*, although, as Dr. Bode remarks, the apparent ages of the sitters agree with neither designation. The male model was undoubtedly Anslo; Rembrandt, who was perhaps a personal friend of the minister's, made two drawings of him in 1640, from one of which (now in the British Museum) he executed the etching of the same year.[1] The other, a pen drawing with bistre, which was bought by Baron E. de Rothschild for £292 (7,300 francs) at the Galichon sale, is a study for Lady Ashburnham's picture. Anslo's minis-

[1] The signs of the tracing process employed for the etching, which is reversed, are to be found on the drawing in the British Museum.

Lady with a Fan (1641).

(BUCKINGHAM PALACE.)

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann Paris (France)

terial functions are suggested by the introduction of a young woman dressed in black, no doubt a widow, to whom, with a gesture at once authoritative and benevolent, he offers the consolation of some passage in the open Bible before him. The

RENIER ANSLO.
1641 (B. 271).

composition is peculiarly striking; the expression of earnest conviction in the face of the minister, a man in the prime of life,[1] and the respectful attention with which the young mourner

[1] Anslo, who was born in 1592, was fifty-one at the time. He died five years later. See E. W. Moes, *Iconographia Batava.*

receives his exhortation, exemplify Rembrandt's marvellous clarity and directness in the rendering of his conceptions. The masterly execution is well adapted to the dimensions of the canvas, and the perfection of the accessories—the branched candelabrum, the parchments and books strewn upon the table—would do credit to the most consummate painter of still-life; while Rembrandt alone possessed the secret of the mingled firmness and delicacy evinced in such details as the harmonising of these various objects with the dark red table-cover, the yellowish gray background, and the sombre dresses of the figures; and still more admirably evinced in the glowing carnations, and in the contrast between the broad masculine vigour of the minister's personality, and the refined features of his youthful visitor.

Compared with these important and carefully considered works, the etchings of this period are somewhat slight and hasty. They seem to have been the master's relaxation from his more arduous labours. Yet even these rapid sketches, drawn directly on the copper, show his absolute command of every resource of the art. Studies of the Virgin had apparently a special fascination for him at this date. We have already dealt with the *Death of the Virgin*, the large plate of 1639, by far the best and most important of the series. In further proof of his interest in this particular subject we may mention the etchings of the *Virgin mourning the Death of Jesus* (B. 85) and the *Virgin with the Infant Jesus in the Clouds* (B. 61), executed in 1641, which followed closely on the larger plate. But in other examples of this date the master simply notes some fresh aspect of episodes already treated in pictures or engravings. To begin with subjects from the Scriptures, we find a *Beheading of John the Baptist*, more remarkable for originality than for pathos, executed in 1640 (B. 92). The composition is successfully modified in parts in a drawing in the Albertina. This plate was followed by various others dealing with subjects which had attracted Rembrandt in his first period. In the *Baptism of the Eunuch*, dated 1641 (B. 98), his point is as free and flowing as though

Renier Arslo—Study for the Etched Portrait (1640).

Red and Black Chalk

(BRITISH MUSEUM.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

he were sketching with a pen on paper. Around the devout figure of the kneeling Eunuch we note all that exuberance of Oriental convention into which the master's uncertain taste occasionally betrayed him. This is especially pronounced in the figure of the cavalier who stolidly watches the scene from a distance. The *Little Resurrection of Lazarus* of 1642 (B. 72) is homelier and less dramatic in character than the large plate of ten years earlier, and the head of Christ is vulgar in conception, and rather clumsy in treatment. A bare mention will suffice for the *Descent from the Cross* and the *St. Jerome* (B. 82 and 105), both executed in 1642. They are of little interest, the execution in both being hurried and perfunctory. In the *St. Jerome*, as in the *Schoolmaster* of 1641 (B. 128) and the *Man absorbed in Meditation* (B. 148), probably a plate of the same year, Rembrandt abandons his usual deliberate building up of a desired effect of chiaroscuro for a hastiness which has resulted in exaggeration of the contrasts, and opacity in the shadows. But these harsh and loaded plates are mere accidents in the *œuvre* of this period. He errs rather in the direction of over-slightness, and in the fervour of improvisation is content to note merely the most essential and expressive features. He troubles himself little about correctness and allows his fiery imagination free play. The breathless, impetuous handling of the three *Lion Hunts* of 1641 (B. 114, 115, and 116), the animation of the figures, the wild rush of the horses, the turmoil and confusion of the furious *mêlée*, very adequately suggest such scenes. The hunted beasts, however, are incorrectly drawn, and recall the heraldic lions of the master's early *St. Jeromes*. There is little to corroborate Vosmaer in his assumption that Rembrandt utilised studies made from the lions of a travelling menagerie that passed through Amsterdam in 1641. Van Baerle certainly mentions the visit in a letter of November 23, 1641, and speaks of the intelligence displayed by one of the elephants. There is also a study by Rembrandt in the Munich Print Room, dated 1641, for which this elephant was probably the model.[1] But it is impossible to suppose that Rembrandt could

[1] Rembrandt had drawn elephants before this, however. One of his sketches of these beasts belongs to Mr. George Salting, another is in the Albertina. Both were made in

have shown such ignorance of leonine forms as he displays in the etchings of 1641, had he already made any of those remarkable studies of lions in which he so admirably suggested their attitudes and characteristics at a later period.

The etchings from nature executed by Rembrandt at this date are infinitely more to our taste than these hasty compositions. He bestowed neither more time nor trouble on them than on the latter, but at least he worked from a basis of reality. They furnish ever-increasing proofs of the flexibility of his genius, and of that untiring industry which marked his career. The landscapes which now began to appear in his *œuvre* we may leave for future consideration, confining ourselves here to those portraits, domestic scenes, and studies of animals on which his graver was successively employed. To 1641 belongs the *Portrait of a Child* (B. 310) with long hair and attractive features, to which the title *William II.* was formerly given, in deference to that mania for conjectural identifications to which we have already alluded. Two other plates of this year are: the *Man with a Crucifix and Chain* (B. 261), a sharp-featured, melancholy personage, and the *Card-player* (B. 136), in which we recognise the same model. The *Man in an Arbour* (B. 257), the *Woman with a Basket* (B. 356), the *Old Woman in Spectacles* (B. 362), and the *Woman in a large white Hood* (B. 359) are all works of 1642. Charles Blanc supposes the last of these plates to be a portrait of Saskia, an opinion in which we cannot concur. All four are drawn with a firm, spirited touch, and are marked by extraordinary vigour and vitality. In some instances, as for example in the *Old Man raising his Hand to his Cap* (B. 259), which also belongs to this period, the master has sketched in his subject, and begun the shading of the face and hands, only to leave the plate unfinished.[1] If a prepared plate was not always ready, he would work on any available space left on a partially covered surface. Thus, in the print of

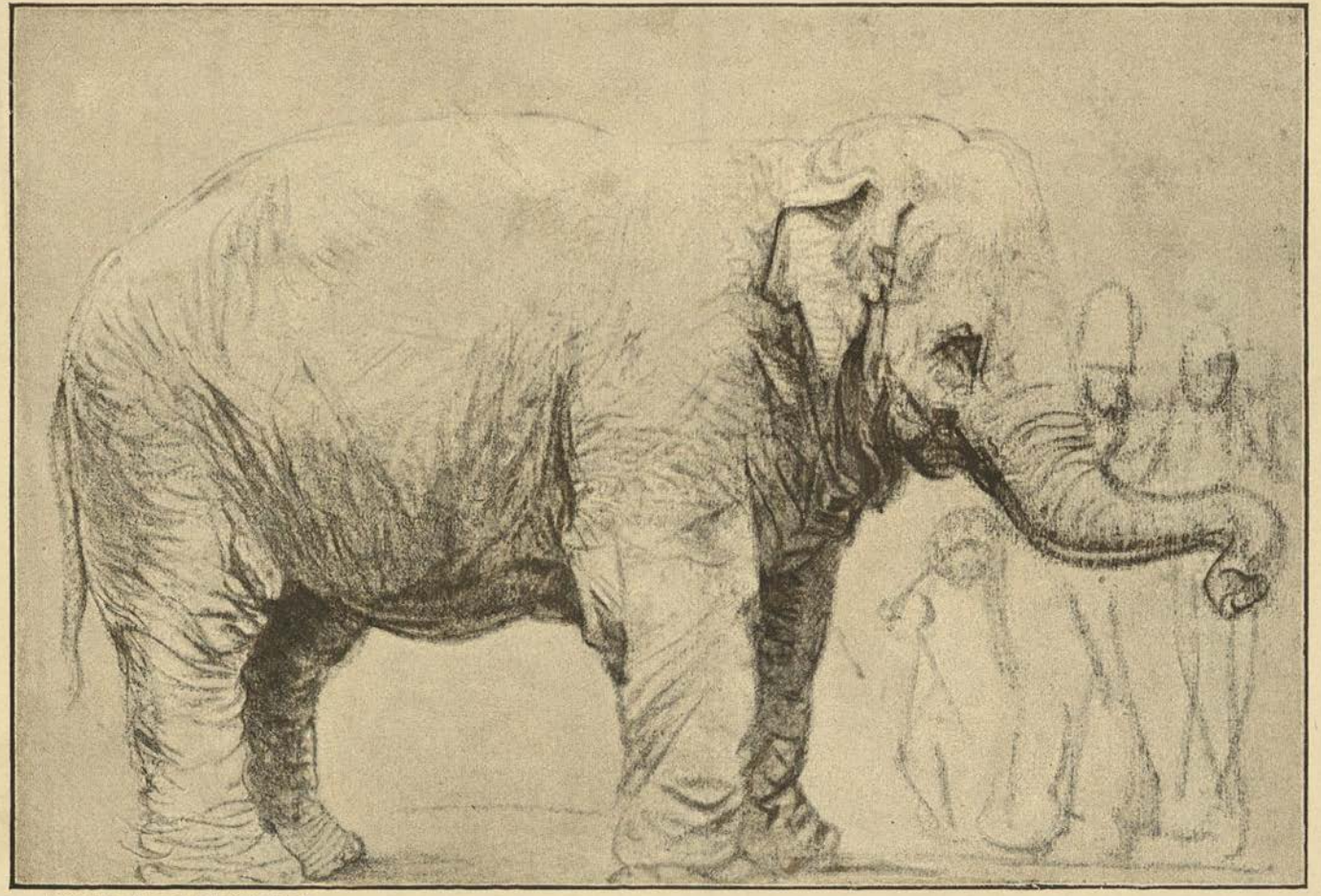
1637. From one of them he drew the little elephant in the *Adam and Eve* of 1638, the plate described in Chapter XI.

[1] In 1770 this plate fell into the hands of a printseller at Berlin, who induced G. F. Schmidt to finish it. Fifty impressions were printed, in which the additions may be readily detected.

Study of an Elephant.

Black Chalk.

(BRITISH MUSEUM.)



Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

the *Virgin with the Infant Jesus* (B. 61), a small female head, bearing no relation to the subject, has been left by the master among the clouds of the background.

The carelessness of these hasty sketches shows them to have been Rembrandt's recreation in the intervals of more laborious undertakings. The same hurried execution characterises the *Reconciliation of David and Absalom*, a picture with small figures, dated 1642, formerly in a pavilion in the Park at Peterhof, and lately removed to the Hermitage. The figures of the father and son, arrayed in Turkish costume, are peculiar rather than expressive; and the background, with its fantastic architecture and precipitous mountains, is far from happy in conception. Both actors and scenery, as M. Paul Mantz observes, "have an air of sham Orientalism suggestive of a masquerade." Rembrandt's mind was absorbed in a greater conception. The masterpiece he had doubtless begun the year before left him but little time or thought for lesser works. The *Night Watch* was on his easel. But we shall perhaps be better able to appreciate this great picture if we briefly consider that special branch of painting to which it belongs, and the various works of the same class that preceded it.

We have already described the important part played in Holland by those guilds or corporations which embodied national enterprise at the most glorious period of Dutch history. Among these bodies none were more important and influential than the military companies. Unlike kindred associations in Flanders, which consistently preserved their original semi-religious character, the civic corps of the northern Netherlands soon adopted a purely national and independent organisation. Encouraged by the clergy and princes, to whom they furnished guards of honour in the early years of their formation, they gradually developed and extended. Their recruits were drawn from among the most prominent inhabitants of each city, and on them the civic authorities relied for the maintenance of public order and safety. Each guild had its place of assembly, or *Doelen*, and its drilling-ground, where its annual shooting competitions were held. The victor in these was proclaimed to the sound of trumpets;

a feast was held in his honour, and he generally received a prize from the town. In the primitive days these prizes were of no great value, and consisted for the most part of a silver cup or a few spoons. The prizes for contests between neighbouring towns were more important, and included drinking-horns, chains of silver-gilt with medallions, and gold or silver vases richly chased. These were kept in the halls of the corporations, and formed a sort of reserve fund. When the drill was over the chiefs of the corporation were elected, and on these, together with the victor in the shooting competition, the administration devolved for the ensuing year. At the conclusion of the solemnity the outgoing chiefs gave an account of their stewardship, and the proceedings ended with a banquet. The offices of captain and lieutenant were greatly prized, and the ensign chosen was generally the wealthiest and handsomest young man in the company. He had the privilege of wearing a more brilliant uniform than his brother-officers. The esteem in which these divers grades were held tended, of course, to flatter the vanity of successful candidates. These dignitaries gradually made it a custom to perpetuate their transient honours in portraits which they presented to their guilds to hang in the halls of the *Doelens*. The destination of these pictures justified the exclusion of those religious subjects which still maintained their supremacy among the Flemings. Relieved of any lingering scruples on this score, the heads of the guilds were able to indulge their very excusable pride in such presentments of themselves in full military array, decked with the insignia of their various grades. Their subordinates, consumed by that passion for uniforms which characterises the citizen of all nationalities, soon began to manœuvre for a place beside their officers on these canvases. The chiefs, as may be supposed, readily accorded them a privilege which lightened their own share of the artist's charges, and further magnified their office by emphasising their superiority and importance. A graduated scale of subscriptions was arranged before the commission was given, determined by the relative rank of the members, the means at their disposal, and the pretensions of the chosen painter; and thus, at a very modest cost to individual members, the *Doelens*

A Man Watching a Woman with a Sleeping Child in her arms.

Pen and Wash.

(HESELTINE COLLECTION.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

gradually accumulated pictures, and became museums of considerable importance. As every town in Holland had its military guild, the interest in this special branch of art soon became general throughout the country; it was, in fact, a national *genre*, and may be said to have developed in great measure on parallel lines with the national history.

The first portrait groups of civic guards were composed on much the same lines as those of the religious associations. They consisted of rows of portraits ranged in double or single lines, without any attempt at unity or fusion. The works of Dirck Jacobsz, Cornelis Teunissen, and Dirck Barentsz in the Ryksmuseum, ranging from 1529 to 1561, are all typical examples, though they vary considerably in artistic merit. In all the arrangement is practically identical, but the artists make an attempt to put some sort of animation into the faces of their sitters, and to diversify the accessories in their hands. As a rule the civic warriors are painted in sombre costumes, and appear to be debating some question with all the gravity of theologians; or they are represented in the act of dividing a meagre fish, the dispatch of which is to be aided by the modest libations afforded by a jug of beer, passing round the table.[1] From the year 1566 to 1579 no pictures of the civic guards were painted. The members of the various corporations had sterner work in hand, and had thrown themselves heart and soul into the cause of national defence and enfranchisement. In response to the appeal of William of Orange, in 1573, they formed themselves into volunteer companies, at Gouda, Dordrecht, Delft, and Rotterdam, in aid of the besieged Haarlemers, and it is hardly too much to say that the ultimate triumph of Dutch independence was due to this spirit of solidarity, which urged the various civic guilds to join forces against the common foe. After the war, many of the corporations were reorganised on a broader basis, and their *Doelens* were considerably enlarged. They retained their ancient names, but these were purely distinctive, and had no longer any reference to religious patronage. Certain guilds which

[1] For further details in connection with these pictures of the military guilds, see my study in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for December 15, 1890.

were formed by subdivision of the original body were distinguished from the parent company merely by the appellation *new*, while the older branch was known as *the old;* thus we hear of the *old* and *new* guilds of St. George or of St. Sebastian. There was a strong spirit of rivalry between the various bodies, and the competitions to which they challenged each other became more and more extensive. The *Doelens*, too, were more luxuriously furnished and arranged. The walls were hung with tapestries, and the plate increased in costliness. Gaily coloured banners were suspended at intervals, with patriotic inscriptions: *Pro aris et focis; Hâc nitimur, hanc tuemur; Concordia facit vim*, etc.

In the pictures that were the chief ornaments of these halls, it is natural to expect a certain modification after the war. It might have been supposed that the painters, many of whom had taken part in the stirring events of the times, would have been anxious to record some of the brilliant exploits of their militant burgesses, and preserve the memory of their heroism. Strange to say, we can find no trace of any such ambition. The portraits painted after the war revert to the convention of the earlier works, and the sitters are arranged in the same monotonous rows. The only sign of progress is an evident desire on the part of the artist to give something more of animation to the faces, and to group the figures round the table rather more picturesquely. The sitters were generally represented glass in hand, and this motive at last became such a favourite one that it was universally adopted. The composition, indeed, varies so little in works of this class, that they are to be differentiated only by the varying degrees of skill and care that characterise their execution. Among the towns which produced important works of this class, Haarlem and the Hague rank first. The masterpieces of Hals and of Jan van Ravesteyn in the museums of the two cities attest their superiority. Remarkable as these works are, however, they excel rather in beauty of technique than in novelty of conception. They were paid for, like the earlier portrait groups, by contributions from each member of the guild who desired a place on the canvas. It is evident that such a system was calculated to seriously embarrass the painter. He had to reckon with the claims and susceptibilities of a number of

models, who, having contributed their share to the work, were all ambitious of a prominent position in the group.

Pictures of the civic guards were even more popular in Amsterdam than at Haarlem and the Hague, and this branch of art was brought to its highest perfection among the distinguished painters then so numerous in the city.

Cornelius Ketel, whose artificial elegance is somewhat alien to the Dutch ideal, and Aert Pietersen, whose rough sincerity more faithfully reflected the types and manners of his contemporaries, were followed by Rembrandt's immediate predecessors, Cornelis van der Voort, Werner van Valckert, Elias Pickenoy, an artist too long forgotten, whose contemporary reputation is fully justified by works now collected in the Ryksmuseum, and, finally, Thomas de Keyser, who, as we have endeavoured to show, exercised an undeniable influence over Rembrandt on his first arrival in Amsterdam. But these artists excelled chiefly in their portrait-groups of the *Regents* or Governors of the various charitable institutions. In the large canvases they occasionally painted for the military corporations there are but slight traces of any imaginative faculty. They were content to reproduce the hackneyed traditional arrangement, with unimportant modifications. And we shall find, as on other occasions in art history, that the few works which make some attempt at originality of treatment were produced by mediocre painters, who, despairing of compelling attention by their talents, sought distinction by the ingenuity of their devices. This, indeed, is the sole redeeming quality of a picture in the Ryksmuseum by Claes Pietersz Lastman, the brother of Rembrandt's master. Commissioned to paint *The Officers of Captain Boom's Company*, it occurred to him to illustrate a military episode very honourable to the company, who had taken part in the defence of Zwolle against the Spaniards in 1623. Unhappily, his arrangement of the figures in stiff parallel lines is childish in its *naïveté*, and the harsh, discordant colour is without relief of any kind. Sandrart was scarcely more successful with his large canvas of 1638,

Captain van Swieten's Company turning out to escort Marie de' Medici on the occasion of the Queen's visit to Amsterdam. It might have been supposed that the German artist, who prided himself on his academic training, would have devised some unexpected combination in connection with such a theme. His work, however, is commonplace to a degree.

We shall find that the majority of painters who treated these subjects simply adopted the conventional arrangement of their predecessors. Very few among them attempted to modify the traditional treatment, and the timidity of their efforts, or the feebleness of their powers, rendered all such essays abortive. It had never occurred to any of them to represent the companies engaged in any of those military exercises which were the sole objects of their formation. Such a conception was reserved for Rembrandt, when he, in his turn, received a commission to paint a large picture for the newly erected Hall of the Amsterdam Musketeers. Rembrandt, we know, was not the man to bow his neck to the yoke of accepted tradition, nor to yield to the exactions that had hampered former painters of such compositions. He claimed absolute liberty. When, on first establishing himself at Amsterdam, he found himself the fashionable portrait-painter of the hour, he may have made momentary concessions to the caprices of his sitters. But he had now been independent for some years, and had gradually abandoned himself more and more to the somewhat fantastic strain in his character. Large pictures and compositions, in which he could give his powers free scope, had now greater attractions for him, and the proposed subject was a congenial one. It combined realism with an appeal to the imagination, and evoked memories of his childhood and youth at Leyden.

Did his patrons suggest the episode to be represented, or was the inspiration entirely Rembrandt's own? We know not. But it seems probable that the captain of the company recommended the master, then in the heyday of his popularity, to the other members of the civic guard. This captain, Frans Banning Cocq, was one of the foremost

Lot and his Family.

Pen and Wash.

(BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur Paris

citizens of Amsterdam at this period. Possessed of a considerable patrimony, to which he had added largely, partly by his own exertions, partly by marriage with a daughter of the Burgomaster Volckert Overlander, he had purchased the seignory of Purmerland in 1618, and had been granted a patent of nobility by James II. in 1620. A man of intelligence and taste, he was probably quite willing to give the master a free hand in the execution of his commission. Added to which, the programme submitted to him by Rembrandt was well calculated to flatter his vanity. The proposed originality of treatment, coupled with the name of Rembrandt, ensured the notoriety of a work in which he, as captain, was to occupy the most prominent place. In consideration of the painter's reputation, 1,600 florins were offered him in payment, a sum greatly in excess of any hitherto received for such works. The subscription of each person destined to figure in the picture was, on an average, one hundred florins, a little more or less, according to the more or less conspicuous position he was to occupy.

After careful examination of the various studies and commentaries of which this picture has been the subject, the particular episode Rembrandt portrayed is perfectly clear to us. The erroneous title of *The Night Watch*, by which the picture is traditionally known, may be disregarded; the true designation is appended to a water-colour sketch of the composition, made between 1650 and 1660 for an album belonging to Banning Cocq himself. This sketch still remains in the family of its original owner,[1] and is inscribed: *The young Lord of Purmerland gives the order to march to his lieutenant, Heer van Vlaerdingen.* During Rembrandt's lifetime, there was no question as to the subject of the composition; the name by which it was commonly known is recorded by Baldinucci on the evidence of Rembrandt's pupil, Bernard Keilh, the Danish painter already mentioned,[2] according to whose unimpeachable testimony the episode represented is a *March out* (*ordinanza*). Banning Cocq commanded

[1] It belongs to Mr. de Graeff van Polsbroeck, Minister to the late King of Holland.

[2] *Cominciamento e progresso dell' arte dell' intagliare in rame*, by F. Baldinucci.

the civic guards of the First Ward of the City (*Wyk* No. 1), and, as Mr. Meyer suggests, it may be that Rembrandt's former location in the district influenced his patrons in their choice of a painter. He had been an inhabitant of the ward till about the summer of 1639, he probably had many acquaintances among the members of the Company, and had doubtless often witnessed scenes such as that he painted. The work is so familiar to students that it is unnecessary to describe it; more especially as M. Dujardin's heliogravure provides our readers with a careful transcript of its main features.

The Night Watch has been the subject of many deeply interesting studies of late. Among them we may mention those published by Messrs. Bredius and Meyer in Holland, and M. Durand-Gréville in France.[1] Its history has been thoroughly sifted, and many curious details have come to light in connection with the circumstances under which it was painted, its successive migrations, and the mutilations it has undergone. Within the last few years, much of its pristine brilliance has been restored under Mr. Hopman's prudent and skilful treatment. The moment is favourable for a review of the various new elements available for a critical examination of the subject, and it will be interesting to see how far these tend to modify existing appreciations of a work which has been the subject of so much controversy.

Fascinated by the proposed theme, Rembrandt began his task at once. In spite of the difficulties and complexities of the episode he was about to treat, he seems to have dispensed with everything in the nature of serious preparatory study for this large canvas. No sketch of the composition as a whole has ever been discovered. The only studies extant are two hasty sketches of the central group, belonging to M. Léon Bonnat, one in black chalk, the

[1] Messrs. Bredius and Meyer's studies appeared in *Les Chefs-d'œuvre du Musée d'Amsterdam*, and in *Oud-Holland*, and M. Durand-Gréville has published a variety of articles bearing on the subject in *La Revue bleue*, *L'Artiste*, and the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.

other a pen drawing. Rembrandt was destined to pay dearly for this neglect during the course of his work. The absence of preliminary study fully accounts for the inequalities and faults of proportion, as for the various repaints and corrections that disfigure the picture. Exception has not unreasonably been taken to the motley costumes and heterogeneous weapons of the company, and the extraordinary confusion that seems to obtain among the troop says little for its discipline. We may add that, in spite of the various explanations proposed, several of the figures are curiously enigmatical. What, for instance, was the painter's object in the introduction of the two little girls, one of whom has a cock hanging from her girdle? Is the bird, as Mr. Meyer suggests, a rebus on the Captain's name? Or, as seems more probable, was it a prize for which the marksmen were to compete? Or had Rembrandt, as Fromentin believes, no special intention with regard to these two little figures? Did he introduce them merely because he felt that some such high-toned passage was needed, and would add greatly to the effect of his composition? We might further inquire why all the actors in the drama are so agitated, whither they are hurrying, and where they are supposed to be? Criticism of the anecdotic order has offered solutions more or less plausible for all these problems, determining what historic event led to this sortie, and endeavouring to identify the gate from which the company has issued, and the bridge it is about to cross. It is our own opinion that in these minor matters Rembrandt gave free play to his fancy. He chose the most picturesque elements of the actual scene, and combined them with details suggested by his imaginative instinct, thus summing up all the essential and characteristic features of such an episode.

To us, we must confess, the master's intention seems patent at the first glance. The incident is unquestionably a call to arms of the civic guard. The two officers have hastened to the domicile of the company; they seek to stimulate the zeal of their followers by pressing forward themselves. The captain gives his orders to the lieutenant; behind them the drum beats the alarm, and the ensign unfurls his

standard. Every man snatches up a weapon of some sort, musket, lance, or halberd. Dogs bark; children, eager to share in the commotion, slip in among the soldiers. The composition agrees on every point with the idea it suggests, and there is no room for doubt as to the theme. But fault has been found with the work on another score. It has been pointed out that the canvas is crowded to excess; that it affords no repose to the eye; and has the appearance of being pent in and imprisoned by the frame. The feet of the two officers touch the edge in the centre; the drum on the right, the child who is running, and the man seated on the parapet to the left are cut in two by the frame. The effect of this is extremely startling and unpleasant. The composition has no definite limits, and instead of gradually melting away, as it were, is suddenly cut short at either end. But for these undeniable blemishes the master is in no wise accountable. They are due, not to Rembrandt, but to those who mutilated his creation.

The fact of these mutilations has been completely established, in spite of Vosmaer and De Vries, whose patriotic sentiments moved them to discredit it. Dr. J. Dyserinck fully discussed the question in a study recently published in Holland,[1] and tells us why and when this act of vandalism was committed. He learnt from documents among the archives that the *Night Watch* was placed in the Hall of the Musketeers' *Doelen* in 1642, and was eventually removed to the Town Hall of Amsterdam. The transfer was decided upon in 1682, but was deferred on various occasions, and was not finally accomplished till May, 1715. It was then the mutilation a contemporary picture-restorer has recorded took place. J. van Dyck, in his description of the pictures in the Amsterdam Town Hall,[2] remarks, that in order to suit the picture to the dimensions of its appointed place between the two doors of the small council-chamber, "it was found necessary to cut off two figures to the right of the canvas, and part of the drum to

[1] See the periodical *De Gids* (1890).

[2] *Kunst en Historiekundige Beschyring von alle de Schilderyen op het Stadhuis te Amsterdam*, 1758.

The March out of the Civic Guard, commonly called "The Night Watch" (1642).

(AMSTERDAM RYKSMUSEUM.)

the left, as may be seen by comparison of the original with the copy in Heer Boendermaker's possession." Barbarous as such a proceeding appears to us, it was very lightly regarded in the last century. Collectors and dealers occasionally cut up pictures, making two or more out of one, and it is not unusual to find works in public galleries or private collections the original dimensions of which have been modified, either to accommodate them to some particular space, or merely to make them fit some frame in the owner's possession. The copy cited by Van Dyck in support of his assertion was long supposed to be Rembrandt's own study for the large picture, or a replica. It was made, however, by a painter of rustic subjects, named Gerrit Lundens, a contemporary of Rembrandt, but of a later generation.[1] It was executed before the transfer of the picture to the Town Hall, and is, on the whole, a very faithful reproduction of the master's work in its entirety, corresponding almost exactly with Mr. de Graeff van Poelsbroeck's water-colour.[2] The identity of proportion in the two makes it possible to estimate the approximate dimensions of the strips shorn from Rembrandt's work at 26 × 11 inches. In the light of the information now accessible, the student may form a fair idea of the picture in its original state, when the composition was, of course, better placed on the canvas, with an ample margin below, and a restful space in partial shadow on either side. The central group, though to the full as important as now, did not then divide the picture into two equal parts; the masses were consequently better balanced and more rhythmical.

Certain defects in the rendering of chiaroscuro and values, though less obvious, no doubt, when the work first left Rembrandt's studio, must nevertheless be laid to the master's account. The lights are too much broken, the contrasts too numerous and too violent. But other blemishes proceed entirely from injuries sustained by the

[1] Lundens' picture was in the Randon de Boisset collection for a time. It now belongs to the National Gallery.

[2] The mediocre engraving of the *Night Watch*, executed by Claessens in 1797, was probably made from Lundens' copy.

picture in the course of years. Very little care was bestowed on works of art in the *Doelens*, which were practically taprooms. Tobacco-smoke and the fumes from peat-fires soon blackened the pictures on the walls. They were revarnished from time to time, but the accumulated dirt was never properly removed, and was therefore firmly embedded in the successive strata. Van Dyck mentions the accumulation of rancid oil and varnish he had to remove from *The Night Watch*; but the cleaning to which he subjected the picture can hardly have been very thorough, for in a short time it seems to have been again in a deplorable state. The tones had darkened so much, and the shadows had become so black, that Reynolds could scarcely recognise Rembrandt's handiwork, when he saw it in 1781. Its appearance at this date fully accounted for the title *The Night Watch*, bestowed upon it in the eighteenth century. The darkness that was gradually invading the canvas seemed to justify the misnomer.

The restoration of the picture was long delayed, owing to the difficulties of the undertaking. At last, however, it could no longer be deferred, and in 1889 Mr. Hopman accomplished it, with complete success. The superficial stratum of oil and varnish, which had become rough and opaque, was rubbed down; it was then made transparent by exposing the canvas to the fumes of cold alcohol. The picture regained its pristine brilliance, to the astonishment of those most familiar with it, who now found it necessary greatly to modify the estimate they had formed of it in its degenerate state. The blacks have recovered their rich velvety quality, the light colours their freshness, and, although the contrasts have become more marked in the process, the transparent shadows so modify the transitions that there is no hardness in the effects. Many passages that were almost invisible have come to light; the eye is charmed by countless unsuspected beauties; but, in spite of the mass of detail that has emerged, the composition has gained unity and harmony, as a whole. The much-dreaded operation, to which the authorities at last regretfully resigned themselves, has had, in short, the happiest results. It is now evident

enough that Rembrandt painted the scene in sunlight. There is not the slightest indication of artificial light, and it is even possible to deduce the exact position of the sun at the moment, from the shadow cast by Banning Cocq's hand on his lieutenant's tunic. It must have been well above the horizon to the left. M. Durand-Gréville, however, rather overshoots the mark when he talks of the "brilliant effects of sunlight," and of the picture

COPY OF REMBRANDT'S "NIGHT WATCH."
By G. Lundens (National Gallery).

in its original state as a very light one. Contemporary testimony is uniformly opposed to these assertions. Setting aside the conditions under which Rembrandt executed the work, and his numerous corrections and repaints, which, as Vosmaer justly remarks, must have tended very much to darken the picture, it was undoubtedly deep and full in tone from the first. Of this we shall find ample proof in the strictures with which the *Night Watch* was assailed on its first appearance. Vondel, contrasting the

"brightness" of Flinck's works with the mystery of Rembrandt's, to whom he covertly alludes, under the style of "Prince of Darkness," takes exception to the "artificial gloom, the shadows, and half-lights" which had invaded Dutch painting for some time past. Hoogstraaten's praises of his master's work, written in 1678, are chastened by regrets that "he did not put more light into the picture." A little later Houbraken declares that "when the passing infatuation of the public had subsided, true connoisseurs turned away from him, and light painting came into favour once more."

Just at this period the master's predilection for deep amber tones was becoming more and more marked. The first portraits he painted at Amsterdam are remarkable for their clear colouring, cool, silvery harmonies, and neutral shadows, inclining somewhat to green. But his tonality had become gradually richer. As his preoccupation with chiaroscuro increased, his shadows became not only more transparent, but warmer and more golden. Though nature was the invariable basis of all his creations, he claimed to interpret her from his own point of view, and through the medium of his own intensely personal genius. In painting the *Night Watch* he probably put a certain constraint on himself. The harmonising of colours and the treatment of light were the main problems involved, and here he evidently hesitated to sacrifice the first to the last, as he would undoubtedly have done at a later period. He attempted to combine vigorous tonality with powerful chiaroscuro—a consummation very difficult of achievement. Hence the mixture of violence and timidity in this work, which betrays the tension of a mind not fully made up, and supported by no very definite conception. Unwearying in his quest of knowledge, in his desire for perfection, it was natural that there should be phases of temporary arrest, even of momentary retrogression, in the course on which he had been the first to venture. But his genius led him towards increasing freedom, till, happy in the new resources with which he had enriched his art, he took courage, and put forth all the strength of his originality. As has been aptly said, "shadow became his poetic vehicle," and if he did not, as Fromentin adds, exactly "make his day out of night," he may certainly be said to have

evolved it from shadows. Though he never absolutely abandoned contrasts of colour, he gradually inclined more and more to a monochromatic harmony, in which russets, warm browns, fawns, and golden tints predominated, and in this comparatively restricted scale he found gradations of infinite variety and delicacy.

In spite of the injuries wrought by time, and of the unfortunate proximity of certain pictures which detract from its effect in the Ryksmuseum, the *Night Watch*—though we shall not urge its claims to be entitled Rembrandt's masterpiece—is certainly one of his most interesting works, and one before which the student is most disposed to linger, attracted by that strange commingling of fact and poetry so stimulating alike to appreciation and to criticism. More forcible, indeed, than nature itself, Rembrandt has a light and life of his own, and when, after contemplating his work for a while, the eye wanders to the canvases around, they seem poor, meagre, inanimate, and, as Samuel van Hoogstraaten remarked, "no better than the pictures in a pack of cards."

The *Night Watch*, therefore, holds a place apart in the history of corporation pictures, alike by virtue of originality of treatment and beauty of execution. The master's predecessors had been content with a convention absolutely insignificant from the picturesque standpoint; the natural method of arrangement seems never to have suggested itself to them. It was reserved for Rembrandt, in his first essay in this *genre*, to recognise the true conditions of such a class of pictures. As ten years before in the *Anatomy Lesson*, and twenty years later in the *Syndics* of the Cloth Hall, he now distanced all his rivals on their own ground. Like them, he had been content to express his meaning plainly, without the help of allegory; but he had brushed aside all the conventions in which they had been gradually entangled. Basing his work on the direct study of nature, he had brought the features he considered essentially characteristic into strong relief. His *Anatomy Lesson* was the glorification of Science itself; in his *Sortie of a Company of Amsterdam Musketeers* he embodied that civic heroism which had lately compassed Dutch independence; and in a group of five cloth-merchants seated round a table, discussing the affairs of their guild, he summed up,

as it were, in a few immortal types, the noble sincerity of Dutch portraiture. These three works themselves invite us to overstep the limits of actuality on which they were based; they speak to us of the ideal; they are not only landmarks in a great career, but evidences to that superiority over all his predecessors which we claim for the master—a superiority which becomes more conspicuous still if we look forward to those who succeeded him.

WOMAN IN A LARGE HOOD.
About 1642 (B. 359).

A LARGE LANDSCAPE, WITH A COTTAGE AND A DUTCH HAY-BARN.

1641 (B. 225).

CHAPTER XIV

SASKIA'S LAST ILLNESS—HER WILL—HER DEATH—THE EFFECT PRODUCED BY 'THE NIGHT WATCH'—PICTURES OF THIS PERIOD: 'HOLY FAMILIES'—'BATHSHEBA'—'THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY'—'PORTRAIT OF ELIZABETH BAS'—ETCHINGS FROM 1643 TO 1645—LANDSCAPE STUDIES—'THE THREE TREES.'

PORTRAIT OF REMBRANDT WITH A FUR CAP AND LIGHT DRESS.

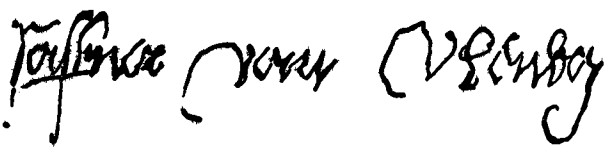
1630 (B. 24).

THE *Night Watch* was finished in the earlier part of 1642. The year before, the happiness of Rembrandt and his wife had been crowned by the birth of a son. He was baptised in the Zuider Kerk, September 22, 1641, by the name of Titus, in memory of Saskia's sister Titia, who died at Flushing on June 16 of the same year. Rembrandt's two brothers-in-law, Copal and Van Loo, were present at the christening, together with Aeltgen Peters, Sylvius' widow. From this time forward Saskia's strength declined rapidly. We know from the etchings that in 1639 she had grown thin and ailing, and that her radiant expression had given place to an air of mournful foreboding. If we are to accept the testimony of the so-called *Portrait of Saskia*, dated 1641, in the Dresden Gallery (No. 1562 in the catalogue), she must have recovered for a while. The strongly illuminated face that confronts the spec-

tator in this portrait beams with health ; the cheeks are round and blooming, the expression gay and untroubled. But the resemblance to Saskia is far from striking—the figure is fuller, and apparently taller. If she really sat for this picture we must look upon it as one of those studies Rembrandt was fond of making from his relatives and intimates, in which he took little pains to preserve mere likeness. A something akin to Saskia in the features suggests that the sitter may have been one of her sisters. But be this as it may, the same model undoubtedly served for another portrait rather more minute in treatment, painted by Rembrandt some few years earlier, between 1635 and 1638. It represents a young woman putting the finishing touches to her toilet, and was lately purchased by Dr. Bredius, who at first took it to be a portrait of Saskia. The analogies between this and the Dresden picture are undeniable. I was struck by the likeness at first sight, and a careful comparison of photographs from the two subsequently confirmed my opinion. The shape of the face, the brow, nose, and mouth, are identical ; and the eyes have the same soft yet brilliant expression.

Less than a year after the birth of Titus, Saskia's illness had reached a stage at which illusions as to her recovery were no longer possible. Feeling herself to be growing gradually weaker, she begged that a notary might be brought to her bedside, and on June 5, 1642, at nine o'clock in the morning, " in full possession of all her faculties," she gave him her last instructions in the presence of two witnesses. Yet she herself had not lost all hope, for in the will she dictated she speaks of other children that might be born to her. This will bears testimony to the affection and perfect mutual confidence between Rembrandt and Saskia. By it she made Rembrandt her sole heir, on condition that he should give Titus a suitable education and training, and either establish him in some profession, or sufficiently provide for him at his majority. At Rembrandt's death, or in the event of his second marriage, her fortune was to pass to Titus. She further directed that should Rembrandt survive their son, one half of her property should revert to her sister Hiskia, in the event of his second marriage. But she stipulated that no legal security should be taken

for the carrying out of these provisions, having perfect confidence in her husband's honour, and "knowing that he would behave in the matter in exact obedience to his conscience."[1] As Titus's guardian he was to have the entire control of the property, for the disposition of which he was not to be called to account, and she begged the Chamber of Orphans to refrain from jurisdiction in the matter. At the end of this solemn deed, as if exhausted by the effort, she signed her name for the last time, in the tremulous, almost illegible characters here reproduced.



A few days later Saskia had passed away, and on June 19 Rembrandt, after following her coffin to the Oude Kerk, returned to the house in the Breestraat, where everything reminded him of his short-lived happiness, and where he now found himself alone with a child nine months old. By July 9 he had made arrangements as to his wife's tomb, which resulted in his purchase of the spot where she lay. On December 17, 1642, after the proving of the will, the Chamber of Orphans authorised Rembrandt to take possession. In accordance with Saskia's directions, in which her cousin and representative, Hendrick van Uylenborch, fully concurred, no statement or inventory of any kind was demanded. This neglect on the part of Titus's natural protectors, together with the master's own unbusiness-like proclivities, brought countless difficulties upon him in after years. The feelings which influenced the relatives were natural enough, and may be explained both by their affection for Rembrandt and their reverence for Saskia's dying wishes. In the case of Hendrick van Uylenborch some personal consideration may have intervened. Hendrick, we know, was not only Rembrandt's friend, but his debtor. In a deed discovered by Dr. Bredius, dated 1640, he declares himself unable to repay a considerable sum of money advanced him by Rembrandt, Claes Moeyaert, and other artists, and offers as security

[1] Scheltema, *Rembrandt, Discours sur sa Vie.* 1866.

for the loan a mortgage on his pictures and other effects. Under these circumstances he was not in a position to be exacting in his relations with one who was his own creditor. But such laxity had the natural effect of encouraging Rembrandt in his distaste for business details. He was now left absolute control of the common fund, whereas, had he been required to furnish an inventory of the estate, he must have realised his own position; his son's rights would have been more clearly defined, and he would have been perhaps impelled to more careful administration of a fortune on which considerable inroads had already been made. Lacking these restraints, he gave way to his extravagant tendencies, and when, later on, it became necessary to give some approximate account of his financial position at the time of Saskia's death, he was obliged to resort to complicated inquiries and various costly proceedings.

The loss of a wife he had dearly loved was not Rembrandt's only trouble at this period. He saw that his popularity was on the wane. He, who had been the most fashionable and the most famous of Dutch painters, was beginning to experience neglect. His eccentric attitude towards the distinguished society who had received him so warmly at first had estranged many from him. The *Night Watch* was destined to deal a fatal blow to his reputation, and to sensibly diminish his *clientèle*. It is easy to understand the disastrous effect produced by this work. To begin with, his treatment of light was disconcerting in the extreme to the average Dutch mind—a mind pre-eminently sober and practical, which insisted on clarity and precision in all things. Secondly, those more immediately concerned in the matter naturally resented so audacious a divergence from traditional ideas. Rembrandt's work was not only a heresy in their eyes, it was little short of an impertinence. Relying on the orthodox precedents, each had paid for a good likeness of himself and a good place on the canvas. But the painter boldly ignored the terms of the tacit contract. The two officers prominent in the centre of the composition had, of course, nothing to complain of, and Banning Cocq himself seems to have been satisfied, or he would hardly have ordered the water-colour copy of the *Night Watch* already mentioned,

nor would it have been preserved as an heirloom. But the rank and file, with the exception of some four or five members, had come off very badly; and from their point of view these worthy folks had a distinct grievance against the master. Faces in deep shadow relieved by stray gleams of light, others scarcely visible, and others again so freely rendered as to be barely recognisable, were not at all to their taste. Disregarding what they conceived to be the established conditions of these portrait groups, the painter had sacrificed their personalities to æsthetic considerations. His first care had been to compose a picture. Knowing Rembrandt's character, we may imagine that he met their representations with a scanty respect, and so increased their resentment. As he could not be induced to alter the picture, his outraged models took refuge in the only consolation they had left. Failing their likenesses, they determined at least to preserve their names, and these were accordingly inscribed on a shield painted on the upper part of the canvas.[1] The careless treatment of the picture, and the mutilation to which it was subjected, seem to show that Rembrandt's contemporaries long cherished their resentment against him. It was reserved for posterity to vindicate the master, and to

THE WIDOWER.
Pen drawing (Heseltine Collection).

[1] This shield is somewhat later in style than the period at which the *Night Watch* was painted, and does not appear either in Lundens' copy or in Mr. de Graeff van Poelsbroeck's water-colour.

discount the passionate criticisms with which he was assailed in his lifetime. But after such a blow to their vanity the civic guards bestowed their patronage elsewhere. They knew that artists more docile and pliable were plentiful enough, even among Rembrandt's own pupils. His commissions fell off gradually from this time forward. Adversity, far from softening his character, gave a misanthropic tinge to a disposition naturally somewhat morose. He had still a few faithful friends whose affection sustained him through his sufferings; but now, as ever, he found art his best consolation. For a time he had been utterly crushed by the overwhelming sorrow of his bereavement, but as he became calmer he turned eagerly to work, and sought refuge from solitude in occupation. Always sparing of speech, he found in art a silent but eloquent medium of expression. Though he produced fewer works between 1642 and 1645 than at any other time—the year 1644 in particular may be considered the least prolific of his life—yet we shall find, on enumerating the various works of this period, that their total is by no means inconsiderable. In the case of any other painter they would represent a very creditable activity, and it is only by comparison with Rembrandt's own extraordinary productiveness that they seem to fall short.

His thoughts turned naturally to the Scriptures. At this season of deep emotion he sought solace in his favourite book, and chose, among its countless episodes, those best attuned to his frame of mind. We find the echo of his own melancholy in the themes he treats. The first is a *grisaille* of 1642, the *Descent from the Cross*, a subject which further inspired a slight etching of this year (B. 82), and several drawings (notably that in the Stockholm Print Room), in which the sentiment of the scene is more fully and pathetically expressed. The *grisaille*, which is in the National Gallery, has, unfortunately, darkened a good deal. Its effects of light and shade are very elaborately studied. The three crosses dominate the scene from the left; in the centre, surrounded by a crowd of indifferent spectators, a group of weeping women tend the Virgin, who sinks back in a swoon; across her knees lies the dead body of the Saviour, whose feet the kneeling Magdalene bathes with tears. Rembrandt's comprehension of grief such as this

Christ Healing the Blind Man.

Pen and Wash.

(ROTTERDAM MUSEUM.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

had become deeper and fuller than before. But his favourite themes at this period were those which recalled the happy days when Saskia was still with him. He had expressed his own joyful hopes in works such as the *Carpenter's Household*, the *Meeting of St. Elizabeth and the Virgin*, and *Manoah's Prayer*. In the *Holy Families* he painted at this period he gives utterance to his regrets. Mr. Boughton Knight's undated example, which figured in the Winter Exhibition of 1882, is probably the earliest of these. It seems to have been famous even in Rembrandt's own times, for several of his pupils made copies of it. During the last century it belonged to the Duke of Orleans, and was engraved in the series of reproductions from works in his collection, under the title of *The Cradle*. The handling is broad and free, but the colour has been very much darkened by the brown varnish overlying it. The scene is a Dutch interior; the Virgin watches by the cradle of the Infant Jesus; St. Anne is seated by her side reading a book, and a servant is engaged on some household task in the shadow beyond. The *Holy Family* in the Hermitage, an upright panel, signed, and dated 1645, introduces us to another humble home. The father, hatchet in hand, works at his daily task somewhat apart from the rest. The Virgin, who has been reading, has laid her book on her lap and gently draws aside the curtains of the little bed, displaying the sleeping Babe, fair and rosy in the warm, transparent shadow. A bevy of cherubs fluttering in a sunbeam above gaze admiringly at the tender scene. The composition has nothing of the sublime; such a picture, with its somewhat vulgar types, would be out of place over an altar. But we must remember that it was painted for a Dutch home, and its glorification of toil and maternity responded to the ideals of the age and nation. To quote M. P. Mantz: "Here Rembrandt cast off the trammels of the text, enlarging and modernising the theme. Even in painting a humble scene of everyday life such as this, he keeps the eternal truths of the spiritual life in view. In this masterpiece of tender expression every detail charms and touches—the sleeping child, the attitude and gesture of the mother, the sweet emotion of her gaze—the peaceful atmosphere of the scene in which the little drama—Dutch, yet universal—is enacted."[1] In the

[1] *Le Musée de l'Ermitage*; text by P. Mantz, p. 223. Ad. Braun and Company.

Cassel *Holy Family*, the latest of the three, which was painted the following year, the composition is suggested by a practice, then very general in Holland, of protecting valuable pictures from the dust by means of a curtain.[1] The scene represented by Rembrandt is supposed to be half concealed by the red drapery he has painted hanging from an iron rod. This is drawn aside to reveal a room, in which the Virgin is seated on a low chair, with the Infant Jesus in her arms. The Child caresses her face with both hands. His food is cooking on the embers beside them, and a cat sits demurely curled up on the hearth, expectant of her share. Beyond the group St. Joseph is seen at his work, and in the shadowy background a bed, and the few utensils of the poor dwelling. Here we have none of the cheerful radiance of sunlight pouring in through open windows, and reflected from smiling landscapes beyond, which accentuated the joys of the *Carpenter's Household.* The room is full of deep shadows, and the mysterious glow which relieves the group of persons, as yet obscure, the dim reflections here and there, indicating rather than revealing details, seem, in some indefinable fashion, to suggest the sufferings and the glory in store for the family.

The Bible also furnished subjects for a pair of little pictures in the Berlin Museum, both signed, and dated 1645. The germ of one, the *Angel warning Joseph to flee into Egypt*, is recognisable in a very hasty but superbly spirited sketch, also at Berlin (in the Print Room). The execution of the picture is somewhat coarse and careless; the Virgin's figure is barely outlined, and the Infant Jesus on the straw beside her is shapeless and clumsy. But the composition as a whole is not wanting in grace, and the angelic apparition, as he softly approaches Joseph, illumines the miserable shed in which the travellers have taken refuge. The pendant, *Tobit's Wife with the Kid*, of which there is a sketch in the Albertina, is a charming creation. It has deteriorated to a certain extent, unfortunately, like so many other works in the Crown collections of Prussia, which have suffered from the neglect with which they were treated in the royal residences, where they

[1] Other painters of the period, notably Jan Steen and Dou, used the same motive on several occasions.

formerly hung. But in spite of this, the limpid quality of the light and the delicacy of the execution recall like characteristics in the *Philosophers* of the Louvre, save that the handling is freer in the Berlin picture.

Two more important compositions of this period were also inspired by the Scriptures: Baron de Steengracht's *Bathsheba*, at the Hague, signed, and dated 1643, and the *Woman taken in Adultery* of the

THE ANGEL APPEARING TO ST. JOSEPH.
Pen drawing (Berlin Print Room).

National Gallery, signed Rembrandt, and dated 1644. In the former, the master returns to the motive of the *Susanna* painted six years before. Bathsheba has just emerged from the bath; sitting on an Eastern rug thrown over the edge of a raised terrace, she busies herself with her toilet. A golden ewer and basin are placed beside her. Her left hand is laid upon her breast, her right on the linen drapery across her legs. An old woman in a brown and violet dress, and a black hood with a gold embroidered veil, holds her right foot, and pares her nails.

An attendant behind her combs her long fair hair. The figure of Bathsheba, with its delicate features and graceful limbs, recalls Saskia, but the contours, their elegance fully displayed by the attitude, are slenderer and more refined than hers. In the background lofty buildings are set against a deep blue sky, and a flight of wide steps leads down to the bath. On a high terrace to the left, David, himself concealed from view, contemplates the scene. This picture, which is in first-rate condition, is remarkable for the vigour of its effect, and the skill with which the execution is adapted to the dimensions. It is also one of the works in which the master has been most successful in his rendering of the beauty of woman.

In the *Woman taken in Adultery* the handling is still more delicate and minute. There is a touch of affectation about the weeping sinner. She is evidently more overcome by the disgrace of discovery than by sorrow for her fault. A Jew who leads her, rejoicing at the capture, shows her triumphantly to the Saviour. The spectator's attention is riveted at once on the noble and beautiful face of Christ, framed in long flowing hair. His mild gaze is fixed on the prisoner with an expression of mournful pity; those around look eagerly at Him, awaiting His words, moved by impulses the most diverse. Some are eager to entangle Him, or to lay the burden of decision on His shoulders; others, confident in His mercy, hope for pardon. The Temple, and the High Priest's throne, sparkling with gold and jewels, recall the background of the *Presentation* of 1631; but the transparent tones are warmer, the shadows deeper and more mysterious, and the colours more brilliant in the lights. In the principal group, the purple-reds mingled with gold are very harmoniously contrasted with the yellowish browns and dull blues in the armour and doublet of one of the guards.

The small number of portraits painted by Rembrandt at this period shows that he had to a certain extent lost favour with the public. On the other hand, we shall find that he produced a considerable number of studies from friends or models. We fail, however, to recognise Saskia in a picture dated 1643, which the Berlin Catalogue asserts to be her portrait, painted either from memory or from a

sketch made during her lifetime.[1] Here again, the features seem to us coarser, the nose straighter, the mouth larger, and the type more robust than in the acknowledged portraits of Saskia. We are inclined to think that the face is more akin to that of the young woman in the Dresden Gallery, painted in 1641, which we have already had occasion to mention. But such vague likenesses are often deceptive. It will be safer to accept this work merely as a remarkably brilliant and broadly painted study. Others of the same class are the *Girl at a Window* in the Dulwich Gallery, and the graceful and pleasing study of a young girl in the black and scarlet uniform of the Amsterdam Municipal Orphanage. Both belong to the year 1645, the handling and the treatment of chiaroscuro being very characteristic of the master's manner at this period. The second example, which has slightly deteriorated, belonged till quite recently to the Princess Demidoff, who sold it in America in 1890. The *Woman Weighing Gold*, in the Dresden Gallery, is undoubtedly a work of Rembrandt's at this period, in spite of the clumsy forgery of the signature and the date 1643 on the upper part of the canvas. Though hardly one of his happiest inspirations, it is not unworthy of the master. The modelling lacks firmness here and there; but in the refined tonality, the delicacy and truth of the chiaroscuro, the skilful drawing of the hands, in the happy juxtaposition of the tones, kneaded, as it were, in the full impasto, we recognise some of Rembrandt's most characteristic qualities.

The so-called *Connétable de Bourbon* of 1644 is no doubt a portrait of some friend of the artist's. It was in the Secrétan collection, at the sale of which it was bought by Mr. Thieme, who lent it to the Exhibition of Old Masters held at Berlin in 1890. The powerful face is turned almost full to the spectator, and the strongly marked features are set off by one of the fancy costumes dear to the artist—the black biretta, gold chain, and steel gorget worn by so many successive models. The gesture of the extended hand, the illumination of the figure, the masterly freedom of the treatment at once recall the figure of Banning Cocq in the *Night Watch*. The *Portrait*

[1] See No. 812 in the Berlin Catalogue.

of a Young Savant in Lord Cowper's collection at Panshanger is signed, and dated the same year, but Dr. Bode thinks it was probably executed a little later, an opinion he bases on the remarkable breadth of the execution. Dr. Bredius, for his part, inclines to the belief that Nicolaes Maes was Rembrandt's collaborator in this firmly modelled and luminous picture of a young man with long brown hair, in the act of rising from his writing-table to take down a red cap from a hook on the wall. The *Portrait of J. Cornelis Sylvius*, formerly in the Fesch collection, where it was called a portrait of *Justus Lipsius*, and now the property of Mr. Carstanjen of Berlin, was painted seven years after the minister's death (it is dated 1645), probably for his widow, with whom, as we know, Rembrandt had always been on terms of affection. Sylvius, whose beard has become white, sits in an arm-chair, his head turned slightly to the left. The severity of his black dress, over which he wears a velvet cloak trimmed with fur, accentuates the pallor of his long thin face.

THE HOG.
1643 (B. 157).

Together with these portraits of friends, we may mention a number of studies made at this period from old men, picked up, no doubt, in the streets of the Jewish quarter. The *Rabbi* in the Berlin Museum, signed, and dated 1645, is a rendering, vigorous to the verge of coarseness, of a model whose features both master and pupil reproduced in several works. Another old man is the subject of a study greatly superior to this both in execution and condition, to which the catalogue of the Hermitage collection formerly gave the misleading title of *Menasseh ben Israel.* The old man leans upon a stick, and makes a very imposing appearance in a plumed black

velvet cap, a red dress, and a fur-trimmed robe, fastened across the breast with a gold clasp. The sharply defined profile is strongly illuminated, and stands out in frank relief against an architectural background of yellowish brown. We may further enumerate two studies of a white-bearded old man, with regular features, and great nobility of expression, painted about this period, one in Lord Scarsdale's collection at Kedleston Hall, the other in the Dresden

STUDY FROM NATURE (PIGS).
Pen drawing (M. Léon Bonnat).

Museum (No. 1571 in the catalogue). In the latter, the cloak and cap were unfortunately repainted by De Pesne in the last century.

Rembrandt's portraits of old women generally show his powers at their greatest, and the fine example in the Hermitage, known as *Rembrandt's Mother*, fully bears out this assertion. I am at a loss to understand why the signature and the date 1643 upon it should have been called in question. Both seem to me obviously genuine. I am inclined, however, to reject the title. The type is certainly not that familiar to us in the master's youthful etchings and paintings.[1]

[1] The model in this portrait of 1643 (a date confirmed by the handling) is, in fact, younger than Rembrandt's mother as she appears in the early works.

It is, however, a venerable face, and the expression is full of kindly shrewdness. Judging by the costume—a crimson velvet cape embroidered with gold, a dress of violet satin, opening over a finely pleated chemisette, a black mantle bordered with fur, and trimmed, like the bodice, with large gold ornaments—we should imagine it to be a study, rather than a portrait painted on commission. The hands, in one of which the old lady holds a silver-mounted eyeglass, are crossed over a book upon her lap; a small leathern pouch hangs on the wall beside her; her stick, a girdle, and a metal bowl are laid on a slab within reach. The whole is painted with extraordinary care and mastery, the touch—smooth and supple in the satins, rich and mellow in the velvets, sharp and brilliant in the gold and jewels—adapting itself to every variety of texture. Its extreme dexterity is most apparent, however, in the illusory rendering of the wrinkled skin, firm as yet, but about to wither.

Exquisite as is the technique in the portrait of Elizabeth Bas, bequeathed to the Ryksmuseum in 1880, by Mr. J. S. H. van de Pool, it is altogether lost sight of in the profound impression produced by the creation as a whole. By far the most remarkable portrait painted by Rembrandt at this period, it fairly claims to rank among his great masterpieces. Elizabeth Bas, widow of the Admiral J. Hendrick Swartenhout, belonged herself to a family of no great importance. But by her marriage with one of those heroic sailors who contributed so largely to the glory and prosperity of Holland, she had been admitted to the most distinguished society of Amsterdam. Thanks to a robust constitution, she retained the vigour and dignity so admirably rendered by the master to an advanced age. Born in 1571, she appears to have been from seventy-two to seventy-five years old when the portrait was painted. The character of the execution also points to the approximate date to which we think the portrait may be assigned, viz. 1643–1646. It is a three-quarters length of an old lady, seated, and facing the spectator. Her black dress is marked by the subdued elegance proper to her rank and age. A closely fitting white cap with semicircular ear-pieces surrounds the face, showing the roots of the hair in front, and the whiteness of the large gauffered

Portrait of Elizabeth Bas (about 1643)

AMSTERDAM RYKSMUSEUM.)

Printed by Chardon Willmann, Paris (France)

ruff is mitigated by the pronounced shadow cast by the head. In spite of her yellow complexion and parchment skin, the old lady's bearing is still erect and stately. On a table covered with a green cloth beside her lies a large clasped book, doubtless a bible. She seems to have just closed it, and to be meditating on what she has read. The small deep-set eyes twinkle keenly under the drooping lids, with an expression denoting a profound knowledge of life; the strongly marked chin, the thin compressed lips, proclaim a firm will and energetic character. The vigorous contours, sharply defined against the neutral background, the close, incisive drawing, the truth of the modelling, the decision of the accents, the extreme frankness of the intonations, even the choice of attitude, all combine to suggest the individuality of the sitter. These qualities in the painter's handiwork reflect her simplicity and uprightness, her good sense and moral vigour, the indefinable air of trenchant determination that characterised her. We see her to have been a woman, at once kindly and keen-sighted, whose confidence was not lightly bestowed, whose affections were deep, but discriminating. We imagine her to have combined with the orderly and economical instincts of her hereditary status an innate dignity and nobility that enabled her to take her place as by right among the members of a patrician caste. Greatly as Rembrandt excelled in the rendering of those essential traits that character and habit stamp on a human face, he never gave more eloquent expression of his powers than in this masterpiece of sincerity and divination.

Contrary to his usual custom, the painter rarely took himself for his model at this period. The study of a head in the Dresden Gallery, dated 1643, and representing a young warrior with a long thin face, who wears the familiar steel gorget, and a small cap on his flowing hair, bears but a shadowy resemblance to Rembrandt. The insignificance of the type and a certain tameness in the execution seem to justify the doubts expressed by some critics as to its authenticity. The master is easily to be recognised, however, in a portrait at Buckingham Palace, a carefully finished work, in which he has painted himself in a red dress and black cloak, a cap on his head. Only the

first three figures of the date, 164-, are now legible. As Dr. Bode observes, Rembrandt has aged considerably, and his features are much altered since his last rendering of himself, the portrait of 1640, in the National Gallery. The signs of advancing age are still more apparent in the contemporary portrait at Carlsruhe, painted about 1645. The master was nearing his fortieth year; the lines in his face are deeper; toil and sorrow have set their marks there. The persistent concentration of his gaze has deepened the furrow between the brows. The fires of passion and youthful pride have died out in the eyes; they have a sad and anxious expression. The moustache has disappeared, the hair is cropped and begins to grow scanty, falling away from the broad and noble brow, beneath which such a world of thought and imagination lies concealed.

ABRAHAM WITH HIS SON ISAAC.
1645 (B. 34).

The etchings of this period are comparatively few and unimportant. They include several rapid sketches, scratched on the first plate that came to hand, such as the *Travelling Peasants* (B. 131), executed about 1643, a spirited study, in which the progression of the figures is very skilfully suggested. *The Hog* (B. 157), signed, and dated 1643—we reproduce the study for this plate in M. Bonnat's collection—is a bucolic tragedy the master may often have seen enacted in the country. Bound, and laid on his side, the animal contemplates the preparations for his execution. He is fatted to a turn, and hope

is no longer possible: his hour has come. Children crowd round him, rejoicing at the prospect of the approaching feast, with all the callousness of youth; a peasant already sharpens the fatal knife. In 1644 we have only one work to record, *The Shepherd and his Family* (B. 220), a little composition hastily sketched on a plate containing several other studies. The shepherd stands beside his wife, who suckles her child on the bank of a stream from which some goats are drinking. Several sacred subjects bear the date 1645, among

SIX'S BRIDGE.
1645 (B. 208).

them the *Abraham with his son Isaac* (B. 34), a plate remarkably simple and unloaded in workmanship, yet full of colour, owing to the masterly distribution of the shadows, and the vivacity with which differences of surface and texture are suggested by the handling. The *St. Peter* of 1645 (B. 96) failed in the biting, and the impressions are very faint. The same may be observed of a *Riposo* of the same year (B. 58), in which the Virgin is represented gently raising a veil that covers the Infant Jesus, to show him to Joseph. The latter, seated beside her, turns from his meal to look at the sleeping Child; a bird and his mate on the tree above them warble an accompaniment to the idyl. The *Philosopher Meditating* (B. 148),

an old man with his hands upon a book, is neither signed nor dated. Its analogies of execution with the foregoing are, however, so marked that it may safely be assigned to this period.

Such hasty works as these were Rembrandt's amusements, a record of fugitive impressions by a process he had completely mastered. His productiveness had been so incessant hitherto that he may well have felt a certain weariness at this juncture, and in spite of his philosophy he had been greatly shaken by Saskia's death. It seems probable that the poor recluse felt that yearning for rest and refreshment which draws so many stricken souls to the fields and woods. Or it may be that Titus—who, to judge by his portraits, was never robust—required country air. Whatever the cause, studies of landscape become very frequent in his *œuvre* from this time onward. Rembrandt had always loved natural scenery, as the numerous works by landscape painters included in his inventory attest. It was no doubt while still living in his native town that he bought sea pieces and views of the *dunes* by Jan Percellis, who was living in seclusion near Leyden, and by Percellis' brother-in-law, H. van Anthonissen, who sojourned for a time at Leyderdorp before settling in Amsterdam. Besides the works of these masters, he owned *grisailles* by Simon de Vlieger, views of the Tyrol by Roelandt Savery, landscapes by his friend Lievens, and by Govert Jansz, an artist of some note in his day, none of whose works have survived, and, further, eight pictures by Hercules Seghers, whose originality and ingenuity in experiment influenced the master himself very considerably, as we shall find later. In Leyden itself, landscape-painters such as Aernout Elzevier, Conraedt Schilperoort, the sometime master of Van Goyen, and Van Goyen himself, flourished during Rembrandt's youth. The last married at Leyden in 1618, and lived there till 1631, the year when Rembrandt removed to Amsterdam.

These men, together with Esaias van de Velde, Pieter Molyn, and Salomon van Ruysdael, were the pioneers of landscape-painting in Holland. Rembrandt had learnt to admire their novel methods amidst those very scenes in which some of them had been formed. His

own walks and studies in the neighbourhood of Leyden enabled him to appreciate their talent and their sincerity. His instinctive sympathies were with them, but, as we know, the course of his early development was largely determined by the teachings of Swanenburch and Lastman. He was able to find types for many of the personages in his Biblical scenes in the Jewish colony among which he lived. But the landscape of his native country was altogether out of harmony with such episodes, and he felt he must look elsewhere for a setting. His anxiety to localise the scenes he loved to treat sent him to the works of his predecessors, the *Italianisers*, and from them he borrowed many of the picturesque details they had adapted from the landscapes of Italy. In his desire for accuracy, Rembrandt, who had never been out of Holland, relied on their pictures or engravings for the mountains, rocks, and buildings which seemed to him best suited to his respective subjects.

Thus his allegiance was divided between the two conflicting tendencies in Dutch art at that period. Loving truth, but venerating the traditions of "great art," so called, it was some time before his genius emancipated itself from the spells of legend, and gained the independence necessary to its full development. The struggle between the two influences, of which he himself was hardly conscious, perhaps, is nowhere so apparent as in his landscapes. With equal persistency and sincerity, he strove to reconcile the opposing forces of the national school, hesitating for a while to declare himself on either side. But from this time forth he recognised how infinite were the resources offered him by nature for the expression of his thought, and gradually landscape played a part more and more important in his works, as we notice in the *Rape of Proserpine* of the Berlin Museum, the *Susanna* of the Mauritshuis, the *Noli me Tangere* of Buckingham Palace, and the *Bathsheba* of the Steengracht collection. A small picture, painted about 1640, formerly in the Choiseul gallery, and now in the possession of Sir Robert Peel, attests the growing importance of the landscape in his compositions. The subject is *Moses discovered by Pharaoh's Daughter*, but the figures are hardly more than accessories. The princess and her attendants are almost lost in the deep shadows

overhanging the stream, on which the child floats in the ark of bulrushes. The vegetation, it is true, is not very carefully rendered. The innumerable commissions with which Rembrandt was overwhelmed on his arrival at Amsterdam left him little leisure to study nature in the surrounding country. Even in his pure landscapes of this period, convention takes the place of direct observation, and the painter's reliance on an accepted ideal is very apparent. Simplicity is openly disregarded in these early essays, the complexity of which was well adapted to the prevailing taste.

THE GROTTO.
1645 (B. 231).

In what strange country, we may not unreasonably wonder, did the painter study the scenery of his *Storm*, a landscape in the Brunswick Gallery, painted about 1640? The motives evidently belong to a land of dreams. The master has allowed imagination to run riot, treating his subject mainly as a pretext for those oppositions of light and shadow he loved to render. Heavy clouds rising from the right of the picture overcast the sky, and hang threateningly on the horizon. A watery light gleams on the walls of a town, across a stretch of fallow land, and on the tops of trees, quivering to the first gusts of the tempest. All around are watercourses pouring in torrents down the slopes, leaping in cascades from rock to rock, and dashing their foam into the air. Mountains which seem to set the laws of equilibrium at defiance rise in chaotic masses one above the other throughout the rugged landscape. In such visions the recluse would seem to have sought indemnity for his sedentary habits. As he

painted he felt himself transported to the fantastic regions of his dreams; the vast plains of Holland gave place to giant mountains, the vivid greens of her trees and pastures to warm yellows and russets. The *Mountainous Landscape* of Lady Wallace's collection, a work contemporary with the *Storm*, is hardly less peculiar. The contrasts are less violent, but that conflict between light and shadow, the mysterious poetry of which the master so often rendered, is again the

THE THREE TREES.
1643 (B. 212).

principal theme. In certain portions the warm brownish ground, which barely covers the panel, has been left, and gives the prevailing tone of colour, by which means an effect of perfect unity has been won. At a first glance the composition seems very simple; but on closer examination the transparent depths of shadow reveal a mass of details unnoticed before. The perspective stretches away into infinity; the planes develop before the spectator's eye. Streams of water pursue their various courses, intersecting each other here and there; and in the landscape the eye gradually discovers a great diversity

of character and cultivation: fields, with the corn in sheaf; a town; a fortified castle, with moat and drawbridge; a village; a few scattered houses; clumps of trees; roads with passing carriages; and a man in a red cap, leaning on a stick, his servant beside him holding a couple of hounds in leash. In a large composition, dated 1638, in the Czartorisky Museum at Cracow, in its pendant, owned by Mr. von Rath at Budapest, and in several smaller works, such as the *Landscape at the Mouth of a River*, in the Oldenburg Museum, Lord Lansdowne's *Canal*, and a still smaller panel belonging to Lord Northbrook, we note the same contrasts of light and shadow, the same magical chiaroscuro, the same conglomerate of slightly incongruous elements. The combination of incoherence in the composition with precision in the treatment of light, of careful imitation with flights of pure fantasy proclaim the conflict in Rembrandt's mind between opposing influences and the eagerness with which he strove to reconcile the visions that haunted him with the realities he loved.

Whether Rembrandt recognised his own shortcomings, or whether he had now more leisure for such studies, it is evident at least that he began to show an increasing sense of their fascination. In striking contrast with his painted landscapes, his drawings and etchings of this period deal with the simplest aspects of nature, and record the most naïve impressions. Audacious and complex as he showed himself in composition, in the presence of nature no motive was too humble for him. Beauties revealed themselves to him in the most modest themes, and he set himself to express them with the frankness of a child. Everything around him afforded subjects for study, and he was never without a notebook in which to jot down his passing impressions. His walks in the Amsterdam streets provided the material for countless sketches, swift records of characteristic features and effects, in which we recognise the canals of the city, their bridges, the houses along the quays, the Montalban Tower, the ramparts, the shores of the Y, or perhaps some momentary effect of light, a stray sunbeam in some shadowy interior. Among the studies of this period there are also several on which he has bestowed more time and labour. The fine drawing heightened with bistre in the Albertina, a view of

the Rokin with its rows of houses, was probably executed during the last years of Rembrandt's sojourn on the Binnen-Amstel, perhaps from his own window. In the background is the former Bourse, and in the foreground the sheet of water formed by the Amstel, dotted with boats, some moored, some in motion. Every detail adds to the impression of reality, the happy choice of motive, the correctness of the planes, the perfect truth of the values. His wanderings in the vicinity of the town were frequent and varied, and everywhere he found subjects for his pencil—now a strip of hedge, a wooden shed, a group of cottages among clustering trees; now a village in perspective, or the distant spires of Amsterdam above the horizon. The incisive firmness of these sketches is in curious contrast with the uncertain and faulty construction of his painted landscapes. The trees, however, betray an inexperienced hand; their outlines against the sky are rendered by a series of shapeless scribbles, the strokes of which have a wearisome monotony and regularity, as if drawn by rule. He shows greater facility in studies of tree-trunks, and seems to have early perceived their æsthetic value in his compositions. In a drawing we borrow from the Duke of Devonshire's collection, probably executed about 1635, we note, side by side with trees the foliage of which is singularly tame and uniform in rendering, an old willow-stump introduced by the master in his etching *St. Jerome* (1648, B. 103), and later in the *St. Francis* (1657, B. 107). It also figures to the left in the *View of Omval* (B. 209). He was encouraged in such studies by his perception of the great advantages to be derived from them in future pictures. Etchings made from such sketches, or drawn from nature on the copper, become more and more numerous, attesting both his delight in the work and the rapid progress resulting therefrom.

The first pure landscape among Rembrandt's etchings, the *Landscape with a Cow*, dated 1634 (B. 206), is rejected by Mr. Middleton-Wake, though duly signed with the monogram used by the master at the period. I see no reason whatever, for my own part, to suspect the authenticity of the plate, which, though unimportant, is closely allied in execution to other etchings of the same date. Two undated

landscapes may perhaps be assigned to about 1640; one, the *Landscape with a House and a large Tree by it* (B. 207), is of little interest; the other, the *View of Amsterdam* (B. 210), is remarkable for its delicate workmanship, and for the skill with which Rembrandt has expressed the gradual reduction of the planes, conjuring up infinite space on a narrow strip of paper. I am once more at a loss

A WINTERSCENE.
1646 (Cassel Museum).

to imagine why Mr. Middleton-Wake contests the authenticity of the *Large Landscape with a Cottage and a Hay-barn* (B. 225), which is signed, and dated 1641, like the *Large Landscape, with a Mill-sail seen above a Cottage* (B. 226), with which its analogies are very marked, not only in choice of motive, but in treatment and dimensions.[1] The methods used to indicate distance—especially to the left of the first-named plate—and those employed in the foreground are

[1] The forms of the R and the b in the signature, and of the 4 in the date, are very characteristic, and are exactly reproduced on various other plates of the period, notably that of the *Man with a Crucifix and Chain* (B. 261), another work of 1641.

identical with those of the undisputed plate, and a like facility and knowledge of effect in each, seem to proclaim them fruits of the same stage of progress. The plate known as *Rembrandt's Mill* (B. 233), which is signed and dated like the above, is still more remarkable for the vigour of the drawing.[1] The absence of vegetation detracts somewhat from the interest; but the character of the crazy buildings

A VIEW OF OMVAL.
1645 (B. 209).

is indicated with extreme precision and firmness. It is hardly necessary to remark that the title rests on no sort of foundation, and is but another example of those arbitrary designations so often noted in these pages. The *Cottage with White Pales* (B. 232) is marked by the same sobriety of technique, but shows considerable progress in the treatment of foliage, and achieves an effect of great reality by very

[1] *In composition it is, however, without the balance of a picture. Its reputation is perhaps by this time on the wane.—F. W.*

simple means. But Rembrandt's claims to rank among the great masters of landscape were first made good in the famous piece known as the *Three Trees* (B. 212). In this impressive plate, every detail suggests conflict and struggle—the fitful gleams of light, the dense shadows that gather menacingly round them, the plain on which the waters are about to descend in floods, the trees, stretching out gnarled branches, stripped by the fury of the winds, the clouds that chase and meet each other in fierce encounter against a sky streaked by the first drops of the storm that bursts on the horizon. The bold contrasts and fiery execution well express this fierce aspect of nature, and a significant detail betrays the passion and impetuosity with which the work was carried out. Among the gathered clouds vague outlines of heads and limbs are distinguishable, survivals apparently of some earlier sketch which Rembrandt did not trouble himself to efface, in his eagerness to record the effect which appealed so strongly to his imagination.

From this time forth Rembrandt's slightest sketches bear the impress of his genius. In a few rapid strokes he conjures up some pregnant suggestion of nature's infinite diversities, with a suppleness and precision alike marvellous, seizing with infallible instinct the characteristic features of each image he presents to us. Three etchings of the year 1645, though inspired by very different motives, are marked by the same extraordinary truth of expression. One of these, *Six's Bridge* (B. 208), has, as its title proclaims, its legend, an invention probably, like so many others, of the last century. According to the tradition, Rembrandt executed the plate on the occasion of a visit to the Burgomaster Six at Hillegom, while waiting for the return of a servant, who had been despatched to the neighbouring village to fetch some mustard for breakfast. The rapidity of the execution no doubt gave colour to this absurd fable. But the etching, in any case, is evidently a study from nature, and with the simple means employed it would be impossible to give a more exact and characteristic rendering of a certain aspect of Dutch scenery. A plain stretches away in infinite perspective; a village is faintly indicated; the waters have risen to the level of the banks, and meander in scattered streams over the land; in the distance are sailing ships that seem to be

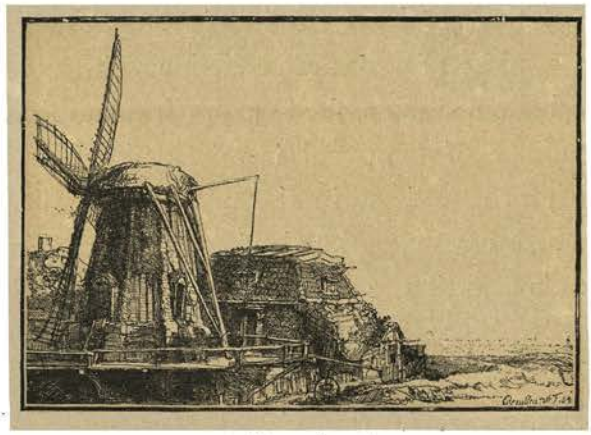
advancing upon the meadows. The execution, though hasty, is very decisive, and has a singular charm. In the *View of Omval* (B. 209) Rembrandt appears to have again used a plate on which he had already made a drawing. A young man, who places a wreath of flowers on the head of a young woman seated beside him in the shadow, appears to the left of the willow-stump already mentioned.[1] Working over the original sketch in part, Rembrandt incorporated it with the delicate background to the right, where he has introduced a village, supposed to be Omval, the houses, workshops, windmills, and boats of which are picturesquely disposed along the Amstel. The skilful blending of the two sections conceals the fact of their having been brought together by an afterthought, to disguise which the reeds, trefoils, and grasses of the foreground have lent their aid. The third of the plates, dated 1645, is that variously known as *The Watering-place*, *The Boat-house*, and *The Grotto* (B. 231). Here again we have a mass of vegetation clothing the steep banks of a watercourse, and Rembrandt's facile point has admirably suggested the luxuriant herbage of damp soil in this shady spot, where nature's grace and bounty are manifest in the minutest details.[2]

Rembrandt had now completed his apprenticeship in landscape art. From this time forth the contrast we have noted between the incoherence of his pictures and compositions in this *genre*, and the perfection of his drawings and sketches from nature, gradually disappears. A small panel in the Cassel Museum, a *Winter Scene*, signed, and dated 1646, has all the vivid and sudden quality of a sketch from nature, reproducing with absolute sincerity a simple motive, painted in a few minutes from a scene before the artist's eyes. The impression of the cold light of a winter afternoon, on a frozen canal where skaters disport themselves, is rendered with singular

[1] This plate is signed *Rembrandt*, like the *Abraham with his son Isaac*, a work of the same year (1645).

[2] Dissenting from Bartsch and Charles Blane, Mr. Middleton-Wake holds that this plate exists only in one state, and that variations in the different impressions which those writers took to be proofs of a second state are due simply to inequalities in the printing. But traces of the scraper, and of various retouches, are very apparent in an impression of the second state in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

animation, and the little picture has all the spirit and actuality of the master's best etchings. Several studies of a like nature, which have unfortunately disappeared, are included in his inventory, and we have yet to mention a more important work, which combines the realism of this example with a higher imaginative quality. In such congenial studies Rembrandt found distraction from his griefs and disappointments, a renewal of his powers, and a further development of his genius. He still looked at nature with a poet's eyes, but the hand with which he interpreted her had acquired the facility, the assurance, and the technical accomplishment that proclaim a master.



REMBRANDT'S MILL.
1641 (B. 233).

END OF VOL. I

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REMBRANDT

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Portrait of Rembrandt (1658).

(LORD ILCHESTER'S COLLECTION.)

REMBRANDT

His Life, his Work, and his Time

BY

ÉMILE MICHEL

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

FROM THE FRENCH BY

FLORENCE SIMMONDS

EDITED BY

FREDERICK WEDMORE

With Seventy-six Full-page Plates

And Two Hundred and Fifty Text Illustrations

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CHAPTER I

PERIOD OF GREAT ACTIVITY, FROM 1646 TO 1654—LIFE STUDIES (1647)—'SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS'—REMBRANDT'S TECHNIQUE—'THE GOOD SAMARITAN' AND 'THE DISCIPLES AT EMMÄUS' (1648)—'PORTRAIT OF TURENNE' (1649)—'THE VISION OF DANIEL'; 'ABRAHAM AND THE ANGELS'; 'NOLI ME TANGERE' (1651)—ETCHINGS OF THIS PERIOD: THE 'HUNDRED GUILDER PRINT' AND 'THE LITTLE TOMB.'

AN OLD MAN, WITHOUT A BEARD.
About 1635 (B. 299).

REMBRANDT, as we see, had, to a certain extent, shaken off the deep depression that had overwhelmed him after the death of Saskia. An intimate communion with nature had invigorated his genius, and in resuming the labours that had become a necessity to him, he soon felt the benefit of these novel studies. The loneliness of his position had this advantage, at least—that it enabled him to devote himself more ardently than ever to his work—and the period we are about to deal with was one of the most productive of his busy life. In returning to the Scriptural subjects he preferred to all others, he sought satisfaction alike for his active imagination and his creative passion. The infinite variety of these subjects harmonised with the diversity of his own impressions, and he interpreted their emotional aspects with equal sincerity and penetration. He now received a fresh commission from

Prince Frederick Henry. Though he had lost his popularity with the public, he was still appreciated by the Prince, who, though already the owner of five pictures by him, wished for two more. The price paid for these is an interesting proof of the Prince's growing respect for his powers. In a draft dated November 29, 1646, Frederick Henry commands that a sum of 2400 florins be paid to Rembrandt for the pair. It will be remembered that the price paid for the two pictures of the same dimensions delivered to the *Stathouder* in 1639 was just a half of this, while in 1645 he had also bought two important pictures by Rubens, who had lately died, and whose works were in great request, for the sum of 2100 florins. Of one of the works painted for the Prince, the *Circumcision*, no trace is to be found. It had disappeared before the removal of the Electoral collection from Düsseldorf to the Munich Pinacothek.

The other, an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, now in the Pinacothek, has suffered severely from the effects of time. This is the more to be regretted, as the subject was one peculiarly adapted to Rembrandt's manner, and he had bestowed great care upon it. Not only did he make an elaborate study of its effects and arrangement in the fine drawing belonging to Mr. Heseltine which we reproduce, but he also painted a replica, with a few slight modifications, which bears the same date, 1646. It is now in the National Gallery. The conception is much on the lines of Correggio's *Notte* in the Dresden Gallery. As in the Italian master's work, the illumination of the central group proceeds almost entirely from the Infant Saviour. This light, resplendent with vivid red and deep golden tones, gradually melts away into the surrounding gloom of the humble shed. Some few articles of rustic furniture, and the silhouettes of crouching cattle, are distinguishable in the shadows. Mysterious reflections gleam through the semi-transparent darkness on the faces of the shepherds, who draw near to join the Virgin and the kneeling St. Joseph in adoration of the new-born Babe.

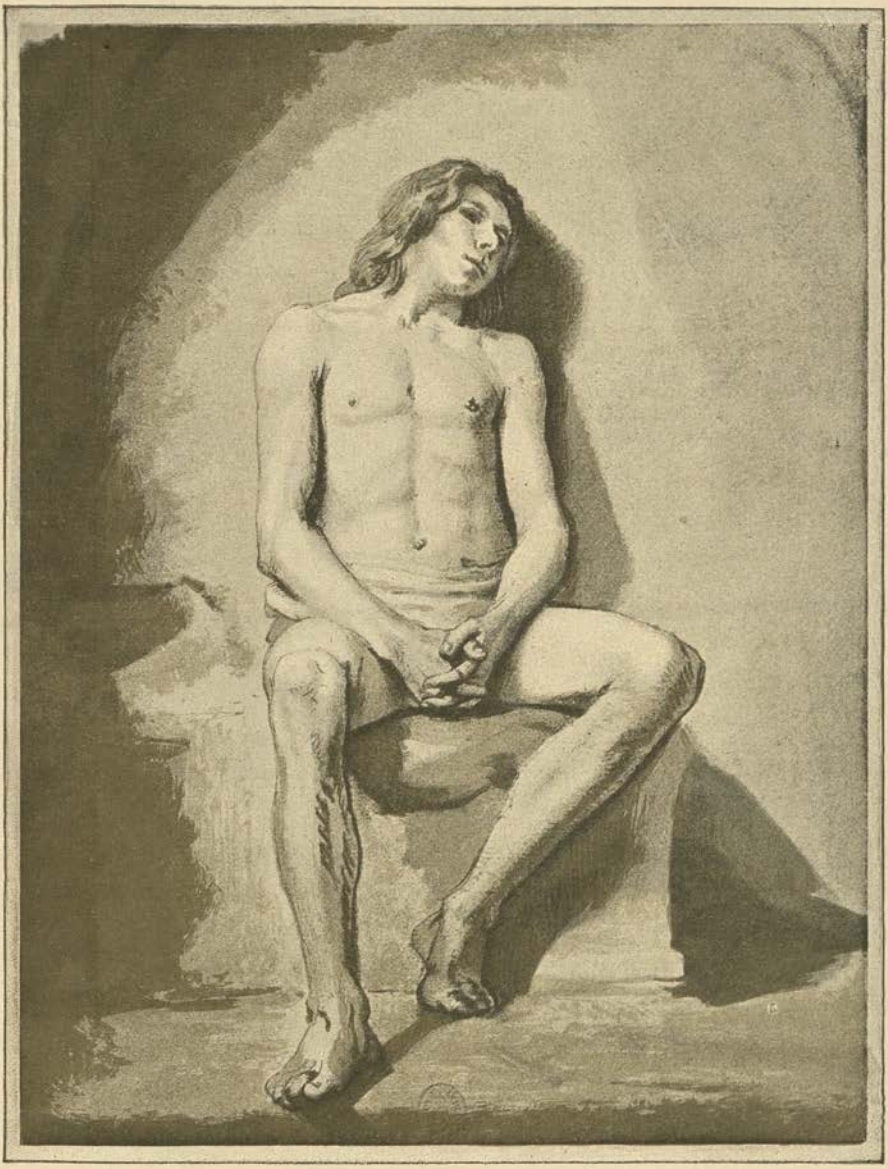
The *Susanna and the Elders* of 1647[1] is a striking instance of

[1] This picture belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds, and in later times to Sir Ed. Lechmere, from whose collection it passed to the Berlin Gallery in 1883.

Life Study of a Young Man—Study for the Etching (1646)

Pen and Wash

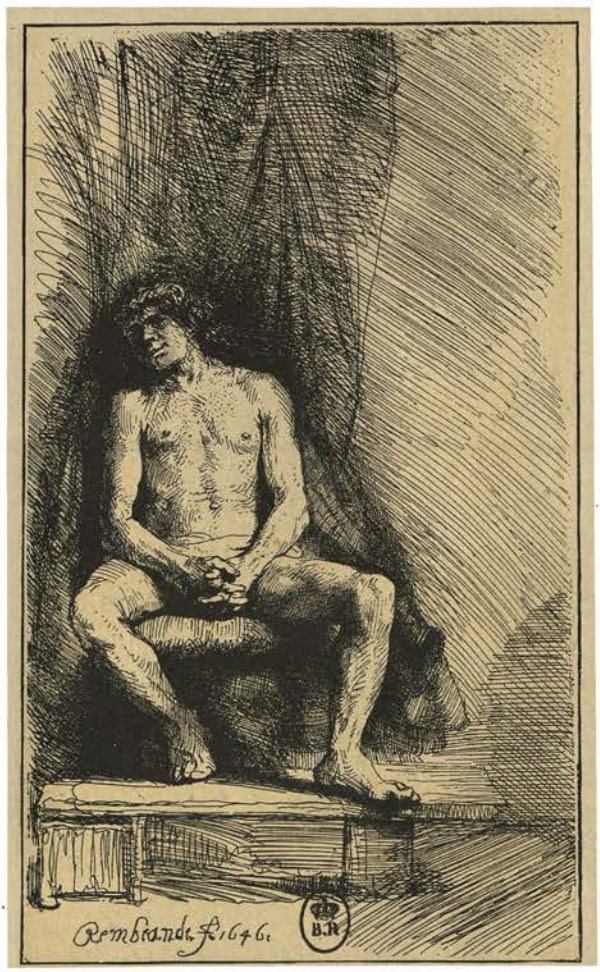
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE



Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

Rembrandt's versatility, and of the ease with which he now approached the most diverse subjects, preserving the essential character of each. The episode was one which specially attracted him, by the opportunity it afforded for the treatment of the nude. His technical equipment was now so complete, that he might, like so many others, have relied in future on the resources at his command, taking counsel with nature only when projecting or executing a picture. But we shall find him not only consulting realities at times of special need, but devoting himself unweariedly to studies, the one object of which was his further instruction and improvement. The numerous "academies" executed at this period witness to the delight he took in these disinterested studies. Several of these drawings from male and female models belong to the Louvre and the Bibliothèque Nationale, others to Mr. Heseltine and M. Léon Bonnat. A model of frequent occurrence among them is a slender youth, whose long thin limbs have not attained their full development. Such a type was valuable as enabling the painter to observe the play of bones and muscles, and their exact positions in action. In the matter of feminine models, he had perforce to content himself with the few among that decorous nation who could be induced to pose in a studio. The types and forms available were therefore far from elegant, yet the master reproduced them with the most scrupulous exactitude, abating nothing of their ugliness. The sincerity of these studies is only to be equalled by their facility of execution. The figure is sketched in with a few strokes of the pen; a slight wash of sepia or Indian ink is then employed for the modelling, which is carried out with the utmost delicacy and precision, every inflection being carefully followed with extraordinary perception of values. Rembrandt had gradually acquired an absolute mastery of such effects; the two etchings dated 1646, of which we give facsimiles (B. 193 and 195), may be examined as typical examples of that close and nervous draughtsmanship, which enabled the master to indicate, not only the silhouette, but the structure and effects of a subject, with a few strokes of the point, and this with faultless accuracy and precision. Such studies were not invariably sketched directly on the plate. One of the two etchings reproduced was preceded by a drawing from nature,

now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. But very often the subject was sketched on the copper without any preparation, sometimes on the unoccupied corner of a partially covered plate, such as that (B. 194) on which two of these life-studies are drawn side by side with a sketch of an old woman bending down to play with a child in a go-cart. Another etching, the *Rembrandt drawing from a Model* (B. 192), was executed, probably in 1647, from a sketch in the British Museum—in which the composition is therefore reversed—which represents the master in his studio, drawing from a nude female model. The background only was finished, probably by one of Rembrandt's pupils. The figures of the woman, who holds a palm-branch in her hand, and of the artist, who is seated on a little stool in front of her, are merely indicated.



AN ACADEMICAL FIGURE OF A MAN.
1646 (B. 193).

The composition of the *Susanna* Rembrandt had treated not only in several sketches, but in two painted studies. To judge by that of the Lacaze collection in the Louvre, the model was far from seductive. Her body is badly formed, her legs thin and bowed. The original of M. Léon Bonnat's oval panel—a little brunette with luxuriant hair, a large mouth, a thick flat nose, and black eyes—

has a fair share of that *beauté du diable* proper to her extreme youth. The technique of this study is superb, and the glow and texture of the flesh, shivering as it encounters the cold water, are rendered with extraordinary power. In the Berlin picture, the type has been further refined, and is not without grace, though it hardly attains to beauty. The young woman, about to enter a bath hollowed out among the rocks, is seized by one of the elders, an evil-looking old

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS.
1647 (Berlin Museum).

man. He tries to snatch away the last vestige of her raiment; another old man, whose face has an expression of profound cunning, advances from his ambush to his accomplice's aid. Thus surprised, the young woman turns towards the spectator in terror and amazement. Above the bath, on the edge of which is perched a peacock, flowers, creepers, and the branches of trees increase the decorative effect of the lofty buildings in the background. Above them all rises

a tower with an imposing clerestory; below is a building with gilded capitals, a portico, and a terrace adorned with statues. The bather's garments lie on the circular stone bench at the edge of the bath; they consist of a scarf with golden tassels, and a dress of heavy material, the skirt a magnificent purple, the bodice a deeper shade, trimmed with golden ornaments. These vivid tones are enhanced by the neutral gray of the sky and the stone, the deep green of the trees, and the strong yellows of the bushes, and throw the dazzling whiteness of Susanna's body into forcible relief. The abrupt inflection of the left leg is unpleasant; but, on the other hand, the upper part of the body, and the gesture of the hand, are instinct with youthful grace and modesty. In several early pictures—notably in the *Susanna* of the Mauritshuis, and the *Bathsheba* of the Steengracht collection—Rembrandt had sought to express the harmonious splendours of that Biblical East which appealed so strongly to his imagination. But never had he rendered it with such a wealth of magnificent fancy as in this picture, in which the luxuriant vegetation, the fantastic grandeur of the architecture, the splendour of the draperies, and their gorgeous colouring are enhanced by a masterly use of chiaroscuro, by the exquisite finish of the execution, and by the perfect harmony of the handling with the various picturesque details.

It will not be out of place to inquire briefly into those principles of colouring which produced the full, resonant, and varied crimsons so happily blended or opposed in this picture. The master, careful of every element in his art, was specially jealous of the composition and preparation of his ingredients. He procured the rarest and most precious woods for his panels, and was equally particular as to the oils and varnishes he employed. The problem of the vehicles he used to spread his colours, or to continue an interrupted work without prejudice to its solidity and freshness, is still unsolved. Lacquers brought from the Dutch Indies had doubtless increased the resources of the palette in Rembrandt's time. Sandrart extols the excellence of the colours then manufactured at Amsterdam, making special mention of a certain imperishable white, and of various ochres, which retained their transparence in shadow. The simplicity of Rembrandt's

methods was a further guarantee of the durability of his works, and the excellent condition of all such as have enjoyed adequate care and protection is a sufficient proof of his technical superiority.

In the small panel, *Hannah teaching the child Samuel in the Temple*, dated 1648, now at Bridgwater House, the execution is as finished, and the chiaroscuro as delicate, but unhappily, the colour has deteriorated. Hannah, a venerable old woman in a black wimple, and crimson dress with gold embroidered bodice, holds in her hand a pair of spectacles, and a large parchment book, from which the youthful Samuel has been reading. The child, a fair-headed cherub, with an innocent, rosy face, prays devoutly, with clasped hands. A soft shadow falls across his face. In the middle distance, two old men stand beside a cradle, and in the background of the Temple rise the tables of the Law surmounted by an angel's head amidst gilded sculptures. The golden browns of the child's dress contrast finely with the magnificent reds of his mother's robe, and form as it were a subdued echo of the gorgeous harmonies of the *Susanna*. In this perceptible lowering of the key of colour, in the rich decorations of the Temple, where gold and the vague glint of precious stones are cunningly blended, we find a fresh evidence of the art with which Rembrandt brought every detail of his compositions into harmony with the subject. A somewhat larger picture in the Hermitage of the same theme, known as *The Nun and the Child*, may be bracketed with the Bridgwater House panel, as closely analogous, though possibly later by a year or two. The heavy and somewhat spiritless execution, the comparatively cold, opaque shadows, and the want of richness in the tonality have suggested doubts, not altogether unreasonable, as to the authenticity of the work. We may, however, point out that the type of the child is identical with that of the Ephraim in the *Jacob blessing the Children of Joseph* of 1656, and that the old woman, and the chair in which she sits, figure in several portrait-studies dated 1654. We should not be disinclined to question the authenticity of another large picture of this period, also in the Hermitage, a *Fall of Haman*, in which the life-size figures are fantastically arrayed in Turkish costume, and painted in a coarse and summary style. But we

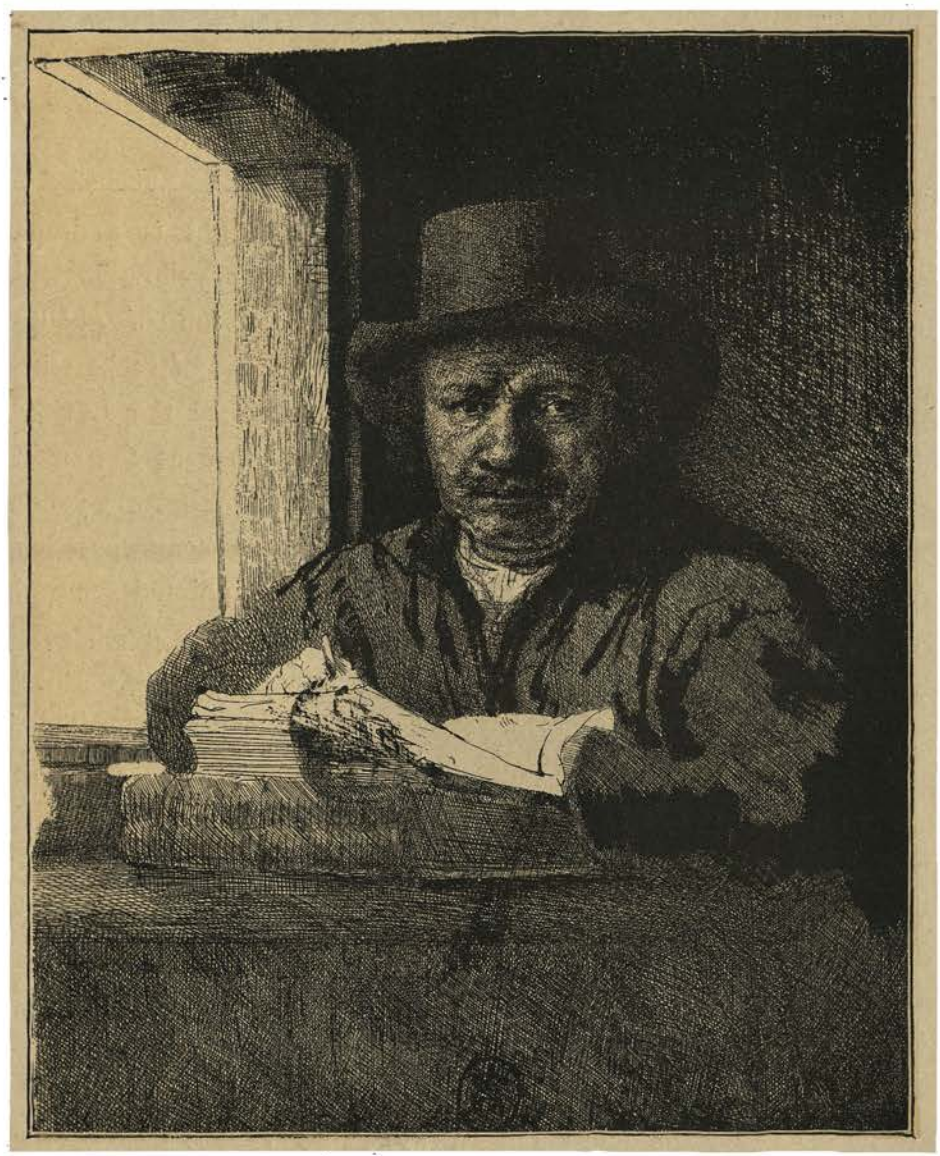
are fain to believe it a genuine work. A bare mention will suffice for this large canvas, the very perfunctory achievement of some few hours.

Returning to the year 1648, we shall find two masterpieces in the Louvre, bearing this date, together with Rembrandt's signature. These are the *Good Samaritan*, and the *Christ with the Disciples at*

THE GOOD SAMARITAN.
Pen drawing (Berlin Print Room).

Emmäus, subjects which seem to have had a supreme fascination for the master. He treated them again and again at different stages of his career, in paintings, drawings, and engravings. The motive of the *Good Samaritan* had a double attraction for him. It gave him an opportunity for the rendering of the nude, and the episode itself was one that appealed strongly to a nature so tender and sympathetic as that of Rembrandt, "kindly to the verge of extravagance," as Baldinucci testifies. Some strange presentiment of his own fate

seems to have haunted the artist, making him keenly susceptible to the pathos of the story. He, too, was destined to lie stripped and



REMBRANDT DRAWING.
1648 (B. 22).

wounded by Life's wayside, while many passed him by unheeding. He had already treated the subject in an etching of 1633, in a picture now in the Wallace collection, and in the drawing in the

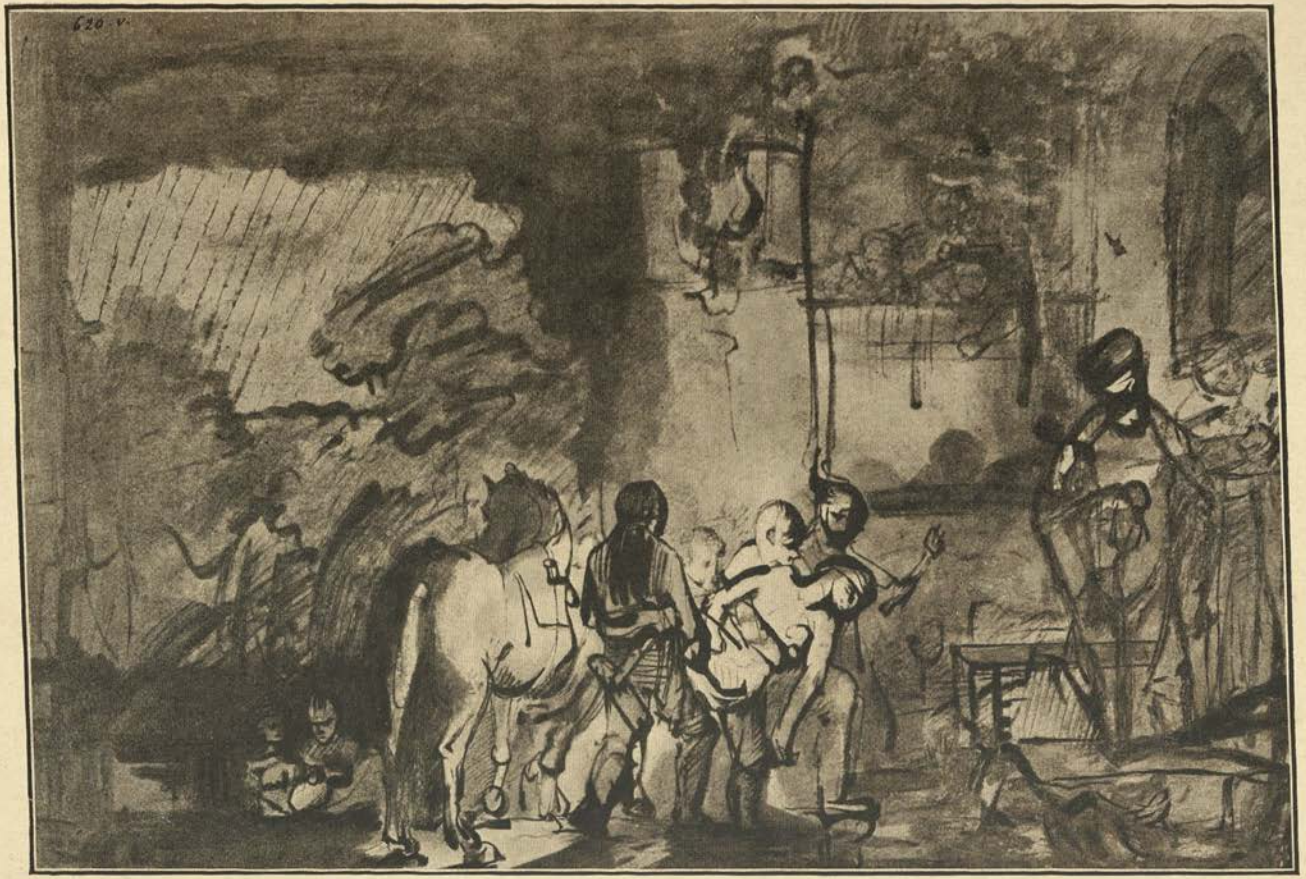
Boymans Museum, in all of which he lays peculiar emphasis on the moving elements of the drama. The sketch in the Berlin Print Room deals with another moment of the action. The master made use of it, with some unimportant modifications, for an interesting picture signed, and dated 1639, which M. Sedelmeyer recently bought in England. The wounded man lies almost naked on the ground. The Samaritan, who wears a red costume and a turban, kneels beside him, dressing his wounds. To the left stands an iron-gray horse with a saddle; on the right is a drapery bordered with a rich embroidery, of that golden yellow in which Rembrandt delighted. A small medicine chest full of phials is open beside it. The horizon is shut out by a mass of rocks with a waterfall, and on some rising ground in the distance the Levite of the Gospel narrative casts a furtive backward glance at the sufferer he has left to perish. The harmony, made up of warm browns, yellows, and russets, is sustained and powerful, and the somewhat harsh execution broad and free. In the Louvre picture, painted some nine years later, as in a beautiful and most luminous sketch purchased by M. Sedelmeyer,[1] Rembrandt returns to his first conception. But his artistic progress may be measured by the modifications to which he has subjected his composition. The sun is sinking, and the dying rays light up the group at the door, where the wounded man is lifted from the horse amidst the excited spectators of his arrival, and borne to the inn. His saviour, purse in hand, recommends him to the care of the hostess. How can we more fitly describe the scene than in the eloquent words of Fromentin?—"The man is barely alive; his bearers support the bent and mangled body by the shoulders and legs; gasping with agony at the movement, he hangs helplessly in their arms, his bare knees drawn convulsively together, his feet contracted, one arm thrown across his hollow breast, his head swathed in a bloodstained bandage. . . . It is late, the shadows are lengthening. The tranquil uniformity of twilight reigns

[1] Formerly in Mr. Henry Willett's collection. It is a night-scene, the action taking place by torchlight, which gives occasion for various happy effects of chiaro-scuro.

Study for the "Good Samaritan."

Pen and Wash.

(ROTTERDAM MUSEUM.)



Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

throughout the canvas, save for an occasional gleam that seems to float across the surface, so fitful and mobile is its effect. In the mysterious gloaming you scarcely distinguish the finely modelled horse to the left of the picture, and the sickly looking child, rising on tip-toe to peer across the animal's neck at the wounded wayfarer, who moans as the servants carefully lift his shattered body." As to the execution—again we give way to Fromentin : " Pause, look at it closely, or at a distance, examine it carefully. No contour is obtrusive, no accent mechanical. You note a timidity which has nothing in common with ignorance, which results rather from a horror of the trivial, or from the great importance attached by the thinker to the direct expression of life ; a building up of things which seem to exist in his inner vision, and to suggest by indefinable methods alike the precision and the hesitations of Nature. . . . Nowhere a contortion, an exaggerated feature, nor a touch in the expression of the unutterable which is not at once pathetic and subdued ; the whole instinct with deep feeling, rendered with a technical skill little short of miraculous." [1]

Emotion is perhaps still more powerfully expressed in the *Christ with the Disciples at Emmäus*, a subject which presented greater difficulties. Here the simplicity of the conception is more marked, the treatment more personal and mysterious. Recalling earlier versions of the touching Gospel story, the purely decorative renderings of painters such as Titian and Paul Veronese, we feel that it was reserved for Rembrandt to comprehend and translate its intimate poetry. Henceforth, it seems hardly possible to conceive of the scene but as he painted it. What depths of faith and adoring reverence he has suggested in the attitude of the disciple, who, his heart "burning within him" at his Master's words, recognises Him "in the breaking of bread," and clasps his hands in worship, while his companion, unconvinced as yet, leans upon the arm of his chair, his questioning gaze fixed on the Saviour's face! How truthful again is the expression of ingenuous curiosity in the features of the young servant, amazed at the sudden emotion of the two apostles! But more admirable than all

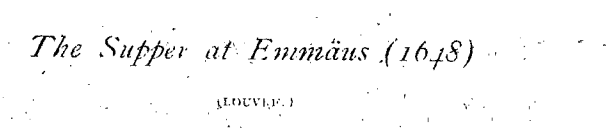
[1] E. Fromentin, *Les Maîtres d'Autrefois*, p. 376 *et seq.*

is the conception of the risen Christ, the mysterious radiance that beams from His pallid face, the parted lips, the glassy eyes that have looked on death, the air of beneficent authority that marks His bearing. By what strange magic of art was Rembrandt enabled to render things unspeakable, and to breathe into our souls the divine essence of the sacred page by means of a picture "insignificant in appearance, without any beauty of accessories or background, subdued in colour, careful, and almost awkward in handling?" [1]

"NOLI ME TANGERE."
1651 (Brunswick Museum).

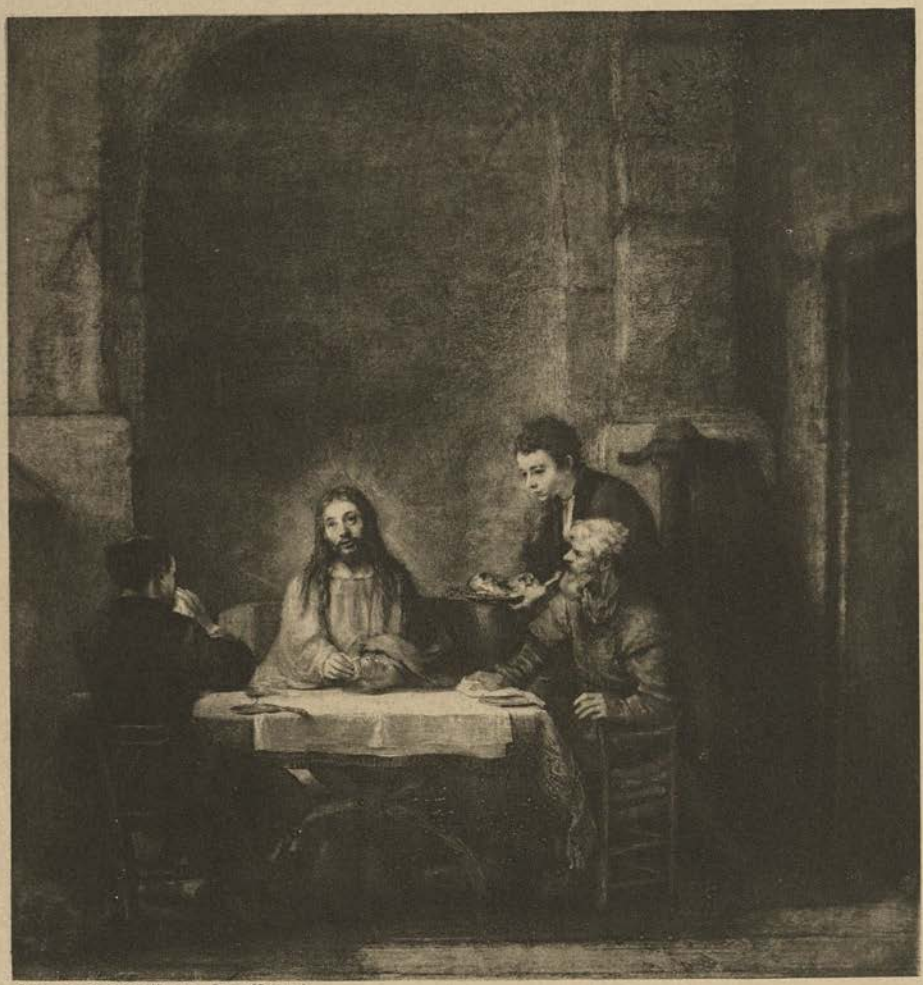
Rembrandt returned to the subject more than once. He had already treated it after a slightly fantastic fashion, in an etching of 1634 (B. 88), the Christ of which is a somewhat theatrical figure. Twenty years later he made use of it for another plate (B. 87), the composition of which is much on the same lines as that of the picture in the Louvre, though less impressive. The latter was probably preceded by the picture of the same date (1648) in the Copenhagen Museum, a greatly inferior work, in poor condition. The treatment is more complex, and the episode loses much of its emotional power. As in several other instances, Rembrandt has inclosed his composition in a simulated frame, slightly arched at the top; a brown curtain, hanging from a rod, is painted across the left of the canvas. The Saviour wears a red robe; His serene features show no traces of recent suffering and death. The interest is less concentrated; and the obtrusive figure of an old woman in a white hood, carrying a glass, who is placed immediately in the light, attracts the eye of

[1] Fromentin, *Les Maîtres d'Autrefois*, p. 380.



The Supper at Emmäus (1648)

(LOUVRE.)



Printed by Chardon-Wittmann, Paris (France)

the spectator in a fashion disastrous to the effect of the main group. The master was more happily inspired in the beautiful drawing of the Dresden Museum. The moment chosen is that wherein the Saviour vanishes from the sight of His followers. Rembrandt very characteristically represents the humble room as illuminated by a vivid light, shining above the place lately occupied by the Lord. The two disciples are lost in awe and wonder at

STUDY FOR THE "NOLI ME TANGERE" IN THE BRUNSWICK MUSEUM.

the miracle. One has risen, and presses against the wall, as if overcome with terror.

The year 1648 is a date for ever memorable in the annals of the Netherlands. After a prolonged struggle, the *Beggars* had triumphed over their oppressors, and had wrung from them recognition of their national independence. Throughout the length and breadth of Holland, already rich and powerful, the solemn act which ratified her claims in the sight of Europe, and crowned her prosperity, was received with joyful acclamations. Public fêtes, and gala theatrical perfor-

mances, attested the popular delight at the proclamation of the Peace of Westphalia. The men of letters celebrated it in their writings. Terborch constituted himself historiographer of the Treaty of Münster, which set the final seal on the peace; Van der Helst, who had become Rembrandt's rival, and Govert Flinck, who had taken his master's place in public favour, were commissioned by the civic guards to paint the two large canvases that now flank the *Night Watch* in the Ryks-museum. No one seems to have thought of Rembrandt on this occasion. Although he now lived in great retirement, troubling himself little about public opinion, it is natural to suppose that he was not insensible to this neglect. He cannot but have shared the emotion of his contemporaries. A son of that Leyden whose heroic resistance had so greatly strengthened the cause of national freedom, he loved the land he was never to leave, and where, but a few years back, he was accounted the most distinguished master of his day. His artistic susceptibilities were wounded, and he resolved to emerge from his seclusion. It was doubtless in the hope of receiving some commission akin to those of his *confrères*, which would give scope for the display both of his talents and his patriotism, that in 1648 he executed the *grisaille* in the Rotterdam Museum, known as *The Pacification of Holland* (*La Concorde du Pays*), a confused, overloaded composition, full of subtle allusions suggested, perhaps, by some pedant of the master's acquaintance. Rembrandt showed little aptitude for allegory. He had none of Rubens' ease, coherence, and decorative sense in its treatment. Realities were the essential basis of his art. The Rotterdam picture, with its two compact masses of combatants, separated by a lioness chained beneath a shield emblazoned with the arms of Amsterdam[1] and the legend, *Soli Deo Gloria;* its figure of Justice, clumsily grasping a scale loaded with papers; its infinite variety of grotesque detail, is a mere jumble of enigmatical episodes, the interpretation of which passes both our courage and our patience. The general effect, however, is very remarkable. The neutral blue tint of the sky is happily contrasted with the predominant brown and

[1] The introduction of this shield seems to confirm the idea that Rembrandt had hopes of a place in one of the public buildings, perhaps the *Stadhuis*, for his work.

Fragment from "The Pacification of Holland" (1648).

(ROTTERDAM MUSEUM.)

Printed by Eudes & Chasseroux Paris (France)

russet tones, which are heightened here and there by fat touches of pale yellow, applied with superb *brio* for the high lights. The execution of the left portion of the panel is masterly in the extreme. From Mr. Baer's fine photograph here reproduced our readers may gain a very fair idea of the feeling for picturesque effect, and extraordinary divination of the mediæval spirit displayed by Rembrandt, in his grouping of the serried ranks of mailed horsemen in martial and resolute array. The figure of the leader, lance in rest on his prancing white charger, is especially admirable. Instinct with the prescience of modern Romanticism, it recalls one of Delacroix's vivid creations. The composition, it appears, was never carried out on a larger scale. The *grisaille* remained in Rembrandt's studio and figures in the inventory of 1656. We need not greatly regret that the painter received no commission for the large picture he had aspired to paint. In its present dimensions the sketch is highly interesting, as exhibiting Rembrandt's methods of composition. In a more imposing form its extravagances would have been fatally apparent. The commentaries, more or less ingenious, by which some writers have sought to explain the hidden meanings of the allegory, tend only to the deeper mystification of the student. Here again Rembrandt seems to have recognised his disabilities. He made no further essays in this direction, and the *Pacification* remains his solitary attempt to illustrate, directly or indirectly, the history of his own times.

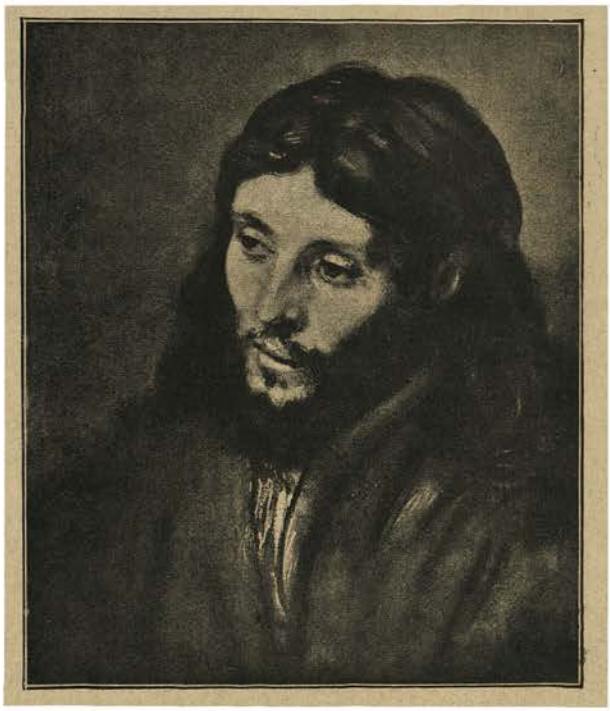
Two pictures, one the landscape in the Cassel Gallery, known as *The Ruin*, the other a portrait at Panshanger, are the only works by Rembrandt we can assign to the year 1649, and even so, we have nothing to go upon in the case of the latter but conjecture. Lord Cowper's example is a life-size equestrian portrait of a personage said to be the Maréchal de Turenne. He wears a rich and brilliant uniform—a buff jerkin with gold-embroidered silk sleeves, and a large felt hat with feathers—and bestrides a restive dapple-gray horse, at the entrance of a park. A servant stands beside him, and in the middle distance to the left is a state-carriage with footmen, containing several persons. The magnificence of the surroundings

is by no means out of character with the supposed sitter, and seems to confirm the notion that the portrait is that of Turenne. The Marshal, a grandson of William the Silent, had served his apprenticeship to the career of arms with some distinction, under his uncles, Maurice and Frederick Henry, sons of the Prince of Orange. The assumed date of the portrait also agrees with that of Turenne's later sojourn in Holland. It will be remembered that the Marshal, having sided against Mazarin in the troubles of the Fronde, was abandoned by his troops, and judged it prudent to retire to the Netherlands in February, 1649. He remained in the country till the conclusion of the Peace of Rueil, on the first of April of the same year, and during these weeks, when he was no doubt the guest of his cousin, William III., Rembrandt is supposed to have painted his portrait. The work adds little to the master's reputation. The horse was not studied with the care and precision necessary for a work on this large scale, and has a lifeless, wooden appearance. The colour is monotonously brown ; the handling, loose and slight in the background, and excessively loaded in the draperies, is careless throughout, save in the modelling of the head. This, though not essentially unlike that of Turenne—the facial type is that of a severe-looking man, with a rather thick nose, a florid complexion, long luxuriant hair, and a slight black moustache —bears but a vague resemblance to the later portrait by Pieter de Jode, engraved by Anselm van Hulle, or to that by Philippe

THE SPANISH GIPSY.
1647 (B. 120).

de Champagne, familiar to us in Robert de Nauteuil's admirable engraving.[1]

The *Vertumnus and Pomona* in the collection of the *Artis Amicitiæ* Society at Prague, is now admitted to be by Aert de Gelder. This picture, which enjoyed a great reputation during the eighteenth century, was engraved by Lépicié as the work of Rembrandt. At the Lebrun sale, however, it was restored to its true author. Both in subject and sentiment the composition has very slight affinities, if any, with Rembrandt's work. Neither in the delicately-featured Pomona, who wears a large straw hat and a dress of somewhat pretentious elegance, nor in her disguised suitor, the old woman in a cloak, leaning upon a crutch, can we trace any likeness to the types and costumes of the master. The execution, too, differs radically from that of Rembrandt.



HEAD OF CHRIST.
About 1652 (M. Rodolphe Kann).

After an interval of some two years we find the artist returning to the Scriptural subjects he loved. The *Jacob lamenting the supposed Death of Joseph*, in the Hermitage, a picture with life-size figures, three-quarters length, represents the patriarch gazing at the bloody coat of Joseph. One of the brothers displays it across his knees; another tells the story agreed upon. Jacob stands beside a table, and, lifting up his hands, expresses

[1] As Dr. Bredius points out, the face is that of a younger man than Turenne, who was born in 1611, and was therefore thirty-eight at the supposed date of the picture.

his agony at the news. The youthful Benjamin beside him plays with a bird, childishly indifferent to the catastrophe. The scene is well composed, and carried out in the warm browns, yellows, and reds peculiar to the period. The execution is not remarkable, as compared with the master's technique generally. *Abraham entertaining the Angels*, also in the Hermitage, apparently belongs to the same period. Here the figures are again life-size. The patriarch, seated with his guests at a table spread before the open door of his house, pauses in the act of carving the joint before him, amazed at the white-robed angel's announcement that Sarah shall shortly bear a son. His wife, who appears behind him on the threshold, laughs incredulously at the angel's words. The venerable figure of the patriarch is full of dignity and beauty. But the conception has scarcely the expressive eloquence proper to Rembrandt's works. The strange attitude of the angel in the foreground, and the vivid hues of his many-coloured wings assert themselves somewhat unduly in the composition. Pleased with the theme, the master had already treated it in several drawings, and in a small picture dated 1646, formerly in the Six collection, which was in Mr. Richard Saunderson's possession in 1836. He returned to it some years later (in 1656) for an etching (B. 29) less interesting than the St. Petersburg example, and marked by eccentricities of treatment still more pronounced.

We may briefly call attention to the *Woman taken in Adultery*, a large canvas from the Duke of Marlborough's collection, recently acquired by M. Sedelmeyer. In this remarkable work the colour, and the strong traces of Italian influence in the composition are sufficiently perplexing to the connoisseur. Both in type and execution two of the figures—Jesus Himself, and the white-bearded old man beside Him—are purely Rembrandtesque conceptions, worthy of the master's genius. The remaining three, however,—the young man to the left, the woman, and the handsome effeminate-looking youth in the shadow—seem to be borrowed from Titian or Van Dyck. In view of these anomalies, we cannot but concur in Dr. Bode's doubts as to the authenticity of this work, its harmonious colour and fine

Abraham Entertaining the Angels (about 1650).

(HERMITAGE MUSEUM.)

Printed by Eudes et Chasseput Paris (France)

quality notwithstanding; and we may add, in further justification of such doubts, that the signature and the date 1644 inscribed on the canvas are obvious forgeries.

Though neither signed nor dated, the *Vision of Daniel*, purchased within the last few years from Sir Ed. Lechmere for the Berlin Museum, is, on the other hand, unquestionably the work of Rembrandt. Landscape plays an important part in the mysterious sublimity of the scene. A tower—the same we noted in the *Susanna*—rises against the pale gray sky from a base of perpendicular rock. Daniel has fallen forward on his face by the riverside, trembling with fear at the apparition of the strange beast on the opposite bank. The angel Gabriel stoops to raise him from the ground, and expounds the vision, pointing to the fantastic ram from which the young prophet averts his terrified gaze. A drawing in M. Bonnat's collection shows that Rembrandt took considerable pains to render the symbolic horns exactly as they are described in the text. He must have at last recognised the futility of his efforts, for after reiterated corrections and erasures he finally abandoned his attempt. But though his conception of the beast is rather grotesque than terrible, its absurdity is more than redeemed by details such as the awe-struck face of Daniel, his attitude, and that of the consoling angel, the mysterious brightness which throws the two figures into strong relief against the brown tones of the surrounding landscape, and, finally, the skill with which the handling is adapted to the dimensions. The work remains, in spite of its defects, one of the most poetic of the master's creations at this period.

The *Christ appearing to the Magdalene*, of the Brunswick Museum, dated 1651, is instinct with a charm still deeper and more penetrating. Here Rembrandt returns to the theme he had already treated in the Buckingham Palace picture, avoiding the various eccentricities we deprecated in the earlier work. In a beautiful drawing in the Stockholm Print Room he gives yet a third version of the episode. The scene as represented in the Brunswick canvas is, however, vastly more impressive. Alone, and dressed in mourning robes, abandoning herself to her despair, the Magdalene has fled the city, and drawn

by some strange prescience, has wandered into this desert spot, where the last faint rays of the setting sun gleam on rocks and stunted bushes. The Saviour draws near, touched by her devotion. Faint and weary, bearing in His feet and hands the bloody evidences of His passion, and on His face the marks of His protracted agony, He comes forth from the land of shadows. Wrapped in His winding-sheet of linen, He approaches the mourner, faithful when so many

SKETCH FOR "DANIEL'S VISION."
Pen drawing with wash (M. Léon Bonnat).

failed. Mary endeavours to kiss the hem of His garment. She stretches forth detaining hands. But the Saviour's kingdom is not of this world. He does not repulse her, but, with a gesture of benevolent authority, pronounces the warning *Noli me tangere.* The two solitary figures, the one illuminated by the light that shines from the other, the vague outlines, the melancholy of the place and hour, the majesty of death, the ineffable fusion of love and awe, together with countless other traits, conceived with infinite delicacy, and rendered with matchless eloquence, appeal to the soul and move it to its uttermost depths.

In the intervals of these important undertakings, Rembrandt painted a few portraits of friends, and fancy studies, such as the *Minerva*,

DR. FAUSTUS.
About 1651 (B. 270).

in the Hermitage, which to judge by the breadth of the handling probably dates from about 1650. The goddess wears a helmet with

an owl for crest, and grasps a shield. But for the working up of the impasto, and the harmonious intonations so characteristic of Rembrandt, the beauty and noble proportions of the figure might well lead us to suppose it the creation of some Italian master. Unhappily the picture has suffered considerably; the buckler, which fills the lower part of the canvas, has become quite black. A portrait, or rather a study, painted about 1648–1650, claims a place of honour among the works of this period. This is the life-size three-quarters length of an old woman, bought by M. Sedelmeyer in Scotland, and now in M. J. Porgès' collection in Paris. A large Bible lies upon her lap; her left hand rests upon it, holding her spectacles. She seems to be musing on what she has just read. Her face is seamed with wrinkles, the gray hairs about her temples and broad forehead have become scanty; her small eyes, reddened by frequent tears, are dim and sunken; but her ruddy lips and cheeks denote a temperament still vigorous and active. Her dress, though simple, is very picturesque. The execution, free and even careless in parts—as, for instance, in the sleeves and the hastily painted hands—is elaborately finished in the delicately modelled face, the head-dress, and notably in the fur, the tawny shades of which are treated with the utmost skill and precision. Save that the effect is richer, we recognise the same harmony of brilliant and varied reds and yellows melting into iron grays, the secret of which Maes learnt from the master, and turned to account in several fine works. But powerful drawing and glowing colour notwithstanding, the sitter's personality dominates the whole. The interest centres in the expression of the venerable face, the meditative gaze, the unstudied pathos of the gesture by which the simple old creature seems to proclaim the fervour of her faith, and the consoling influences of her favourite book.

Among the small studies of heads painted towards this period are two more notable than the rest: the first that of a young man with a fresh complexion, a quantity of fair hair, and a soft and gentle expression (it belongs to Mr. Warneck), the second a study of an old man, belonging to Baron van Harinxma of

Study of a Woman, seated.

Pen Drawing, heightened with Sepia.

(BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.)

Printed by Berthaud, Paris (France).

Leeuwarden.[1] Both are remarkable for the delicacy of their modelling, the brilliance of their high-toned flesh-tints, and a breadth of handling unusual in works of such small dimensions. In addition to several other portraits, of which we shall have more to say in due time, we may mention two studies of himself painted by Rembrandt at this period. The Leipzig Museum owns one, a bust, the head turned full to the spectator, in which the master wears a dark red costume; a large violet cap throws its shadow over the greater part of his face. The other, a more important work, signed, and dated 1650, belongs to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. As was so often his habit when making a study from himself, Rembrandt has somewhat disregarded the actual likeness, and it is hardly surprising that Waagen failed to recognise the painter in this portrait, which represents him in the martial trappings he affected in his earlier works. A broad-brimmed hat with feathers shades his face; over his slashed crimson doublet he wears a heavy gold chain, a cuirass, and the inevitable steel gorget we have so often noted. One hand rests on the hilt of his sword, the other on his hip. The excellent condition of this picture enables the student fully to appreciate the charm of the chiaroscuro, and the masterly assurance of the frank, yet mellow touch. A more faithful transcript of the master's features at this period is to be found in an etching of 1648, the *Portrait of Rembrandt drawing* (B. 22). Here the painter has put off his lordly airs with his plumed cap, and represents himself in his working dress, a plain tunic open at the neck, and the rather high, narrow-brimmed hat which also figures in a drawing in Mr. Heseltine's collection. He is seated at a table, drawing by the light from an open casement, through which are seen the tops of distant trees. His features have aged considerably; his forehead is covered with wrinkles; his eyes, melancholy, but penetrating as ever, are fixed steadily on the model before him. This is a fine and impressive plate, though somewhat worn in the later impressions (there are ten

[1] This study, which is signed, and dated 1647, figured in the exhibition organised by the *Pulchri Studio* Club at the Hague in 1890.

altogether). The earlier "states," though lacking the charm of many other portraits of the master, express more forcibly than any the keenness of his gaze, and the concentration he brought to bear on a task that demanded all his attention.

The etchings of this period are to the full as important as the pictures. Their number, and the elaboration of some among them, explain the comparative rarity of Rembrandt's paintings in certain years, as, for instance, in 1649 and 1651. His infinite variety both of subject and method attests the fertility of his imagination, and the flexible quality of his genius. We find him passing in rapid succession from motive to motive of the most diverse character. He had always shown a deep interest in popular life and manners, recognising that among the lower orders, the expression of feeling is vigorous and natural in proportion to its lack of refinement. The little plate of 1646, the *Old Beggarwoman* (B. 170), leaning on a staff, her right hand extended, as if asking alms, reproduces both the figure and attitude of the old woman in the *Little Spanish Gipsy* (B. 120), a plate executed about this period; it is said, as an illustration for a Dutch play, borrowed from the Spanish stage, which was then popular in Amsterdam.[1]

BEGGARS AT THE DOOR OF A HOUSE.
1648 (B. 176).

[1] The evidence on this point is by no means conclusive. The play, however, was published by the title *Het Leven van Konstance;* Amsterdam, 1643.

After the Reading (about 1649).

(M. J. FORGÈS COLLECTION)

Printed by Eudes et Chassepot Paris (France)

In 1648 he returned to those types of beggars and poor persons which had inspired so many of his early plates, and closed the series by a masterpiece, the *Beggars at the Door of a House* (B. 176), an etching in which the most vivid and striking effect is won by means of a few strokes. Four ragged figures—a boy, an old man, and a woman with a baby on her back—stand shivering in their patched

STUDY FOR THE HUNDRED GUILDER PIECE.

Pen drawing (Berlin Print Room).

garments at the threshold of an open door, awaiting, with the patient resignation of the wretched, the alms a benevolent-looking man smilingly bestows upon them. As our readers will note on examination, every stroke tells in this plate, the richness of which is obtained by the most simple means. The touch, full of an intelligent sobriety, reproduces not merely the outline of objects, but their textures and quality, with unerring precision. A plate closely allied to this in execution is the *Jews' Synagogue* (B. 126), of the

same year (1648), the scene and strongly marked types of which Rembrandt no doubt studied in the vicinity of his own house, close to the Breestraat.

At this period, as throughout his career, Rembrandt drew his subjects largely from the Bible. We need not linger over the little plate of 1647, the *Rest in Egypt* (B. 57), nor, though this is more important, over the *Christ on the Cross between the two Thieves* (B. 79) of the preceding year. Both were merely pretexts for studies of light somewhat hurriedly treated. This brings us to 1649, a year in which we shall not be surprised to find the list of pictures painted by the master a very scanty one. It was made memorable by one great creation, the fame of which suffices to glorify, as the labour of execution sufficed to occupy it. This was the celebrated plate, *Christ Healing the Sick* (B. 74), better known as *The Hundred Guilder Piece.* Rembrandt made several studies for this plate, the most remarkable of which are the reversed drawing of the central group of sufferers, in the Berlin Print Room, and the drawing of the camel to the right, in M. Bonnat's collection. By this careful preparation the order and clarity of the conception were perfectly preserved, and in spite of the multiplicity of episodes, the effect is simple and coherent. Beauty of execution seems to have reached its highest point in the finer impressions of the plate. Rembrandt was now in full possession of his artistic resources. He made use of an infinity of processes, combining and opposing them, not in foolish pride of technical accomplishment, but as a means towards the highest expressive quality. He loads one portion of the plate with those intense velvety blacks of which he alone possessed the secret, making every detail legible through the deep, yet transparent shadow. In another part the execution is extremely slight, the delicate strokes seeming to melt into the high lights. The master was able to correct and work upon his plates in such a manner as to reinforce their unity. By means of a learned system of preparation and retouching, he transformed them, bringing out new and unexpected beauties. The strokes of the needle are so placed as never to quite conceal what is beneath, and the darkest parts are never blind or impenetrable. The methods

by which he emphasises the more essential features of his subject are such as genius alone could devise. Note, for instance, the consummate art of the grouping in this *Hundred Guilder Piece.* To the left are the spectators of the miracle, Pharisees and unbelievers, the types of self-sufficiency and rancour, jealous of those worldly interests and conventional creeds the Saviour's teaching seems to threaten. They dog His steps, secretly hoping to find some fault in Him, and exchange virulent criticisms among themselves. Some there are, however, who seem to hesitate, half-convinced, awaiting the manifestation that shall determine their doubts and compel their adhesion. On the right we see the crowd of sufferers—the sick, the insane—every type of human pain and misery. They too follow Jesus, but in no contentious spirit. They suffer, and they hope for healing. From every side they hasten to the Saviour's feet—some limping, or dragging themselves on crutches; others brought by friends on wheelbarrows or stretchers; some crawling painfully on hands and knees. They press eagerly around Him, imploring help by word and gesture. A deep and beautiful significance is added to the conception by the disposal of the sceptics and false teachers in the full daylight, and of the sick and afflicted suppliants in dense shadow. "An antithesis superb alike in its moral truth and artistic effect," as Vosmaer says, and due to no puerile straining after dramatic contrast, but to "a perception of life and art of the utmost truth and delicacy." By a skilful distribution of the half-tones the two groups are brought together in a series of modulated gradations, which obviate all the harshness of violent contrast. Prominent in the midst of the two groups the Saviour stands, His face radiant with serene compassion and tenderness, a figure at once gentle and commanding, to which the eye is immediately attracted as the central point of interest in the composition.

It was natural that Rembrandt should bestow the utmost care on all the mechanical aids to such a work as this. Just as he chose the wood for his panels, and superintended the preparation of his colours, so he printed his etchings on the papers best fitted to bring out the perfection of his work. He procured specimens of those he considered

most suitable from the country in which such manufactures have been brought to the highest point of perfection, and occasionally experimented on vellum, but for choice, made use of China or Japanese paper, the supple, resisting quality of which material heightened the delicate effect of his workmanship. He invariably printed his etchings himself, with such variety in the processes employed, that it is rare to find two perfectly similar impressions from the same plate. In many instances, the differences resulting from his method of spreading the ink, and wiping away sometimes more, sometimes less of the fluid before pulling, have caused it to be supposed that the various impressions were, in fact, distinct states. By thus undertaking the more mechanical processes, which others were content to leave to subordinates, Rembrandt gave them a peculiar aesthetic quality, and the finer impressions of his works soon came to be highly prized by amateurs. None were more eagerly sought after than the *Hundred Guilder* prints, which fetched comparatively high prices as soon as they were completed. Many of these have passed from one famous collection to another; they have their distinctive titles, and have risen steadily in value with years. In spite of the tradition, however, it does not appear that the print actually sold for a hundred guilders (a sum equal to about eight guineas) in Rembrandt's lifetime. An old inscription on the back of an impression of the first state in the Vienna Print Room mentions forty-eight florins as the price given for the sixth impression. It may be, as M. Dutuit suggests, that Rembrandt valued the print at a hundred guilders in exchanging it with his friend Zoomer for some engravings by Marc Antonio. But its market value has greatly increased since the beginning of the present century. Only nine impressions of the first state exist. Of these, one, formerly in the Zoomer collection, was bought by M. Dutuit in 1868 for £1,100 (27,500 francs).[1]

After a task of such magnitude, in which the demands both on

[1] *And another, which had been Mr. Holford's, was sold at Christie's in July*, 1893, *for* £1,750. *More encouraging yet, because it was a sign of the admiration excited by fine subject and fine impression, independent of "state," was the price obtained at Sotheby's in* 1892, *for the impression which had belonged to that admirable amateur, Mr. Richard Fisher.—F. W.*

genius and industry were so severe, Rembrandt naturally sought relaxation. The etchings that immediately followed are little more than careless sketches, hastily drawn on the copper, though even in these the progress made by the master is manifest. Three among them, it is true, the *Flight into Egypt* of 1651 (B. 53); the *Star of the Kings* (B. 113) and the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (B. 46), probably of the same year, are night-pieces, in which the darkness is relieved by occasional gleams of brilliant light; but the opacity of the shadows betrays the haste of the treatment. The *Triumph of Mordecai* (B. 40), a plate of about the same period, is almost as summary in execution, and is merely a picturesque motive, of slight importance, while the fantastic composition of the *Funeral of Jesus* (B. 86) is rendered more startling by the coarse handling. But other plates of this period are models of pregnant concision in their deliberate reticence of treatment. In his fresh and novel presentments of familiar episodes, Rembrandt reveals both the fertility of his imagination, and the increase of his experimental knowledge. In the *Nativity* (B. 45) he shows us the Shepherds advancing with reverent curiosity to the rude manger; the cattle in the background seem to unite with them in wondering homage. In the *Jesus disputing with the Doctors in the Temple* (B. 65) we see the Divine Child alone among the elders, baffling their perfidious questions, and confounding their boasted wisdom by the ingenuity of His replies. In the *Jesus Christ in the midst of His Disciples* of 1650 (B. 89), we note the various emotions—amazement, incredulity, and rapture—roused in the minds of the disciples by the sacred apparition.

Rembrandt's powers are even more brilliantly manifested in two Old Testament subjects of this period. The *David on his Knees* of 1652 (B. 41) combines extreme simplicity of technique with a most masterly precision. Under the magic touch of the master's burin, commonplace objects take on an indescribable colour and charm. The *Tobit Blind* (1651; B. 42) has not only these qualities, but the further beauty of admirable composition. The wonderfully natural gesture of the old man, who gropes his way with his stick and his

disengaged hand, recalls the attitude of Elymas the sorcerer in Raphael's cartoon.[1]

Two other etchings of this period are perhaps more typical examples, in that they deal with effects of light. Turning to very novel account the most subtle of the picturesque elements in Nature, he found methods of expression no less varied than powerful in the treatment of chiaroscuro. By means of strong contrasts of light and shadow he succeeded in rendering or suggesting those supernatural phenomena which art had been powerless to express before his advent. The *Doctor Faustus* of 1651 (B. 270) attests Rembrandt's continued preoccupation with the problems of chiaroscuro he had attacked in the *Christ with the Disciples at Emmäus* and the *Hundred Guilder Piece.* The mysterious element in such a subject as the *Doctor Faustus* was of a nature to appeal strongly to the master. Standing at a table in his laboratory, surrounded by the paraphernalia of his art, the doctor looks with fixed attention at the apparition he has conjured up, a mirror containing a cabalistic inscription, wherein the name *Adam* appears together with the title *Inri* in fiery letters. There is no touch of fear on his refined and intelligent features. The expression is marked only by eager curiosity. The old man is evidently an adept for whom the black art has lost its terrors.

In a more important plate of two years later, the *Three Crosses* (1653; B. 78), a more pathetic effect is won from the arrangement of light. The stormy grandeur of the composition is in perfect harmony with the character of the scene. The trembling earth, the riven clouds, the flashing rays of light, the universal tumult of the elements, blend into unity with the agitation of the crowd, their grief, terror, adoration, or hatred, the wild flood of human emotions that surged about the foot of the Cross. The very contrasts of execution seem but a natural echo of the outburst of contending passions. While some of the details are finished with the utmost elaboration, others, as, for instance, the horse ridden by one of the soldiers, and

[1] Rembrandt's *Tobit* was no sudden inspiration. It was preceded by the *Blind Man seen from behind* (B. 153), a plate probably executed in 1630, in which the gesture and movement are very characteristic, though the conception is greatly inferior to the *Tobit* in style, and even in truth.

Christ Preaching. Fac-simile of the Etching known as "The Little Tomb" B. (about 1652).

Printed by Chardon-Wittmann, Paris (France)

the guard who has dismounted, are so slightly sketched as to give an effect of incoherence, or even of an almost childish awkwardness. The master's hand would seem to have followed the workings of his imagination with a feverish eagerness that impelled him to leave his work unfinished, and trust to the sympathy of the spectator for its due completion. Anxious, however, to carry his interpretation of the text as far as possible, Rembrandt deepened the shadows very considerably in the after states of this plate, finally drowning all the details in complete darkness.

The *Christ preaching* (B. 67), a plate worthy to rank beside the *Hundred Guilder Piece*, though somewhat smaller in dimensions, brings this series to an end. Executed about 1652, it was generally known, perhaps even in Rembrandt's lifetime, and certainly soon after his death, as *The Little Tomb* (*Tombisch plaatgen*), probably because it became the property of a friend of Rembrandt's named Jacob de la Tombe. The full maturity of the master's genius is expressed in every feature—in the impressive aspect of the whole, the frankness of the effect, the happy balance of masses, the animation and variety of expression, the ease and precision of the handling. Familiar types abound in the composition; many of the faces are vulgar, some of the attitudes incorrect. But these seem only to accentuate the ideal beauty of the Saviour, and the majesty of His bearing. Rembrandt's type of Jesus at this period—a face of singular nobility, with brown hair and beard, and eyes at once soft and piercing—may be recognised in the admirable study of a head in M. Rodolphe Kann's collection, probably painted about 1652. In his conceptions of the divine figure, Rembrandt loved to dwell on the infinitely human and compassionate aspects of His personality. His Christ is the apostle and martyr of Charity, the Christ of the rough manger, the cottage home of Nazareth, the supper at Emmäus. He dwells among the poor, the despised, the afflicted. We have seen Him healing their diseases; we now behold Him ministering to their souls. The master expresses the Saviour's love and mercy in accents of deep conviction, the candid simplicity of which confounded the devotees of accepted traditions. Rembrandt's visions have an inwardness

all their own, and the emotions he seeks to inspire lie beyond the regions of convention. His own heart was profoundly touched by them; they haunted his solitary and dreamy mind, filling it so completely that the occasional grotesqueness of his conceptions escaped his notice, and he was hardly aware that his characters lacked nobility and distinction, or that their costumes were often fantastic and inappropriate. But his sincerity was absolute, and eager to declare to us new things of subjects apparently exhausted, he turned to novel and untried methods. He created a style—a style compounded of diffidence and audacity, of ingenuity and knowledge, a purely personal style, yet one which his genius, at once positive and speculative, never definitively adopted, so strong were those early prepossessions, from which even his passionate desire for perfection never completely detached him.

JESUS DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS.
1652 (B. 65).

LANDSCAPE WITH A RUINED TOWER.
About 1648 (B. 223).

CHAPTER II

PORTRAITS OF REMBRANDT'S RELATIVES AND FRIENDS: JAN SYLVIUS, EPHRAIM BONUS, JAN SIX, COPPENOL, CLEMENT DE JONGHE—REMBRANDT'S INTIMATES AMONG THE LANDSCAPE-PAINTERS: CLAES BERCHEM, JAN ASSELYN, R. ROGHMAN, H. SEGHERS, JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE—STUDIES FROM NATURE—THE 'RUIN' AND THE 'WINDMILL'—STUDIES OF ANIMALS—REMBRANDT'S PUPILS AT THIS PERIOD—HIS METHOD OF TEACHING.

THE DRAUGHTSMAN.
Pen drawing (British Museum).

REMBRANDT'S painted and engraved portraits of this period have a peculiar interest, as affording us an insight into his friendships and course of life. One of these, the portrait of an elderly man, dated 1650, which Dr. Bredius bought not long since in England, he thinks may very probably represent Rembrandt's brother, Adriaen, the quondam shoemaker, who took over the mill after his father's death. The face, with its broad nose, vigorous features, and grizzled hair and moustache, is not unlike Rembrandt's own. It figures in several other works by the master, as, for instance, in the full face study of a head, engraved by Schmidt in a study of a man in a helmet, which passed from France to America in 1890, and in one of Rembrandt's latest pictures,

the *Workers in the Vineyard* of the Wallace collection.[1] M. Kann's study is carried out in brown transparent glazes upon a light ground; the impasto is rich and loaded in the lights, and the effect of the rapid, but masterly touch is singularly brilliant. In the etching of Jan Cornelisz Sylvius we have the portrait of another member of the artist's family. Rembrandt, we know, had already etched Sylvius' portrait in 1633 or 1634. For the plate of 1646 (B. 280), executed eight years after the minister's death, he used a drawing made in Sylvius' life-time, and also a sketch (in the British Museum) in which, with a few hasty strokes, he decided upon the arrangement of the figure. Saskia's cousin is represented full face. He turns over the leaves of a book with his left hand; his right is outstretched as if to emphasise a solemn declaration of faith. Around the oval enframing the bust is an inscription, giving the dates of Sylvius' birth and death, and a list of his various pastorates. Some Latin verses by Van Baerle and Scriverius printed below proclaim his virtues, and attest the holiness of his life and his entire devotion to his ministerial office. We may therefore conclude that the print was a pious souvenir, executed for the friends of the good minister, and those he had converted by his preaching, or edified by his example. No fitter hand than Rembrandt's could have paid this last homage to the beloved relative, who had always shown him the most cordial kindness.

The other portraits with which we are now concerned are those of Rembrandt's friends, or of artists with whom he was intimate at this period. First among them is the likeness of the physician, Ephraim Bueno or Bonus.[2] Bonus was the son of a distinguished physician and belonged to the community of Portuguese Jews at Amsterdam, where civic rights were conferred on him in 1651. Himself an eminent savant, he had evidently a taste for the society of artists; a few years later, Lievens etched a fine portrait of him (B. 56). Rembrandt's plate is dated

[1] It has been suggested that the head of a man, one of several sketches on a single plate (B. 370), among them a group of beggars etched in 1631, was drawn from this same model. But this head is evidently a study of Rembrandt himself. Its likeness to the *Rembrandt drawing* (B. 22), for instance, is unmistakable.

[2] See Vol. I. page 85.

1647 (B. 278), and represents Ephraim in a meditative attitude, his hand on the balustrade of a staircase. As is the case in several of Rembrandt's portraits,[1] the arm on which he leans seems disproportionately short; but the head, with its melancholy expression and thoughtful gaze, is full of a pensive intelligence. It is not unlikely that Ephraim attended Rembrandt or some member of his family, and that the master, in acknowledgment of his services, painted the little portrait in the Six collection, from which the etching was made. The composition is reversed in the latter, but the dimensions are almost identical. Another doctor, J. Antonides van der Linden, whose portrait (B. 264) Rembrandt etched about 1652–1653, was a professor at the University of Franeker. He enlarged and re-organised the botanical gardens of the town, and Vosmaer supposes Rembrandt to have had this benefaction in his mind when he represented the doctor in a garden. It may be, however, that the master considered such a background the most favourable for the head of the Professor, who is painted in his official costume, a gown with a broad velvet collar. Another plate of about the same period (B. 282) is devoted to one of Rembrandt's earliest patrons and most faithful friends, the writing-master Coppenol. The apparent age of the sitter is about fifty-five, and Coppenol, we know, was born in 1598. He is seated beneath a window, his head turned towards the spectator, a complacent expression on his full, round face. Over his closely cropped hair he wears a black skull-cap. Two wooden squares and a pair of compasses hang beside the window. His plump, well-shaped hands rest on a sheet of paper; he holds in the right a long goose-quill, with which he has just completed a capital letter. A boy behind him looks admiringly at his master's work. Coppenol had no mean opinion of himself, and under several impressions, both of this plate and of a later portrait by Rembrandt, he wrote, in fine, bold characters, verses in his own praise by contemporary poets. Coppenol, however, has a claim on our sympathies in spite of his weaknesses. He was one of the first to encourage Rembrandt's youthful efforts, and was

[1] See the portraits of Jan Lutma, Old Haaring, and Coppenol.

constant when many others abandoned him. The writing-master was also a lover of the arts. In the third state of the above etching Rembrandt placed a triptych of the *Crucifixion* on the wall beside him, no doubt in allusion to his tastes.

STUDY FOR THE PORTRAIT OF J. C. SYLVIUS.
Pen drawing (British Museum).

Jan Six, whose whole length portrait Rembrandt etched in 1647 (B. 285), was an amateur of higher pretensions. His house was a museum of beautiful things. He was a bibliophile, and possessed a choice collection of engravings, drawings, and pictures by the

most famous Dutch and Italian masters. His acquaintance with

Spes mea Christus. Iohannes Cornelij Sylvius Amstelodamensis. Functus S.S. Ministerij. annos. 45. et 6. menses. In Frisia, in Texalensium et Burdaum ann. 4. In Dale et Harik successiue
Cuius adorandum docuit Facundia Christum.
Et populis veram pandit ad astra viam,
Talis erat Sylvî facies. audivimus illum
Amstelys isto civibus ore loqui.
Hoc Frisijs precepta dedit, pietasq. severo
Religiog. diu vindice tuta stetit.
Praluxit. veneranda suis virtutibus. atas.
Erudytq. ipsos fossa senecta viros.
Simplicitatis amans fucum contemsit honesti.
Nec sola voluit fronte placere bonis.
Sic statuit: Iesum vita meliore doceri
Rectius, et vocum fulmina posse minus.
Amstola, sis memor extincti. qui condidit urbem
Moribus. hanc ipso fulsyt illo Deo
C. Barlæus.
Haud amplius deprædico illius dotes,
Quas æmulor, frustraque persequor versu
P. S.

JAN CORNELISZ SYLVIUS.

1646 (B. 280).

Rembrandt dated from 1641 at latest, for we know that the master painted his mother's portrait in that year; a close intimacy

had gradually grown up between them. Six's wife, Margaretha, whom he married in 1655, Rembrandt had, no doubt, often met in the house of her father, his early patron Dr. Tulp. Of Rembrandt's genius Six had the highest opinion. He gave substantial proof of his admiration by advancing a sum of money to the master in 1653, on Van Ludik's security. A year after the execution of the etching of 1647, he commissioned Rembrandt to undertake another, the plate of which is still in the possession of the Six family. This was the *Marriage of Jason and Crëusa* (B. 112), a picturesque rendering of one of the principal episodes of Six's tragedy *Medea.*[1] Some years later (about 1658–1660) Rembrandt was further commissioned to paint the fine portrait of the Burgomaster with which we shall deal more fully in a future chapter.

Several pictures by Rembrandt appear in the catalogue of Six's collections, which were sold on April 6, 1702, after his death. They included Lord Dudley's *grisaille*, the *Preaching of John the Baptist*, a portrait of Saskia, "of remarkable grace and vigour," and the "charming" little picture of 1646 already described, *Abraham entertaining the Angels.* It is evident that Rembrandt was anxious to please the distinguished amateur who showed him so much kindness. Before embarking upon the plate, he painted the preliminary study of the head now in M. Bonnat's collection. In arrangement it agrees almost exactly with the etching, though the composition is reversed. But his very anxiety militated against the complete success of his work. The task he set himself when he posed his sitter with his back against an open window, his head in relief on a light background of sky, was at once difficult and ungrateful. In spite of the great beauty of the execution, the contrasts between the dark shadows and the white of the paper are too strongly marked, save in a few of the finest impressions, such as one of the second state in the Print Room of the Louvre.

The various accessories by which the master indicates his sitter's tastes are barely distinguishable. Some books, a sword and sword-

[1] There seems to be no ground for the assertion that the plate was intended to figure as an illustration in the volume containing the tragedy : *Médée, Treurspel;* Amsterdam, 1648.

belt are laid on a bench behind him. A picture in an ebony frame hangs against the wall. The modelling of the head is far from faultless, and, in the portions nearest the light, depth and transparency are entirely destroyed by the over-loading of the shadows.

It would be difficult, on the other hand, to conceive of workmanship more delicate, expressive, and intelligent than that of the *Portrait of Clement de Jonghe*, dated 1651 (B. 272). The famous publisher's shop was one of the best known and most widely patronised among those of the printsellers and art-dealers of the Kalverstraat, and Rembrandt's passion for collecting naturally brought about a considerable traffic between the two, both in the way of purchase and of exchange. The inventory of Clement de Jonghe's effects, drawn up after his death, and dated February 11, 1679, includes seventy-four etchings by Rembrandt. This catalogue is of peculiar interest, as giving the titles by which the plates were commonly known in Rembrandt's time. The authenticity of several among them has been confirmed by means of these titles, and the identity of the sitters established, as in the case of the portraits of Rembrandt's father and mother, his son Titus, and others. In the etching of 1651 De Jonghe is represented sitting in an elbow-chair, wrapped in a loose cloak, and wearing a broad-brimmed hat, which throws a shadow over his face. The characteristic expression—the astute air of one versed in all the subtleties of art-traffic—are rendered with inimitable ease and sobriety. The portrait is one of Rembrandt's very finest prints. We can recall none in which the facility, concision, and breadth of the technique bear more eloquent testimony to the ripeness of the master's power.

At the sales he was in the habit of frequenting, the meetings for the appraisement of works of art to which painters were often summoned in those days, the shops of dealers such as De Jonghe and Johannes de Renialme, the houses of his cousin Hendrick van Uylenborch, of Fransz, and of those collectors who, like Marten Kretzer and Herman Becker, combined a certain unofficial traffic in pictures with their other avocations,[1] Rembrandt must often

[1] See Dr. Bredius' interesting study, *De Kunsthandel te Amsterdamin de XVII. Eeuw*, in the *Amsterdamsch Jaarboeckje*, 1891.

have encountered Claes Berchem. Berchem, who was born at Haarlem in 1620, had settled early in his career at Amsterdam.

CLEMENT DE JONGHE.
1651 (B. 272).
(Etching: first state.)

Like Rembrandt, he was a collector mainly of Italian prints and drawings, for which he occasionally paid high prices. Houbraken tells us that he gave sixty florins for Marc Antonio's *Massacre of*

the Innocents, after Raphael. Tastes such as this, his devotion to his art, and his enthusiasm for Italy, the picturesque scenery of which he loved to paint, were all strong recommendations to Rembrandt's favour and friendship. An intimacy soon sprang up between the two, slight as were their artistic affinities. In Berchem's studio Rembrandt may very possibly have encountered another landscape-painter, one whose art was more purely Dutch than Berchem's, and whose sincerity and poetic temperament had more in common with the master's own genius. The attraction between Jacob van Ruysdael and Rembrandt must, it is natural to suppose, have been a strong one. Like Rembrandt, Ruysdael lived apart, indifferent to the suffrages of his contemporaries. At the time we are now considering, he was in the habit of requisitioning Berchem's facile brush for the figures and animals in his landscapes. No trace of the relations that may have existed between the two greatest of the Dutch masters has survived. But Rembrandt's friendship with Berchem is formally attested by the master's portraits of the landscape-painter and his wife, painted in 1647, and now in the Duke of Westminster's collection. Berchem, who was twenty-seven years old at this date, wears a broad-brimmed hat, and a black costume, relieved by a flat turn-down collar, the whiteness of which accentuates the olive tint of his complexion. A quantity of black hair surrounds his delicately-featured face; a black

CLEMENT DE JONGHE.
1651 (B. 272).
(Etching: third state.)

beard, and a curling black moustache enhance the vigour of the manly head. The wife's frank eyes and fresh complexion, her simple dress, the absence of all jewelry save the wedding ring on one of the short, serviceable hands, proclaim her an honest, notable soul, full of sound sense and housewifely instincts. Rembrandt shows himself at his ease with this excellent couple. The broad, yet careful handling, and the charm of expression in the two portraits indicate a labour of love.

One of Rembrandt's finest etched portraits dates from this same year and was inspired by another of the *Italianisers*, the landscape-painter Jan Asselyn (B. 277). He wears a cloak, thrown jauntily over his shoulder and fastened round the waist with a sash. His left hand is placed on his hip, his right rests on the table against which he stands. In the first state of the etching there is an easel behind him, with one of his landscapes upon it; but this Rembrandt afterwards effaced, no doubt because it detracted somewhat from the effect produced by the figure.

The long, regular features have a candid, open expression. Rembrandt skilfully conceals a deformity of his model's hands by means of a pair of gloves. Asselyn is said to have suffered from a distortion of the fingers which won him the nickname of *Crabbetje* (little crab) among the Dutch painters in Rome. He lived for a considerable time in Italy, where he came under the influence of Jan Miel and Pieter de Laar. Passing through Lyons on his return to Holland in 1645, he married the daughter of an Antwerp merchant settled in that city. At this date he was thirty-five years old. He had just established himself in Amsterdam when Rembrandt etched this portrait.

Other landscape-painters whose names are not to be found in the list of Rembrandt's sitters were nevertheless among his closest friends. Although he took pleasure in the society of some among the *Italianisers*, his sympathies rather inclined him to the more original artists whose genius was essentially Dutch. We learn from Houbraken that the almost forgotten master, Roelandt Roghman, was his closest friend. The two had many points of contact. They were united by a common devotion to their art, a similarity of sentiment and tastes, and later, by their brotherhood in adversity. An ardent student of Nature, as his numerous studies of the ruined castles, churches, and monasteries which

abounded in Holland sufficiently prove,[1] Roghman had a fondness for the brown tones affected by Rembrandt, and in his composition and his treatment of chiaroscuro occasionally approached the master so closely that his works have been attributed to Rembrandt. The two large landscapes signed with his monogram in the Cassel Gallery long passed for the work of the greater master. This ascription was supported by the adroit modification of the monogram by a forger. In the fine *Hilly Landscape* in the Oldenburg Museum, signed with Roghman's name in full, a work we take to be his masterpiece, the effort is more concentrated; the colour, though no less harmonious, has greater brilliance and variety, and the blue sky, with its floating white clouds, blends very happily with the warm, transparent tones of the landscape. Roghman, who had travelled much, was also an engraver, and has left a considerable number of plates, among them two sets of views, one of places in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam, the other of the most picturesque spots in Holland.[2]

There is a higher art and a deeper study of nature in his set of landscapes illustrating the scenery of the *Wood*, near the Hague, which occasionally suggest Ruysdael. For Roghman, his senior by some ten years, Rembrandt had a warm affection. Jan Griffier, a pupil of the elder master, is said to have deserted his studio, and to have presented himself to Rembrandt, begging to be enrolled among his scholars. Rembrandt, however, promptly dismissed him, declaring himself too much attached to Roghman to steal away his pupils. Neglected by his contemporaries, the unfortunate Roghman found himself at last completely abandoned. He remarked, with pardonable bitterness, that "he had gained knowledge and experience only to find that he had no use for them." Poverty overtook him in his old age. He was reduced to the shelter of an almshouse in 1686, and died there, having survived his friend many years.

Hercules Seghers, a landscape-painter even more unfortunate than Roghman, was no less generously appreciated by Rembrandt. It

[1] Many of these drawings are in the Six collection, the Teyler Museum, and the Amsterdam Print Room, and have an historic interest apart from their great facility of execution.

[2] *Plaisante Lantschappen na t' Leven geteeckendt door Roelant Roghman, gedruckt by Vyscher.*

seems unlikely, however, that there was much intercourse between the two, taking into account the difference in their respective ages. The date of Seghers' birth is not known, but he was practising in Amsterdam so early as 1607, and traces of him are to be found from time to time till 1630. By virtue no less of his aspirations than of his actual achievements, Seghers deserves to rank among those pioneers who led the way to the emancipation of Dutch art, and proclaimed its true vocation. After a life of constant struggle with poverty he was reduced to selling his plates at starvation prices, and even to cutting them up in order to make some trifling profit on them. His prints were mainly appreciated by his grocer and fruiterer, who used them to wrap up their goods. His misfortunes seem to have persisted, even beyond the grave, for all his works have disappeared, with the exception of two pictures, the *Dutch Landscape* in the Berlin Museum, a wide plain with a distant town beside a canal, and the fine landscape in the Uffizi, known as *The Storm*, and long ascribed to Rembrandt.[1]

J. ANTONIDES VAN DER LINDEN.
About 1653 (B. 264).

Yet Seghers was one of the most prolific artists of his day. No less than thirty-six of his pictures, some among them of considerable importance, appear in the inventory of Johannes de Renialme's effects, dated 1644. Both in his pictures and engravings Seghers foreshadows

[1] Its restitution to Seghers was due to Dr. Bode. An engraving of this landscape, bearing Seghers' name, has lately come to light, confirming Dr. Bode's pronouncement.

those panoramic expanses of plains and waters, of alternate bands of light and shadow, the picturesque aspects of which were afterwards more fully developed by Vermeer of Haarlem, and Philips de Koninck. As an engraver Seghers was an experimentalist, eager to improve and extend the resources of his art. He attempted, not without a certain measure of success, to invent a process for printing in colours on prepared paper or stuffs, and exasperated his wife by requisitioning the scanty household linen for his experiments, the variety of which is attested by the rich collection of examples in the Ryksmuseum. They

A LANDSCAPE.

Pen drawing, heightened with sepia (Heseltine Collection).

consist for the most part of views in the Tyrol, the skies slightly tinted, the brown tones of the rocks relieved by the greenish-blues of the backgrounds. Absorbed in such researches, the poor artist sank deeper and deeper into difficulties, and finally sought solace for his misfortunes in drink. He is said to have been killed by a fall from the top of a staircase. Rembrandt was naturally attracted by efforts so interesting and suggestive. He professed the warmest admiration for Seghers' talents, and we know from his inventory that he owned six of his pictures, one a very important example. He also possessed Seghers' plate of *Tobias and the Angel*, which it occurred to him to improve by certain modifications. He accordingly replaced the original group

by a *Flight into Egypt* (B. 56)—the Virgin with the Infant Jesus in her arms, seated on an ass led by St. Joseph. Dissatisfied with the result, however, he threw it aside without signature.[1]

Rembrandt's relations with these landscape-painters, and his admiration for their works, attest his deep love of nature. As yet uncertain of his own course, his allegiance was divided between the devotees of Italian convention and the more purely Dutch artists. Sincere and exact as he always showed himself in his studies from nature, he continued to draw occasionally upon his imagination, and to group the picturesque elements of his works in a somewhat arbitrary fashion. A small night-piece dated 1647, formerly in Sir Henry Hoare's collection, and lately purchased for the Dublin Gallery, is remarkable for its transparent shadows, and mysterious serenity of sentiment. The subject is *The Holy Family resting in Egypt*.[2] The fugitives, surrounded by animals, are seated near a fire, the light of which is reflected in a quiet pool in the foreground. The picture is little more than a sketch, founded on a composition of Elsheimer's, to which the master has added a breadth and poetry all his own. In *The Ruin*, a landscape in the Cassel Museum, painted about 1650, Rembrandt returns to the complex and somewhat incoherent composition of his early landscapes. The various details—the windmill, carefully sheltered from the wind, and planted on the bank of a running stream, the boat with flags, the swan, the little horseman in a red cloak, and a huge turban, the unmistakably Italian mountains, and the purely Dutch cottages, the foaming cascades, and the temple of Tivoli, rising from a precipitous rock—all are familiar to us, not only in Rembrandt's own works, but in those of the *Italianisers* from whom he borrowed. These details he gleaned from many an engraving and drawing, blending them into fantastic unity in one picture. His own originality found scope only in the masterly treatment of general effect, in the instinctive subordination of values to the main harmony, and in the powerful, but delicately adjusted contrasts between the high tones of the sky, and the strong tints of the

[1] Seghers' plate itself was only a copy, with very slight modifications, of an engraving executed in 1613 by Count Goudt, the friend of Elsheimer.

[2] *It would seem to be rather a Bivouac of Shepherds.—F. W.*

landscape. In the *Landscape with Swans*, which belongs to Madame Lacroix, a work of about the same period, the composition, though superficially simpler, is no less complex. A group of lofty trees, the outline of which we recognise in many other drawings by Rembrandt; a bridge, towards which a carriage full of people advances; in the foreground, a dark pool on which are two swans, and a small boat; under some trees to the right a flaming forge and a blacksmith at work; in the background, a confused mass of slopes, towers, windmills, aqueducts, a village, &c.—make up a somewhat bewildering sum of details. It must be allowed, however, that there are no incongruous elements in the scene, the effect of daylight is skilfully rendered, and the golden tones of the background melt into pleasant harmony with the pale blues of the luminous sky. The canvas is not in absolutely first-rate condition, but is on the whole fairly well preserved, and the general effect is brilliant and animated. The latest of these painted landscapes, the *Windmill*, formerly in the Orleans collection, and now at Bowood, is the masterpiece of the whole series. It may possibly be a composition, but this it would be difficult to determine from the arrangement, and the general effect, which is still more homogeneous than that of the *Landscape with Swans*, has all the appearance of a direct inspiration from nature. A windmill surrounded by a few cottages rises from a hillock above a watercourse. The lower part only is illuminated. The outline is relieved against a wild and stormy sky. The sun has sunk below the horizon, but his last rays gild the broad wings of the mill; below, the water, the banks and the distant landscape melt into the gathering shadows; a silence, as of advancing night, broods upon the scene. The spectator seems to hear the beat of water against some boat at anchor, and the furtive flight of an unseen bird in the thicket. A solemn calm descends upon the earth. Here the details are better chosen and less complicated; and instead of distracting the attention, they enhance the melancholy poetry of the landscape. Rembrandt's studies were bearing fruit. He dared to be simple, to reject those complexities and artifices which had no part in nature, and to rely on realities for his effects. At no period of his career do his drawings and etchings furnish stronger proofs of his constant and sincere

communion with nature. As was his invariable habit, he turned his attention to the things and events he saw around him. On the 7th of July, 1652, the Town-hall of Amsterdam was partially destroyed by fire. On the 9th of the same month he made a drawing of the ruins (Heseltine Collection), a most minute and careful study, as we find by comparing it with a picture by T. Beerstraten, in the

JAN ASSELYN.
1648 (B. 277).

Ryksmuseum, painted from a similar point of view. In his occasional wanderings outside the city the most humble spots attracted him. In the presence of Nature, no matter in how lowly a guise, he seemed to disregard the promptings of his own exuberant imagination, and copied the scene before him with the most scrupulous fidelity. He

accepted the austere monotony of her lines; and drew from her very poverty the means of expression. The simplest motives sufficed to charm him; the corner of a meadow, a country road winding along the plain, a crazy shed, a rustic cabin shaded by some stunted tree. He, the painter of the poor, the wretched, the forsaken, now shows us the places where they live and suffer. He paints the land of the *Beggars*, in all its desolation, the land they had twice

RUINS OF THE AMSTERDAM TOWN HALL.

Pen drawing, heightened with wash (Heseltine Collection).

redeemed, once from the fury of the sea, once from the more cruel frenzy of the Spaniard. The love of the patriot for this territory was intense in proportion to the price he had paid for it. To Rembrandt, every aspect of his native country was beautiful. He never went beyond it, and his wanderings even within its limits were sufficiently circumscribed. His travels were confined to the quiet suburbs of Amsterdam—Sloten, Laren, Loenen, and the Castle of Kronenburg—to the mills of Zaandam, to the coast hamlets, Naarden, Diemen, and Muiderberg, where Sylvius' son was minister;

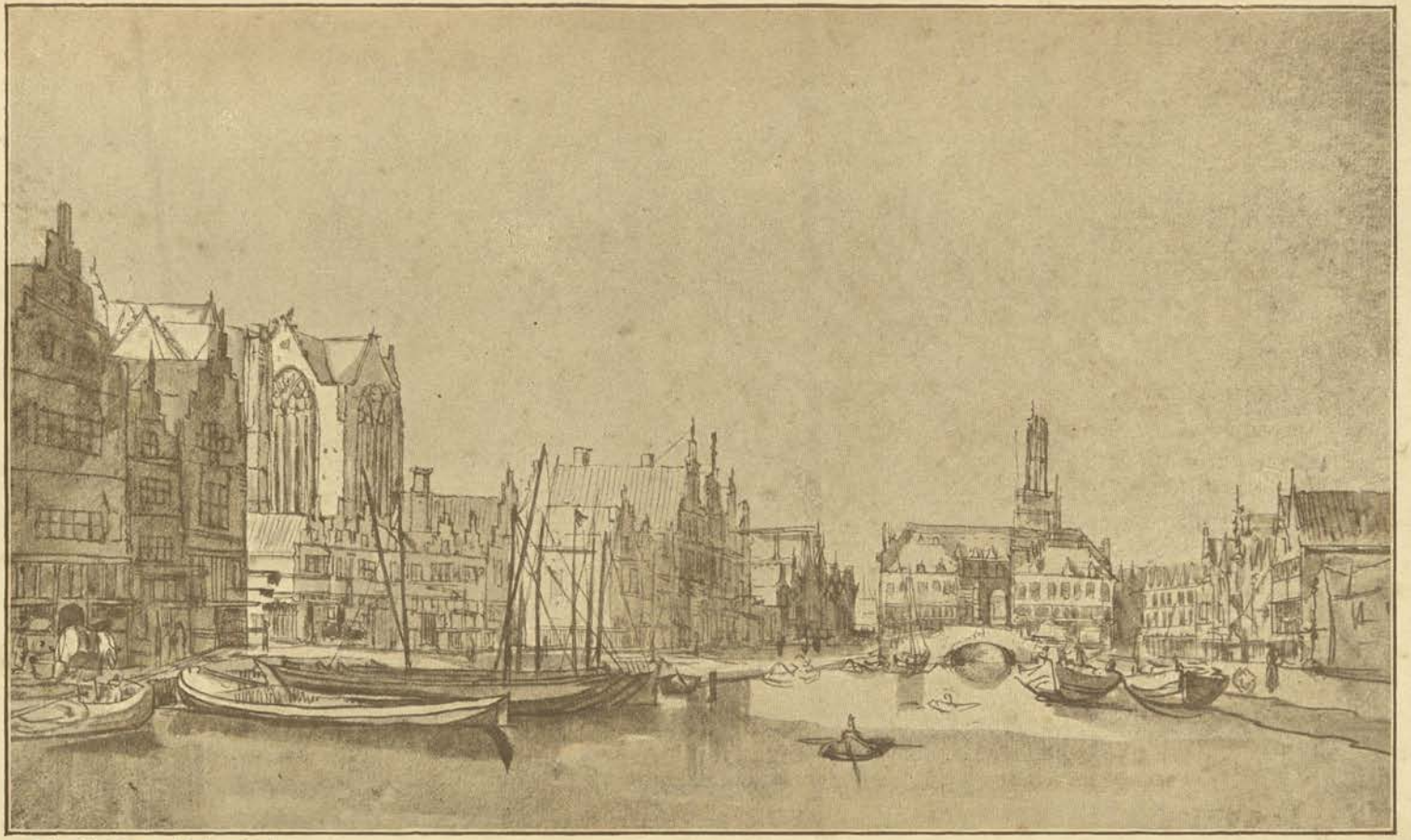
to Jan Six's house at Elsbroeck, to the Receiver Uytenbogaerd's home at Goëland, and to the various asylums offered him in his adversity by a few staunch friends. The priceless series of drawings purchased by an ancestor of the present Duke of Devonshire from the son of Rembrandt's pupil, Govert Flinck, to whom they originally belonged, were probably executed during one of his temporary sojourns among trees and fields. Rejoicing in the momentary respite from cares and creditors, the great painter sought solace from Nature, the friend who had never forsaken him. The various drawings of this series—several of which we reproduce in facsimile—were no doubt originally the leaves of a sketch-book. They were probably all produced at the same period, and certainly in the same place. Every aspect of the scenery—which we believe to be that of some district close to Amsterdam—is carefully recorded by the master. He notes the flat coast, the wide watery expanses, the level horizons against which every inequality shows out in strong relief, the groups of trees clustering about scattered dwellings, the passing boats, their sails swelling to the breeze, the cottages nestling one against another, as if to offer a braver front to the winds that sweep the plain, a village spreading along the banks of a stream, a fisherman's hut, with nets drying in the sun. The most casual incident becomes a picture, so firm and precise is the outline of each object, so exact and truthful the modelling. In most of these drawings, the outline is lightly traced with a pen; the work is then heightened with washes of Indian ink or bistre, by means of which the diversity of local values and planes is suggested with extraordinary delicacy and firmness. Very often the master returns to the same spot, and following up his practice in the treatment of the human model, hovers about a landscape, seeking its most picturesque aspect. He sketches it from a distance of some few paces, endeavouring by such careful examination to solve the problems of form and effect, and to discover, under the infinite variety of nature, the complex laws which regulate her superficial aspects, and determine the unity of a landscape.

Among the Chatsworth drawings we find numerous examples of such reiterated studies from a single motive, made during a summer visit to the country. We might multiply instances; but

View of Amsterdam.

Pen and Sepia.

(ALBERTINA.)



Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

the comparison of those we have selected for reproduction, such as the clump of high trees by the waterside, and the Gothic gateway at the entrance of a town, will convince our readers of Rembrandt's predilection for methods to which we have already several times referred. By means of this uncompromising fidelity the master gave an interest to the most ordinary motives, an interest often extrinsic, born of the art with which he seized upon the essential features of a scene, and the science and ingenuity with which he expressed them.

His etchings of this period have the same sincerity of conception, the same firmness of treatment, that mark these drawings. An exception should perhaps be made in the case of the *Landscape with a Canal and Swans* (B. 235), dated 1650, and *The Sportsman* (B. 211), a plate executed probably some years later. In these, there is an evident blending of fact and fancy. The mountains in the distance are ill adapted to the foregrounds, and bear a strong likeness to those of the *Ruin*, which was painted at about the same date. The other etched landscapes of this period are remarkable for their perfect cohesion and homogeneity, and, like the drawings, were evidently studied in the open, face to face with nature. We must be content to enumerate some of the most picturesque among them, as the *Village with a Square Tower* (B. 218), the *Arched Landscape with a Flock of Sheep* (B. 224), the *Canal* (B. 221) with its fringe of leafless trees, their forms most firmly and truthfully rendered, the *Peasant carrying Milk-pails* (B. 213) with the crazy hovels by the waterside, the *Village near the High-road* (B. 217), the *Arched Landscape with an Obelisk* (B. 227), which takes its name from a monument the master has also introduced in one of his drawings, a landmark some two miles from Amsterdam, with an inscription indicating its distance from the city. Two of the plates executed at this period claim special mention, their truth of conception and extreme sobriety of workmanship giving them a place apart. These are the *Landscape with a ruined Tower* (B. 223),[1] the spirited effect of which is obtained by the simplest means, and the *Goldweigher's Field* of 1651 (B. 234),

[1] *Called more properly by Monsieur Charles Blanc, "Paysage à la Tour"—there being indeed little indication of "ruin" in the first state, with the dome.—F. W.*

a print no less free and facile in treatment, and perhaps even more effective. Within the narrow limits of this plate, the master suggests, with incomparable knowledge and precision, the various planes of a

TOBIT BLIND.

1651 (B. 42).

wide champaign, the plantations of a great estate, a mansion surrounded by a wood, with its outbuildings and dependencies, the adjacent villages, and, beyond, the broad line of ocean, stretching away to

Interior of a Church.

Pen and Wash.

(ALBERTINA.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

the horizon. With a few careless strokes of the point, he defines the site, and the salient features of his landscape. He then elaborates its details, bringing out the characteristic growth of the various trees, and finally gives colour and completeness to the whole by a few emphatic touches, applied with unerring science. Even in these swift and summary renderings of nature, improvisations rather than studies, we are struck by the intimate harmony between the method of expression and the desired effect. A mind so entirely absorbed in art and its various developments was naturally attracted to experimental processes. Evidences of such attraction are to be found in a plate of several sketches (B. 364), where Rembrandt seems to have tried the effect of a broad point to produce rich, intense blacks, in contrast to the white tone of the paper. The authenticity of this plate has been questioned. We believe it, however, to be the work of the master. The impression in the British Museum has strong presumptive evidence in its favour, for it originally formed part of Houbraken's collection. But we rely more confidently on its analogies with plates such as the *Village near the High-road* (B. 217) and the *Landscape with a Vista*, dated 1652 (B. 222), in which the treatment of masses of foliage is almost identical. An etching dated 1650, the *Shell* (B. 159), is yet another instance of Rembrandt's scrupulous observation, and fidelity to Nature. It is interesting to find the great artist, in full maturity of his genius, giving himself up to the minute and careful reproduction of a sea-shell, which doubtless was one of the many curiosities of his home.

VILLAGE WITH A SQUARE TOWER.
1650 (B. 218).

The most ordinary objects arrest his attention, and help him to further knowledge. His passion for self-improvement persisted throughout his life, and evinces itself at this period of his career in numerous studies of animals. The *Good Samaritan* and the *Pacification of Holland* attest great advance in the treatment of horses.

Turenne's charger is certainly an awkwardly constructed beast, but Dr. Bode mentions an admirably painted horse of smaller size in the equestrian portrait of a Hungarian magnate, executed about 1654, and now in Galicia.[1]

In the pictures, drawings, and etchings of this period we find cattle, asses, &c., more correctly drawn than in earlier works, and it was about this time that Rembrandt made his first studies of lions. We have noted his grotesque treatment of the lions in his *St. Jerome*, and the *Lion Hunts*. A travelling menagerie passing through Amsterdam probably gave him opportunities of observing their structure and attitudes. He threw himself with great ardour into the study, and produced some twenty drawings.[2] He seems to have had some difficulty in seizing their characteristics, for several of the drawings are insignificant, and fail to suggest the dignity of leonine movement and expression. There are others, however, in which the types and forms are most admirably rendered, as, for instance, M. Bonnat's studies of two crouching lions, formerly in the Russell collection in England, where they were the admiration of Landseer; the lion with eyes voluptuously closed, gnawing at a bone between his paws; the study in the British Museum, of a lion emaciated by long captivity, whose mournful air and resigned dignity of bearing agree so perfectly with the Latin inscription written below the sketch:

Jam piger et longo jacet exarmatus ab ævo;
Magna tamen facies et non adeunda senectus.

The two studies of lionesses, one eating, the other sleeping, also in the British Museum, are no less remarkable.

The large curiosity, the love of nature and of life so characteristic of Rembrandt, were important factors in his art-teaching at this period. We have shown that he had lost ground considerably in popular favour, but he retained his *prestige* as the greatest of contemporary masters among the artists of his day, and a large number of pupils continued to frequent his studio. It seems to have been

[1] *Studien*, p. 499. Dr. Bode saw this portrait in Vienna, whither it had been sent by its owner for restoration.

[2] There are examples in the public collections at Berlin, Dresden, Frankfort, Munich, in the Albertina, the Louvre, the British Museum, the Teyler Museum, and in the collections of Messrs. Heseltine, Bonnat, Dutuit, &c.

Cottage Surrounded by Trees.

Pen and Wash.

(HESELTINE COLLECTION.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

acknowledged that instruction at once so thorough and so lofty was unattainable elsewhere. Both as painter and engraver, Rembrandt's reputation was incontestable, and he had proved his capacity in every *genre* he had attempted. He was further justly reputed a kind and generous master, careful of the comfort and liberty of his pupils. Scholars were attracted to his studio from all quarters, not only of Holland, but of neighbouring countries. We are dealing with the life of Rembrandt, and not with that of his followers. We must therefore be content with a brief mention of the most important, in which we shall dwell more particularly on those aspects of their history which throw light on that of the master. Germany sent him several scholars, among them Michiel Willemans, the engraver Ulric Mayr of Augsburg, and Franz Wulfhagen of Bremen. The Saxon, Christophel Paudiss, born about 1618, had preceded them to Amsterdam. His pictures suffer from a certain want of vigour in the tonality; but Rembrandt's influence over him persisted, and is apparent in his treatment of chiaroscuro. His powers may be very fully estimated by the numerous examples of his works in the Belvedere, where he is represented by religious subjects, portraits, and rustic scenes. The *Contract* attributed to him in the Dresden Museum (No. 1994 in the Catalogue) is really by Aert de Gelder, and to this we shall return presently. Juriaen Ovens, who was born at Tœnningen in Holstein in 1623, and was living at Amsterdam so late as 1662, was also a pupil of Rembrandt's. He was distinguished as a clever portraitist, and very expeditious workman, and must have enjoyed a considerable reputation, for he numbered persons of importance, such as the *Seven Regents of the Municipal Almshouse*, among his sitters (1650). His manner in works of this class approaches that of Van der Helst, and even that of Van Dyck; but a large picture in the Nantes Museum, dated 1651, *Tobias making ready to return to his Father*, shows plainly, both in composition and effect, that Rembrandt's teaching never lost its hold upon him. The Dane, Bernard Keilh or Keilham, born at Helsingborg in 1625, remained eight years with Rembrandt. He left Amsterdam in 1656 for Italy, where he died in 1687. His works are very rare. A picture by him in his native country, a *Sculptor*, showing his statues to a friend by lamp-light, was evidently conceived under the master's influence. But in two later and more important works, formerly in Mayence Cathedral, and now

in the church of Loerzweiler (in Hesse), the skilful and highly conventional manner has close affinities with that of the later Bolognese school, so much admired in Italy at the period. Keilh, however, has a title to our respect in his faithful attachment to his master, and we are indebted to him for various interesting details of Rembrandt's character and habits, which he communicated to Baldinucci, who incorporated them in a study we have already quoted more than once.

A ROAD THROUGH A WOOD.
Pen drawing (Duke of Devonshire).

As was natural, however, the Dutch contingent was the most important and numerous among Rembrandt's scholars. Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol, it is true, renounced his manner for a brighter and more popular style, impelled either by calculation or natural inclination. Official honours and commissions were diverted to their studios; but, nevertheless, Rembrandt continued the head of a national school. Many of the young men who gathered round him are known only by documents in which their names are mentioned, their works having entirely disappeared. At a meeting of experts, convened September 16, 1653, by Abraham de Cooge, an art-dealer at Amsterdam, to determine the authorship of a reputed work of

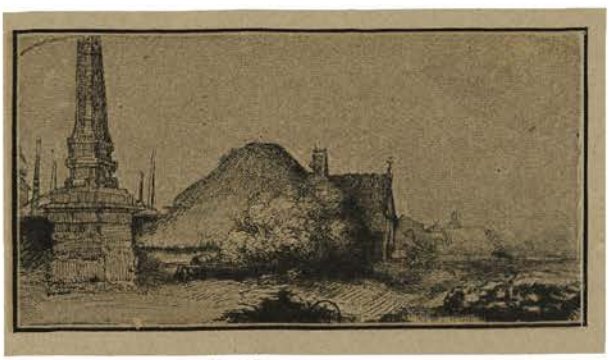
Study of a Couchant Lion.

Pen and Wash.

(LORD BROWNLOW'S COLLECTION.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

Paul Brill,[1] various artists and connoisseurs of Amsterdam, Hendrick van Uylenborch, Marten Kretzer, Lodewyk van Ludick, B. Breembergh, B. Van der Helst, Philips de Koninck and Willem Kalff being associated with him as witnesses, Rembrandt attested the authenticity of the picture by his signature, supported by that of two of his pupils: Jan van Glabbeck and Jacobus Levecq.[2] We have not been able to discover any work by the former; but Mr. George Salting owns a male portrait, painted by Levecq in 1665, an example in which the considerable talent of the artist shows stronger affinities with Van Dyck than with Rembrandt. None of the works of another pupil, Heymann Dullaert, can now be traced. His name occurs jointly with that of a fellow-student, Johan Hindrichsen, as witness to a deed, dated March 28, 1653, empowering one Frans de Coster to collect certain sums of money due to Rembrandt. Dullaert, we learn from Houbraken, painted interiors with figures; he was further a poet, a good musician, and an agreeable singer. Adriaen Verdoel, probably a pupil of Leonard Bramer, is said by Houbraken to have also received instruction from Rembrandt. Like Dullaert, he was a poet, and, indeed, laureate of the Chamber of Rhetoric at Flushing. We may further mention Cornelis Drost, whose *Magdalene at the Feet of Christ* in the Cassel Museum is very Rembrandtesque in sentiment, and two other pupils or imitators of the master at this period, Jacob van Dorst, whose male portrait, in the Dresden Gallery, is redeemed from vulgarity by its soft golden tone, and G. Horst, the author of a *Continence of Scipio.* Hendrick Heerschop, born in 1620 or 1621, studied for a while



LANDSCAPE WITH AN OBELISK.
About 1650 (B. 227).

[1] *Oud-Holland, Kunstkritick der XVII. Eeuw*, by A. Bredius.

[2] Like many of Rembrandt's pupils, Levecq was a native of Dordrecht. Mr. G. Veth has published a series of interesting articles dealing with him and his compatriots in *Oud-Holland.* Levecq, as is well known, became Houbraken's master.

under Claesz Heda, and entered Rembrandt's studio about 1644. He engraved, in imitation of the master's manner, a *St. Jerome* and a *Susanna at the Bath*, by no means remarkable for their distinction. In the Amsterdam Museum there is *Erichthonius* by him, a somewhat vulgar composition, and in the Cassel Gallery a *Card-Player*, a soldier with an ugly girl, treated in the manner of Dirck Hals. C. Renesse also received some lessons from Rembrandt about 1649, and we find that he made use of the master's studies of lions for two of his drawings, a *St. Jerome* dated 1652, in the Teyler Museum, and a *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the Boymans Museum. An inscription by his own hand on the back of the second drawing informs us that he had "shown it to Rembrandt, October 1, 1649, the second time he went to him." Renesse delighted in such studies of animal life. He introduced them in various carefully executed engravings, as for instance the *Joseph sold by his Brethren*, in which he has drawn a group of camels, and the *Child devoured by a Bear*, a plate dated 1653. Vosmaer mentions a *Family Group* by him in the Czernin collection at Vienna, as remarkable for the truth of its chiaroscuro. *An Old Woman reading*, attributed to him, which appeared at the exhibition of works by the Old Masters at the Hague in 1890, attracted much attention, partly by reason of the strange type of the sitter, but more especially in virtue of its brilliant colour and force of expression. We must add that the ascription to Renesse was purely conjectural. To a recent discovery made by Dr. Bredius among the archives we owe our knowledge of the fact that Esaias Boursse, the rival of Pieter de Hooch, was also one of Rembrandt's disciples. Born at Amsterdam about 1630, Boursse practised in his native city from 1656 to 1672, and, like his fellow-student Jan Victors, made several voyages to India, in the East India Company's service. Pictures by him, in which a perfect knowledge of effect gives the utmost value to strong, yet delicate colour, are to be found in the Suermondt Gallery at Aix-la-Chapelle, the Wallace collection at Hertford House, the Berlin Museum, and the Ryksmuseum.

There remain two of Rembrandt's pupils who claim a place apart. The one, Nicolas Maes, worked under the master from 1650 to 1653. The works he produced after quitting Rembrandt's studio bear eloquent witness to the excellence of the teaching he

Landscape Study.

Pen and Wash.

(BRITISH MUSEUM.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

had received. These works are mainly portraits, very characteristically treated, or familiar subjects: a servant asleep over her work, or engaged in some household duty, or spying upon her employers; or, more often still, old women at a spinning-wheel, or at a meal, or praying. But the painter's genius gives a wonderful elevation to these simple themes, many of which are treated with a curious modernism. His colour is generally deep and vigorous; rich reds and intense blacks are very happily blended with delicate iron-gray tones, while a piquant note is added to the harmony by the introduction of some homely utensil such as a stone jar with a blue pattern, or a red earthen bowl. The handling, at once broad and supple, is full of the most masterly decision. The finest examples are to be found in Holland and in English collections (the National Gallery, Buckingham Palace, Lord Ashburton's, etc.). The contrast between these beautiful works and the portraits painted by Maes towards the close of his career is so startling, that certain critics, unable to accept the theory of a change of style so radical, have suggested the existence of another painter of the same name. There are, however, documents which dispose of this supposition. Maes had already a considerable vogue as a portrait-painter when, on the occasion of a visit to Antwerp, he was fascinated by the works of Rubens and Van Dyck. He forthwith abandoned his early manner in favour of a lighter and gayer system of colouring, a looser and more fluent touch, and a meretricious grace and elegance that delighted his wealthy patrons. A male portrait in the Brussels Museum (No. 333 in the Catalogue) seems to have been painted in the period of transition from his early to his later manner. We note a premonitory jarring of the harmonies, purplish tones side by side with somewhat crude vermilions. The drawing is less firm, the handling tamer and less characteristic, and there are traces of that triviality which becomes so marked in later works.

The other pupil, Carel Fabritius, had his life been spared to fulfil the promise of his youth, might have won a place in the first rank of Dutch painters. Born in 1624, he was killed in the flower of his age by the explosion of the powder-magazine at Delft, on October 12, 1654, while engaged on a portrait of the sacristan, Simon Decker. His evil fortune pursued him even

beyond the grave, and his masterpiece, the fine portrait-group of the Van der Vin family, perished in the fire at the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam. The rare examples of his art now extant show how greatly he had profited by Rembrandt's teaching. The study of a head in the Rotterdam Museum is a work not easily forgotten. Its impressiveness is due in some measure to the peculiarity of the type, with its piercing eyes and long black hair, but still more to the energetic character of the treatment. Madame Lacroix's pretty study of a goldfinch chained to a feeding-trough, with its sunlit background, is a little gem of light and brilliance, and a work of a very different order, the *Sentinel* in the Schwerin Museum, also dated 1654 (the year of the painter's death), attests the versatility and originality of his genius. Bernhard Fabritius, probably Carel's brother, if not actually Rembrandt's pupil, was greatly influenced by the master, as is evident from his essays in chiaroscuro, and the harmonious blending of tones in his best works, such, for instance, as his *St. Peter in the House of Cornelius*, in the Brunswick Gallery (dated 1653), and the so-called *Baptism of St. John* (1666) in the Habich collection at Cassel.[1]

As a teacher it was Rembrandt's constant endeavour to make his instruction so catholic as to fit his pupils to deal with every variety of subject. We know that Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck had been trained to study the backgrounds of their compositions from nature. Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, whose relations with the master were more lasting, continued throughout his career to produce those spirited sketches of landscape, tinted with water-colour, now so much coveted by collectors. Philips de Koninck, immediately after his emancipation from Rembrandt's studio in 1646, began to produce the panoramic views, in which he approaches the master's manner so closely that his works have been occasionally ascribed to Rembrandt. Treating the same motives as Vermeer of Haarlem, but animating the wide tracts of country he loved to render with richer and warmer tones, he excelled in rendering the mobile shadows of vast gray clouds sailing across the plain, and far horizons

[1] The greater part of this collection has lately been acquired by the National Gallery.

The Storm.

Pen and Wash.

(ALBERTINA.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

marked by the broad belt of the distant sea. His masterpiece, *The Storm*, formerly in the possession of the Comte de Vence, and now in Lord Lindsay's collection, long passed for the work of Rembrandt, and was engraved as such. The motives are those De Koninck habitually treated : watercourses of varying heights, dividing an expanse of sparse yellowish vegetation into parallel strips. But the artist surpasses himself in this fine work, and a most impressive and

A WOMAN IN BED, ASLEEP.
Pen drawing (Heseltine Collection).

poetic effect is won by opposing the warm, bright tints of the sunlit sand-dunes to the gray background of rolling clouds.

Landscape had now been admitted by Rembrandt to a place so important in his *œuvre*, that it naturally became a favourite branch of study with many of his later pupils. Pure landscape-painters gradually arose in his school. But none attained the mastery of Philips de Koninck, and most of those who are mentioned as his disciples or imitators are now forgotten. We find small trace of Rembrandt's influence in the works of Leupenius, who is known to us only in drawings, notably a *View of the Amstel*, in the Fodor Museum, and a few insignificant etchings. Neither is it very apparent in the case of Jacob Esselens, whom Vosmaer mentions as one of the master's scholars, and who is

represented by a landscape in the style of Poelemburgh in the Brunswick Museum, and in the Copenhagen and Rotterdam Museums by northern landscapes, with huntsmen and animals, executed with a light and facile touch, which also distinguishes his sketches. Rembrandt's teaching is more evident in the case of Farnerius, who frequented his studio from about 1640 to 1645. There is an admirable pen-drawing, tinted with water-colour, by him in the Teyler Museum, in which the chiaroscuro is very delicately treated. Lambert Doomer's indebtedness to the master is still more obvious. Thanks to the liberality of Dr. Bredius, the Ryksmuseum has lately (1890) become possessed of a picture by him, singularly modern in treatment. It represents a woman washing clothes at a fountain, from which a man is drawing water. Beside them is a group of large trees, the vigorous colour of which is effectively relieved against a luminous white sky.

The marine-painter, Jan van de Cappelle, if not Rembrandt's pupil, was at least his friend and admirer. A native of Amsterdam, Van de Cappelle's name first appears among the list of citizens on July 29, 1653. The date of his birth is not known. His devotion to his art, the distinction of his style, the researches into the mysteries of chiaroscuro, to which his pictures and the two *Winter Scenes* he etched bear witness, no doubt appealed strongly to Rembrandt's sympathies. This master, the greatest of the Dutch sea-painters, is only to be properly appreciated in England, which boasts many fine examples of his work, in the National Gallery, and the great private collections. He has all Willem van de Velde's knowledge with greater variety. His execution is broader and less dry than that of his rival, his colour equally delicate, but richer, his illumination more justly diffused. Unlike the generality of his brethren, Van de Cappelle was a man of means. His fortune, however, was derived, not from his art, but from some dye-works inherited from his father, which he, in his turn, bequeathed to his children. He died January 1st, 1680, leaving, according to the inventory of his effects lately discovered by Dr. Bredius, money to the value of 30,000 florins, a very considerable sum in those days, a superb collection of two hundred pictures, and some thousands of drawings, among them five hundred by Rembrandt,

Tobias and his Family with the Angel.

Pen and Wash.

(ALBERTINA.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

which are classified according to their subjects as "landscapes, historical subjects, and 'studies of womanhood and childhood.'" One hundred come under the latter category. Among the pictures are several by Frans Hals and by Rembrandt, both of whom painted Van de Cappelle's portrait. Of Rembrandt's portrait all trace has been lost. It may possibly be a picture in Lord Carlisle's collection at Castle Howard, described by Dr. Bode[1] as the portrait of a friend or pupil of Rembrandt, painted about 1648, the date of the portraits of Berchem and Asselyn. The model is a young artist in a dark dress and high hat, holding an album of studies in his hand.

We may close the list of those among Rembrandt's scholars we have selected for mention with the name of Samuel van Hoogstraaten. Born at Dordrecht August 2nd, 1627, Hoogstraaten learnt the rudiments of his art from his father, and entered Rembrandt's studio at Amsterdam in 1640, remaining under his guidance till 1650. He then travelled, visiting Vienna, Rome, and London. Returning to the Hague in 1668, he finally settled in his native town, where he was appointed Director of the Mint. The eager curiosity of his temperament manifested itself no less in his studies than in his wandering life. He essayed every branch of his art, portraits, landscape, *genre*, sea-pieces, architectural subjects, and still life. He was further a man of liberal and cultivated mind, given to reasoning and philosophising over his art. It is from this side that his personality has a special interest for us. In the work he wrote for the instruction of his numerous pupils in after-life, the *Introduction to Painting*,[2] it is possible to recognise his master's ideas in many of the theories he formulates. During his novitiate Hoogstraaten seems to have been in the habit of plying Rembrandt with inquiries on every possible subject, which the master received with the utmost patience and kindness. On one occasion, however, when he had shown himself somewhat more insistent than usual, he was thus admonished: "Make it your endeavour to turn the knowledge you already possess to good account; the unknown things that torment you will reveal themselves in due season." We have another echo from Rembrandt's studio when Hoogstraaten praises a certain painter for "a style, which results from his faculty of selecting and co-ordinating the most harmonious

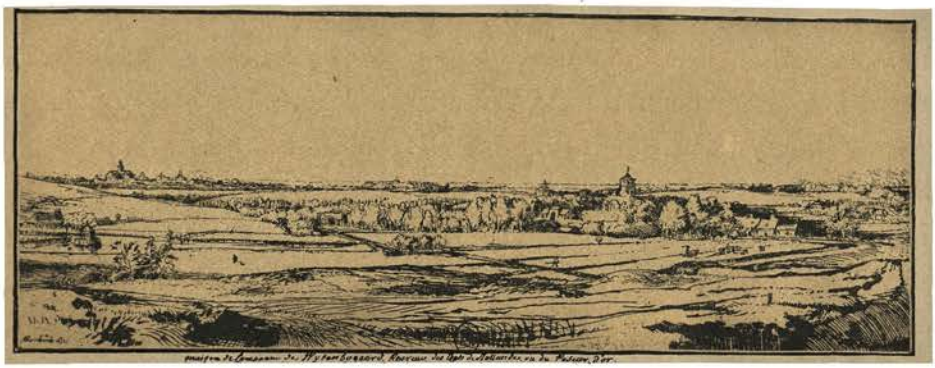
[1] Bode, *Studien*, p. 498.

[2] *Inleyding tot de hooge School der Schilder Konst.* 1678.

elements of a given theme." Again we seem to hear Rembrandt's own words in Hoogstraaten's advice to his brother, who proposed to visit Rome: "You will find in your own country so many beauties that your life will be too short for their comprehension and expression. Italy, with all her loveliness, will be useless to you if you are unable to render the nature around you." Though he soon abandoned his master's manner, Hoogstraaten never ceased to venerate his genius. He extols Rembrandt's mastery of "that science of reflections, which was his true element." From Rembrandt he learnt to value those essays in chiaroscuro and studies in expression on which he afterwards laid such stress in his own teaching. To impress upon his pupils the importance of such studies, he arranged a theatre for them in the house he occupied at Dordrecht, formerly a brewery known as the *Orange-tree*, and would make a certain number act, while the others observed their action and play of feature, sometimes taking the players through their parts again and again, until they hit upon the simplest and most expressive gestures. These exercises he diversified by experiments with a game of Chinese shadows, by means of which he demonstrated the infinite variety of effects produced by changing the position of the source of light. In such teaching and experiments he merely reduced to practice the precepts he had heard from Rembrandt; while in his liberal treatment of his pupils he was again guided by the example of that generous master, who, as Baldinucci tells us on the excellent authority of Keilh, "was to be admired not less for his noble devotion to his art, than for a kindness of heart verging on extravagance."

STUDY OF A BEAR.

Pen drawing, heightened with wash (Lord Brownlow).



THE GOLDWEIGHER'S FIELD.
1651 (B. 234).

CHAPTER III

REMBRANDT'S HOME—TITUS AND HIS NURSE—HENDRICKJE STOFFELS—PICTURES PAINTED FROM HER—THE PORTRAIT IN THE SALON CARRÉ AND THE 'BATHSHEBA' OF THE LACAZE COLLECTION—STUDIES FROM NATURE—THE 'GIRL WITH A BROOM,' AND THE PORTRAITS OF OLD MEN IN THE HERMITAGE AND THE DRESDEN GALLERY—'JOSEPH ACCUSED BY THE WIFE OF POTIPHAR'—ETCHINGS FROM 1654 TO 1655—REMBRANDT'S HOUSE AND HIS COLLECTIONS.

OLD MAN WITH A LARGE BEARD.
About 1631 (B. 312).

TO one of Rembrandt's affectionate and home-loving temperament, the bitterness of his bereavement must have been greatly enhanced by the anxieties inseparable from the management of a house and the bringing up of a little child. Absorbed in his art, and ignorant of the details of every-day life, he was incapable of directing his household, and was entirely at the mercy of those about him. Titus' nurse, Geertje Dircx, the widow of a trumpeter named Abraham Claesz, soon acquired an ascendency in the establishment, justified in some measure by her devotion to her charge. At the time of Titus' birth, Saskia was already suffering from the illness of which she died within the

year. It is not surprising, therefore, that the child was far from robust, and needed constant watchfulness. There are traces of languor and ill-health in two portraits of him painted by his father about this period. As Claussin, and after him Messrs. Charles Blanc and Middleton-Wake have suggested, Titus was no doubt the model for a little plate (B. 11), which, judging by its style and treatment, was probably executed about 1652. This date agrees with the age of the supposed sitter. We also recognise his delicate features, ingenuous expression, and luxuriant hair in a portrait belonging to M. R. Kann painted some three years later, when he was about fourteen. It is signed, and dated 1655. The master, following his usual custom in the treatment of members of his own household, paints him in a fancy costume. He wears a black velvet cap with a white feather, pearl earrings, a reddish brown doublet over a gathered chemisette, and a greenish cloak trimmed with fur. In this picturesque array, he looks like some northern prince, a youthful Hamlet, gentle and dreamy. The master has lingered lovingly over the work, especially the modelling of the head, bringing out the charming expression of the young face, which has much of Saskia's sweetness, and proclaims the loving, sensitive character of the model. We shall find that throughout his relations with his father, which were more than once somewhat difficult and delicate, Titus proved himself an affectionate and dutiful son. His weakness of constitution no doubt debarred him from an active life, for he seems to have had no settled occupation. In 1655, he had made some essays in painting, for the inventory of the following year records three studies by Rembrandt's son: "a *Head of the Virgin*, a *Book*, and *Three Puppies from Nature*." His vocation was probably not very pronounced, as the documents to which we owe our knowledge of him make no mention of further efforts.

The unceasing care and attention necessary to Titus throughout his ailing childhood were cheerfully accorded by his nurse, whose affection for him was in proportion to the helplessness of his orphaned condition. Geertje Dircx became so fondly attached to him, that she made him her heir in a will dated January 24, 1648, bequeathing to him all her property with the exception

Portrait of Titus van Ryn (1655).

(M. R. KANN'S COLLECTION)

Printed by Braun & Cie Successeurs Paris (France)

of a certain portion which legally reverted to her mother. She made it a condition, however, that Titus should hand over the sum of 100 florins to the daughter of a certain Pieter Beetz de Hoorn, together with her portrait. Was this portrait by Rembrandt? We know not. But an ancient inscription on the charming drawing in the Teyler Museum identifies the model with Titus' nurse. It may be that Geertje's affection was not wholly disinterested, and that some hope of replacing Saskia underlay her devotion. Be this as it may, her fidelity was not of long duration. Less than two years after the execution of her will, she announced her intention of quitting Rembrandt's service. She proceeded to make a variety of claims against him, angrily proclaimed her desire to revoke the will, and summoned her master to answer her charges in a court of law. On October 1, 1649, Rembrandt, supported by two witnesses, formally certified the terms of his agreement with her before a notary. But when some few days after, on October 14, Geertje was required to sign a deed confirming her bequest, she passionately refused, and poured out a torrent of abuse, her main grievance being the insufficiency of the annuity settled upon her.[1] In the following year, Geertje's health and reason alike broke down, and it became necessary to place her in an asylum at Gouda. At the request of her family, Rembrandt agreed to advance money for the journey, and the necessary fees. But when he found himself in difficulties in 1656, he made an attempt to recover the debt, and brought an action against certain of his old servant's relatives, one of whom, Pieter Dircx, was arrested. Dircx subsequently sued for damages "in respect of the insult and abuse to which he had been subjected throughout the affair."

One of the two witnesses cited by Rembrandt in support of his statement of October 1, 1649, was a young fellow-servant of Geertje's, named Hendrickje Stoffels. This girl, who was twenty-three years old at the time, was destined to play an important part in the career of her master, with whom she remained till her death. Forgotten to some extent by his contemporaries, he was no longer overwhelmed with commissions, and in his unaccustomed leisure he had eagerly

[1] *Oud-Holland*, iii. p. 95–98, and viii. pp. 175.

reverted to the purely artistic experiments in which he delighted. The period of his career we are now considering is marked by increasing ardour in his studies from Nature, a depth of sincerity in his renderings of her various aspects, and a concentrated fire and force in his interpretations of her phenomena. These studies were not confined to landscape and animals. He drew instruction from the most commonplace objects, such, for instance, as the *Sea-shell* of his wonderful etching, or the *Bullock's Carcase* of his superb study in the Louvre. But, as may be readily supposed, the human form had a higher interest and attraction for him. With the exception of Cornelis van Haarlem and a few of the early *Italianisers*, we believe no Dutch artist to have approached Rembrandt in the number and continuity of his life-studies. His usual models, as we have seen, were young lads from among the poorer population of the quays and port of Amsterdam, who were readily induced to sit by the offer of trifling moneys. But female models were difficult to procure. In Rembrandt's age and country, painters could rarely overcome the scruples of their modesty. Those they prevailed upon to pose for them were not, as a rule, remarkable for grace or beauty. Some among Rembrandt's female models are hideously repulsive. He reproduced their ugliness with the most elaborate fidelity, modifying none of the disfigurements arising from age, maternity, or social condition. Absolutely uncompromising in this respect, his one idea was the truthful delineation of the model. Some of these women are horrible to behold, as, for instance, the model for a study in the Heseltine collection, a masterly and over-faithful rendering of a degraded wretch, whose brazen leer and bestial laugh are reproduced with the same terrible exactitude that insists on every fold and wrinkle of the misshapen body. Hendrickje's presence under his

PORTRAIT OF TITUS.
About 1652 (B. 11).

Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels (about 1652)

(LOUVRE.)

Printed by Eudes & Chassepot Paris (France)

roof gave him a model more worthy of his brush, of which, faithful to his life-long habit, he eagerly availed himself.

In several works of this period we recognise a feminine model whose apparent age agrees with Hendrickje's. The first and best example of these is the beautiful portrait in the *Salon Carré* of the Louvre, probably painted about 1652. This fine work is well known to all students of Rembrandt, and its identification with Hendrickje gives it additional interest. The young woman is dressed in one of those elegant fancy costumes the master loved to paint. She wears a bracelet, earrings, and a brooch of costly pearls, very richly mounted. The face is by no means strictly beautiful. The features are irregular, the nose too broad. But there is a charm of youth and freshness in the brilliant complexion, rosy mouth, and dark eyes, the animation and tenderness of the expression, and the open forehead, with its waving masses of bright hair. The technical qualities of the work are of the very highest order, worthy of Rembrandt's powers at the supreme period of his development, and even he has never shown greater mastery than in the powerful harmony of the tawny fur and rich dress, by which the glowing flesh-tints are relieved.

TITUS' NURSE.
Pen drawing, heightened with wash (Teyler Museum).

Hendrickje is again easily recognisable in another picture in the Louvre, the *Bathsheba* of the Lacaze collection, painted in 1654. The

seated figure is life-size, and the young woman appears to have just come out of the bath. She holds David's missive in her hand, revolving its contents in her mind. An old woman, no doubt the bearer of the letter, is engaged in the prosaic task of paring her nails. We are prepared to admit that Bathsheba's legs, and the lower part of her body generally, are vulgar and ill-proportioned. The bust and throat, on the other hand, are exquisitely modelled. The light falls full upon them, bringing out the purity of the contours, and the luminous delicacy of the flesh-tints, which, as Dr. Bode justly remarks, would bear comparison with the best work of Giorgione, Titian, and Correggio, the supreme painters of feminine nudity. Not one of the three, we may further venture to assert, could have given Bathsheba's face the expression so finely imagined by Rembrandt. Flattered, though as yet undecided, Uriah's wife has evidently no intention of repulsing her unlawful suitor. She allows her thoughts to wander at will, and her preoccupied air and troubled look betray her vacillation. We recognise Hendrickje once more in a bold and brilliant study, painted a year or two later, about 1658–1660, which was at the Winter Exhibition at Burlington House in 1883. She is represented lying on a bed, one shoulder uncovered, the left hand, which is foreshortened, stretched out to draw a crimson curtain.[1]

The finest of the whole series, however, is the study of Hendrickje in the National Gallery, the so-called *Woman Bathing*. It bears the same date as the *Bathsheba* (1654), and is undoubtedly a masterpiece among Rembrandt's less important works. The young woman, whose only garment is a chemise, stands almost facing the spectator, in a deep pool. Her attitude suggests a sensation of pleasure and refreshment, tempered by an involuntary shrinking of her body at the first contact of the cold water. The light from above glances on her breast and forehead, and on the luxuriant disorder of her bright hair; the lower part of her face and her legs are in deep transparent shadow. The brown tones of the soil, the landscape background, and the water, the purple and gold of the draperies—among the

[1] This study, which is rather less than life-size, was then in Mr. H. St. John Mildmay's collection. It was afterwards bought by Mr. Wertheimer, the well-known dealer.

It is now in the Scottish National Gallery. See the illustration on p. 73.—F. W.

Bathsheba 1654

(LOUVRE.)

Printed by Charles Hallmann, Paris (France)

stuffs on the bank we note the heavy golden brocade which figures in the *Bathsheba*—make up a marvellous setting alike for the brilliantly illuminated contours and the more subdued carnations of the model. The truth of the impression, the breadth of the careful, but masterly execution, the variety of the handling, proclaim the matured power of the artist, and combine to glorify the hardy grace and youthful radiance of his creation.

When Rembrandt painted these various studies, he had secured the complaisant model for his life-long companion. Hendrickje had been his mistress for some time past. Careless of public opinion, he took little pains to conceal the situation, which soon created considerable scandal. On July 23, 1654—the year of the *Bathsheba* and the *Bathing Woman*—Hendrickje was summoned before the elders of her church—this interference with the private affairs of the faithful is very characteristic of religious sentiment in Holland at the period—severely admonished, and forbidden to receive the sacrament. Even had she been disposed to deny her fault, concealment was no longer possible, for in the autumn of the same year she gave birth to a daughter. This child was acknowledged by Rembrandt, and baptised on October 30 in the Oude Kerk, receiving his mother's name, Cornelia, already twice bestowed on children by Saskia who had died in infancy. The *liaison*, however, dated from some three years earlier, for Hendrickje's first child died at its birth, and was buried August 15, 1652, in the Zuider Kerk. Hendrickje was the woman spoken of by Houbraken as "a peasant of Ransdorp," Rembrandt's "wife." A recently discovered document states that she was a native of a village of this name, on the borders of Westphalia. On August 31, 1661, Hendrickje gave a power of attorney to her brother-in-law, an inhabitant of Breevoort, a commune adjoining Ransdorp, authorising him to receive all moneys that might become due to her in her native district. The young woman seems to have been quite uneducated, for her signature in this deed, as in all others where it appears, consists of a cross. There is no foundation whatever for the tradition of her legal marriage with Rembrandt, though such a union was not at all an unlikely one for a man of her master's

temperament. Rembrandt, though fully alive to the charms of a well-bred society, and counting many persons of distinction among his friends, was not averse to the companionship of his inferiors. It would have been no great sacrifice to him to give his name to a woman who filled the place of a wife in his household, and who, by her fidelity to himself, and admirable conduct towards Titus,

REMBRANDT S HEAD AND OTHER SKETCHES.

1631 and 1650 (?) (B. 370).

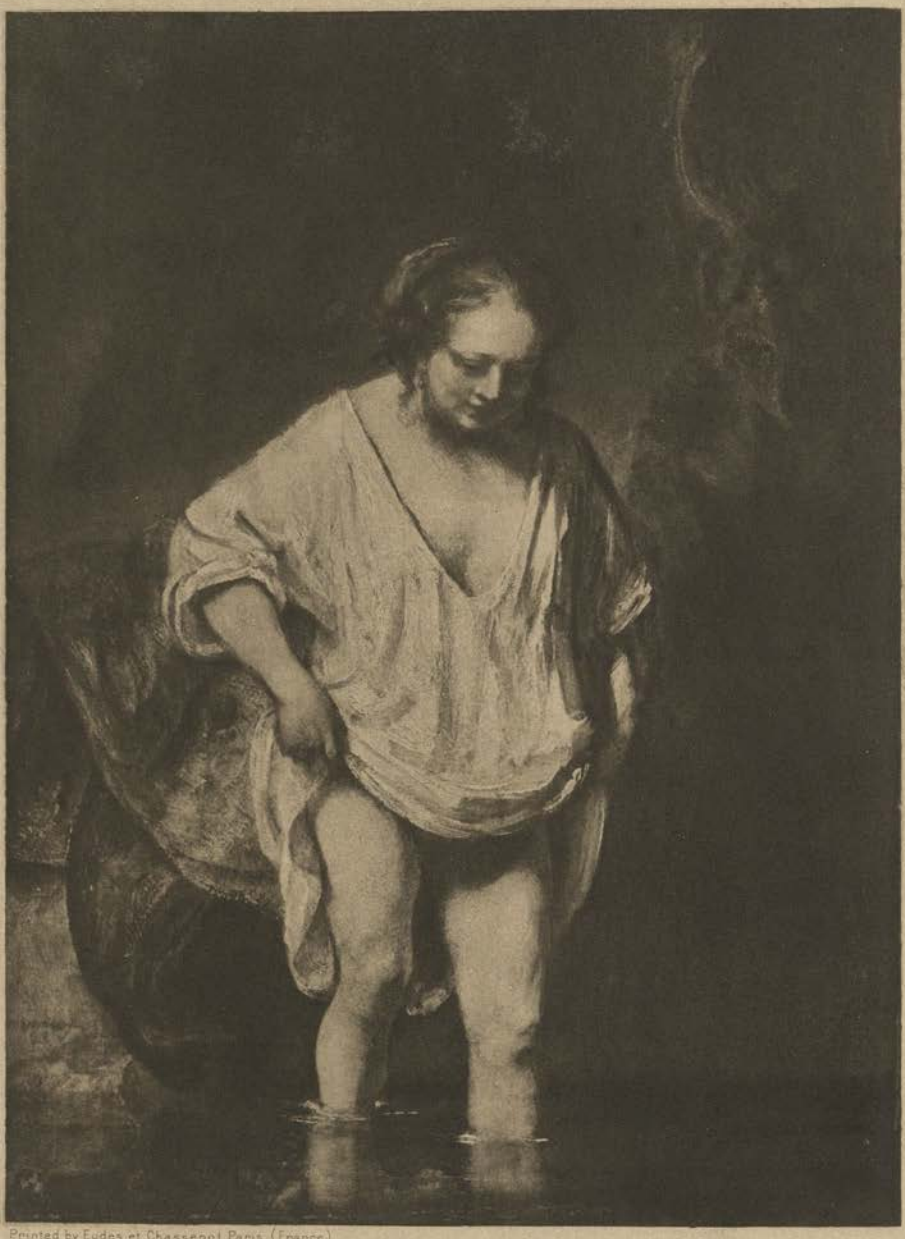
proved herself deserving of affection. It may be that Hendrickje had refrained from pressing the point, and, confident of her master's love, and of his dependence on her care, had frankly accepted her position. Such acquiescence in the situation might further be explained by her knowledge of those financial difficulties with which Rembrandt had long been struggling, which were gradually approaching their climax.

Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels (about 1658—1660).

(SCOTTISH NATIONAL GALLERY.)

Woman Bathing (1654).

NATIONAL GALLERY



Printed by Eudes et Chassepot Paris. (France)

Several pictures of this period were probably studies from members of the painter's household. Two of these were painted at an interval of some three or four years, perhaps in 1652 and 1656 respectively, from a little peasant girl, whom Hendrickje may have employed to help her in the household work. She is scarcely more than a child in the *Girl with a Broom*, in the Hermitage, in which she faces the spectator, dressed in the usual costume of a Dutch servant, a square-cut bodice with braces, over a white chemisette with full sleeves. Her facial type is a vulgar one, round and full, with a turned-up nose, thick lips, a quantity of fair hair, and a prominent forehead. She leans over a rough fence, and gazes straight before her, with widely-opened eyes. Beside her are a pail and basket, and in her coarse little red hands she grasps a broom, the emblem of her calling. This implement she clasps to her breast, as if to suggest its importance in her scheme of life. The master seems to have been moved to typify and extol the housewifely instincts of his countrywomen in this bold, vigorous, and rapidly-painted study. His little model reappears in a picture in the Stockholm Museum (No. 584 in the Catalogue). It is apparently dated 1651, but the figures, especially the last of the four, are almost illegible, and we believe it to have been painted some two or three years later. The costume and attitude are almost the same as in the

CHRIST WITH THE DISCIPLES AT EMMÄUS.
1654 (B. 87).

St. Petersburg example. But the child has grown, and, though the features are little altered, the face and the hands are longer and more refined. Leaning in a musing attitude on a window-sill, she indulges in some youthful day-dream. Rembrandt, no doubt to give her pleasure, seems to have adorned her simple dress with some trinkets from his own stores. She wears a pearl necklace; her red frock is bordered with gold embroidery, and her hair is drawn stiffly off her forehead and confined in a smart cap. The execution is more careful and finished in this study, but it has all the vigour and freshness of the earlier portrait. The strong shadows are relieved by warm reflections, very boldly and brilliantly applied. The face, though calm, is full of vitality. The skin is firm and supple, showing the blue veins here and there. Youth, health, and the glow of expanding life seem to breathe from the sturdy little body.

Very different is the motive in three female studies in the Hermitage (Nos. 804, 805, and 806). Old age, decrepitude, and decline here inspire the master's brush. All three pictures were painted in 1654, and represent the same person, in almost the same attitude, the difference lying in the costume and proportion. The one is a bust portrait, the second a three-quarters, the third nearly a whole length. No. 805, which we reproduce, seems to us the most expressive. The venerable model is posed in a large arm-chair, her bony, wrinkled hands crossed upon her lap. She wears a black hood, and a brown cape over a reddish dress with a full white fichu. In her wrinkled features we note the traces of former beauty, and her face is full of a touching sadness. The drooping attitude, the indefinable expression of the weary eyes, suggest the lassitude born of manifold sorrows. She seems to be dreaming of all those who have gone before her. She has nothing to hope for in this life, and the very poignancy of her regrets helps her to fix her thoughts on that which is to come. A portrait of the same old woman in Count Moltke's collection at Copenhagen is perhaps even finer in quality, and is in such first-rate condition that its beauties may be fully appreciated. The sitter is rather older, and looks feebler than in the earlier studies. Her wrinkled flesh has become loose

Girl with a Broom (about 1654).

(HERMITAGE.)

Printed by Eudes & Chassepot Paris (France)

and flaccid; her hands are wrapped in a sort of sling. But there is still a lingering fire in the eyes, and the face bears that impress of unswerving rectitude which gives majesty to the humblest old age. A fifth portrait of this old woman passed into the Épinal Museum, with the rest of the Salm collection. In this she is represented with a rosary in her hand, wearing a hood of cloth of gold, the ends of which fall upon her shoulders, and a chemisette, opening over a vest of cloth of gold. The somewhat coarse and violent execution, and the amber tone of the colour, confirm the date 1661 on this portrait, still a powerful and striking work, in spite of its deterioration. The number of these studies extant convince us that the model who so often sat for Rembrandt, and whose costume he modified according to his fancy, was a person belonging to his own immediate circle. We can offer no evidence as to her identity, but it is not improbable that she may have been Hendrickje's mother, or some old relative, whom the master, with his customary generosity, had received into his house.

In these candid studies, Rembrandt expresses with equal eloquence alike the bloom and vigour of life and its ultimate quiescence. His sincerity was absolute in all his commerce with nature; his first desire was to learn, and to add to his resources. But even when he seems to be copying with the most scrupulous minuteness, he informs his theme with his own commanding individuality. Face to face with the myriad aspects of nature, he recognised the limitations of his art in their reproduction, and sensible that he could not render all, he selected those which seemed to him the most impressive, those which agreed most fully with that "*certain idea*" spoken of by Raphael, which every true artist carries within him. His own intelligent conception of his art, his sympathy with his models, and the versatility of his intellect, give a supreme interest to those varied and deeply-expressive studies, the freedom and spontaneity of which allowed full scope to his originality. Graceful and exquisite as are many of his youthful feminine figures, he is perhaps most individual and moving in those portraits of old women, in which by the accidents of form and feature he so admirably suggests the moral life. It is as a painter of character that he shows himself supreme, bringing out the personality of his sitters in their

gestures, their attitudes, in the peculiarities of bearing and expression stamped on them by temperament and habit.

In addition to these independent studies, the Hermitage Museum, which is specially rich in Rembrandt's works of this period, owns a portrait of an old lady (No. 823 in the Catalogue), evidently painted on commission, to judge by the careful execution and formal costume. The model is seated in an arm-chair, and wears a reddish head-dress over a close white cap, which conceals all but the roots of her brown hair. A little square collar and a brown fur-trimmed mantle complete her costume. The iron-gray of her bodice, and the reds of her sleeves and cap, make up a harmony of exquisite distinction, which Nicholas Maes, inspired by his master's example, has introduced in several of his pictures. A pair of portraits in the Stockholm Museum (Nos. 581 and 582), signed, and dated 1655, represent an aged couple, grown gray together. The picture of the wife, who wears a turban and a loose brown gown, trimmed with fur, is a broad and sober piece of work, subdued in colour, but distinguished by a gentle refinement of handling in admirable harmony with the serene personality of the sitter. The portrait of the husband, a gray-bearded man in a brown dress and black hat, is no less remarkable in treatment; though unfortunately in very poor condition. Some of the studies of old men, almost as numerous as those of old women, compare not unfavourably

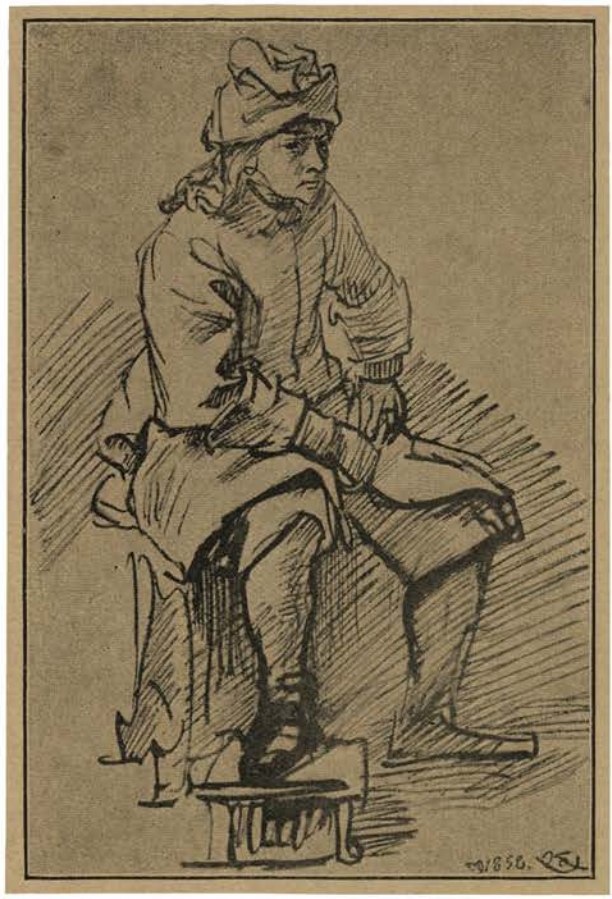
CHRIST IN THE GARDEN OF OLIVES.
About 1657 (B. 75).

Portrait of an Old Woman (1654).

(HERMITAGE)

Printed by Eudes & Chassepot, Paris (France)

with these. We may instance two little panels in the Cassel Museum, painted about 1655, one (No. 225) the bust portrait of a gray-haired man in profile, dressed in a brown robe; the other, a study of a somewhat younger man, painted full face, a fur cap on his head;[1] Sir Francis Cook's study of an old man seated, and leaning on a stick; and a later sketch in Mr. Humphry Ward's possession, painted about 1658, a man in a red cap and robe of golden brown, whose vigorous head, with its somewhat distrustful expression, is modelled with great effect in a rich impasto. Several other studies, more important both in dimensions and quality, remain to be noticed, among them an old man, with strongly-marked features, in the Hermitage Museum. Painted about 1654–1656, it may probably have been used by the master for the *Jacob blessing the Children of Joseph*, of the latter year. The Hermitage possesses yet another study of an old man in a black dress and cap, and brown robe, dated 1654, remarkable for the transparent quality of its subdued tones. The head of an old man in the Schwerin Museum (No. 855 in the Catalogue) is now restored to Rembrandt on Dr. Bode's authority. It was long ascribed to Ribera. The finest of the old series, the *Old Man* in the Dresden Gallery



STUDY OF A YOUTH (TITUS?).
Pen drawing (Stockholm Print Room).

[1] Of this there is a replica, or perhaps a copy, in the Louvre, rather inferior in quality.

(No. 1567 in the Catalogue), is signed and dated 1654. The majestic bearing and dignified features of the model must have delighted the master; the study is singularly powerful and vital. The head, with its broad-brimmed cap, enframed in its long white hair and beard, is modelled in a full, fat impasto, handled with consummate knowledge and decision. The sitter was very probably a chance model, picked up in the streets of Amsterdam; but in his rich crimson dress and heavy mantle he is a most commanding figure, his proud bearing, confident gaze, powerful frame, and deeply-furrowed skin, suggesting a parallel with some rugged oak, towering above its forest brethren. The *Man in Armour* in the Cassel Museum (No. 223 in the Catalogue), though lacking the breadth and grandeur of the Dresden example, has all the vigour characteristic of this period. The forged inscription of Rembrandt's name, and the date 1655, was probably added to supplement an illegible signature, traces of which are still decipherable. The work is undoubtedly by the master, and the execution confirms its ascription to this period. Under Mr. Hauser's skilful restoration, it has regained its original brilliance, and the manly head, with its noble and regular features, and abundant brown hair, is a haunting and impressive creation.

The advantages of such studies are amply demonstrated in the pictures of this period. In the *Tribute Money* of 1655, a little panel with a number of figures, formerly in the Wynn Ellis collection, and now belonging to Mr. Beaumont, we note an increasing richness and animation in the colour. This is still more evident in two works of greater importance painted in 1655,[1] both representing the episode of *Joseph accused by the Wife of Potiphar*, with slight variations in detail. That in the Berlin Museum is not only more dramatic in composition than its companion in the Hermitage, but more brilliant in colour, and in better condition. The Potiphar of the Berlin picture seems to accept his wife's statements with a certain reserve. He gazes earnestly at Joseph, as if seeking confirmation or disproval of the charge in the face of the accused. The figure of Joseph is full of

[1] Dr. Bode believes that the Hermitage example was painted in 1654, and dated that year, but that Rembrandt modified it considerably the following year, and altered the date to 1655. Mr. Somoff, the Director of the Hermitage Museum, agrees with me, however, that 1655 was the original date.

expression; beside himself, he casts his eyes upwards, as if attesting his innocence before Heaven, while in the Hermitage example he listens, with downcast eyes and impassible face, to the denunciations of his supposed treachery. Expressive as are the faces and attitudes, the supreme beauty of the work lies in the wonderful richness and harmony of the colour. Rembrandt himself had never equalled its magnificence. Even in the *Susanna*, also at Berlin, the variety and splendour of his palette are scarcely so fully exhibited. To avoid the gaudiness and incoherence of multiplied tints, he has with exquisite art confined the general tonality to the play of two complementary colours, opposing the various reds of the picture to skilfully distributed greens. The simplicity of the general effect is thus preserved, and the eye of the spectator feasts undisturbed on the sumptuous harmony, in which Rembrandt seems to have epitomised all the splendours of Eastern life.

Now, as always, the master loved to vary one form of work by recourse to another. Idleness was impossible to him, and a change of occupation the only relaxation his ceaseless activity demanded. In addition to the many pictures already described, he executed a considerable number of etchings in 1654 and 1655. These, in general, are marked by the same breadth and simplicity that distinguish the paintings. Like many of the preceding period, some among them are sketched rapidly on the plate, without a preliminary study. But the careless spontaneity of such a method tended to preserve the fire and freedom of the inspiration. Nearly all these plates deal with subjects from the New Testament. Rembrandt seems to have applied himself at this stage in his career to a closer study of the life of Jesus, realising more fully than he had hitherto done the character of the Saviour, as he followed the Divine Figure throughout the cycle of His earthly pilgrimage, and embodied its more striking episodes. With deep emotion he traces His course from birth, through death, to resurrection. Thus, following on the *Nativity* (B. 45), already described, which should probably be referred to this period, we have the *Circumcision* of 1654 (B. 47), the singular plate in which the ceremony is represented as taking place in a stable;[1] the *Presentation* (B. 50), a most

[1] This plate is signed and dated twice over, *Rembrandt f.* 1654.

picturesque rendering of the theme, executed with great spirit and firmness, probably in 1654, the year of the *Flight into Egypt; the Holy Family crossing a Rill* (B. 55), and of the *Holy Family* (B. 63), in which the Virgin is sleeping, her head resting on that of the Child in her lap. These were succeeded by the *Jesus disputing with the Doctors in the Temple* (B. 64), a subject of which there are numerous versions among Rembrandt's drawings and etchings; the *Jesus found by his Parents in their Journey to Jerusalem* (B. 60), to adopt Wilson's reading of the subject, which Bartsch erroneously describes as *The Return from Egypt*, a title obviously at variance with the apparent age of the Holy Child; the *Christ in the Garden of Olives* (B. 75), with the fainting Saviour supported by an angel, the sleeping apostles behind Him, and, barely visible in the dim moonlight, Judas advancing with the guards to seize his Master—an admirable composition, of which Rembrandt made several studies, though we do not find that he ever used them for a picture; and, finally, the *Disciples at Emmäus* (B. 87), already mentioned, and the *Descent from the Cross* (B. 83), a torch-light scene remarkable for the frankness of its treatment and effects.

THE YOUNG SERVANT.
About 1654 (Stockholm Museum).

In 1655 Rembrandt, who had kept up his friendship with Menasseh ben Israel, etched four little illustrations for a work in Spanish by the Rabbi, entitled: *La Piedra gloriosa o de la estatua de Nabuchadnesar.*[1] By a variety of subtle arguments and shadowy

[1] This book was published at Amsterdam, and dated 5415 (1655 of our era).

Man Reading.

Pen and Sepia.

(LOUVRE.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

analogies Menasseh seeks to demonstrate in this work that Nebuchadnezzar's dream was a prophecy of the Messiah's advent, further confirmed by the vision of Daniel—that the stone which shattered the statue of the Assyrian monarch, the stone which served Jacob for a pillow, and the stone with which David slew Goliath were all types of the same event. Such subjects were ill-suited to the genius of Rembrandt, who, conscious perhaps of his inaptitude for their treatment, had little taste for allegories. He did his best, however, to satisfy his friend. The first states of the plate were in his dark manner, but these he worked over and lightened considerably for the later impressions, endeavouring to follow Menasseh's text as closely as possible, and bring out its full significance. In spite of his efforts, however, the result was sufficiently fantastic and incomprehensible. The plates were apparently not to the publisher's taste, for shortly after Menasseh's death he caused fresh ones to be executed, considerably modifying the composition of Rembrandt's illustrations, which were not much improved in the process. They appeared only in the earlier copies of the book.

We are unable to concur with Mr. Middleton-Wake in his classification of the sketch of *St. Peter* (B. 95), which he includes among the etchings of 1655. Judging by the execution, we agree with Mr. von Seidlitz that it belongs to a much earlier period, probably about 1630. Its analogies with such youthful works as the *Flight into Egypt* (B. 54), the *Old Man Studying* (B. 149), the *Tobit Blind* (B. 153), and the *Beggar standing*, (B. 162) are very striking. The slight but attractive little plate, *The Sport of Kolef or Golf* (B. 125), is, however, a work of 1654. One of the players is in the act of striking the ball; two others are talking together, while a fourth personage, apparently lost in thought, reclines on a bench in the foreground. The *Abraham's Sacrifice* (B. 35) of the following year is equally firm in execution, while the large *Ecce Homo* (B. 76) of the same date, though not less summary in treatment, is even more masterly. The figures, with the exception perhaps of some which are introduced merely as a relief to the shadows of the architectural background, are etched with a firm, nervous stroke, and are full of vitality and

expression. The subdued energy of the treatment brings out, in a very pathetic fashion, the diversity of sentiments animating the crowd that clamours round the innocent victim. In the sixth state of this plate, however, the master, apparently dissatisfied with his composition, modified it very considerably. Anxious, no doubt, to concentrate attention more fully on the principal actor, he erased the figures of the foreground, substituting for them an arcade in the projecting base of the portico on which Jesus stands between Pilate and his attendants, exposed to the insults of the mob below.

After this long enumeration of works executed in 1654 and 1655, it is hardly necessary to point out that these years were among the busiest and most fruitful of the master's career. Rembrandt was happy; his house was once more a home. An amenable companion was always by his side. She directed his household, brought up his children, and upon occasion sat for his pictures. His sedentary habits took firmer hold upon him than ever, and he rarely went beyond the home he had arranged to suit his own tastes, and in which, as we have said more than once, he had accumulated an infinite variety of objects he considered helpful in his art. The moment seems a favourable one for us to enter the dwelling; and the inventory of July 25 and 26, 1656, which furnishes us with an exact list of its contents, throws considerable light on the master's life and habits. The house in the Breestraat where Rembrandt had lived since May, 1639, was pleasantly situated, within an easy distance both of the harbour and the outlying country, in the heart of the Jewish quarter. It is still in existence, and, save for a slight alteration necessitated by its division into two separate houses, the exterior remains unchanged. It is a building of the Dutch-Italian Renaissance, faced with alternate courses of brick and freestone, and ornamented with small sculptured heads. The façade is crowned with a pediment, on the tympanum of which is carved a wreath and scrolls. The ground floor is raised above the street by the height of some five or six steps. Above it are a first and second story surmounted by attics. It was therefore a fairly spacious dwelling. At the entrance was a vestibule leading into an ante-room, on either side of which was a

large room. Rembrandt probably slept in one of these, and worked there in the evenings, preparing his plates, or printing his etchings, for among the articles of furniture noted in the inventory are tables, presses of oak and foreign woods, a copper boiler, and screens. Another ante-room on the first floor gave access to the saloon, or Museum (Kunstcaemer), in which the most valuable articles of the collections were exhibited. The studios were probably on the second floor, where the light was best, and were doubtless so arranged as to get the full benefit of the sun, and facilitate those experiments in illumination affected by the master. One of these studios, that used by Rembrandt himself, communicated with a small lumber-room, where he kept his furs; the other, of the same dimensions, was reserved for his pupils, and divided into five compartments. In all probability, one of these compartments, the largest of the five, was also occupied by Rembrandt himself; it contained, in addition to the trophies of foreign curiosities, weapons, and musical instruments with which all five were decorated, plaster casts of statues, models of arms and legs, and a quantity of antique fabrics, of various colours and textures. Lastly, we come to a small office, and a little kitchen, furnished with a scanty supply of pots and crockery. Plain living was the rule in Rembrandt's household, and all his biographers are agreed as to the frugality of his habits. Of table and body linen, the pride of the Dutch housewife, he seems to have possessed but a very meagre store. The entries under this head in the inventory are of the briefest. Nor was the library more abundantly furnished. It consisted of some twenty volumes, among them some specimens of calligraphy, probably the gift of Coppenol, Jan Six's *Medea*, two German books, one of military subjects, the other Josephus' *History of the Jews*, with illustrations by Tobias Stimmer,[1] and the master's "old Bible," the book of which he never wearied.

The various rooms were sparingly furnished with old Spanish chairs, upholstered in leather or velvet, mirrors in ebony frames,

[1] Not by Tobias Timmerman, as Scheltema and Vosmaer have stated. The book was a folio volume, published at Frankfort in 1580 by S. Feyerabendt: *Opera Josephi viri: de Antiquitatibus Judaïcis libri XX.*

tables with rich covers; we read also of an old chest, the little carved bed of gilded wood already mentioned, a marble cooler, etc. Ranged along the walls were cabinets containing Indian boxes, of sandalwood or bamboo, vases, cups, china, fanciful costumes, stuffed animals,[1] minerals, shells, fish, sea-weed, and jewels of rare workmanship or fine quality. A quantity of armour, of various periods and countries, further attested the catholic tastes of the master, in whose household artistic treasures took the place of domestic luxuries. In such matters Rembrandt seems to have been entirely free from prepossessions. He gleaned indifferently among various styles and epochs, requiring only artistic merit of some sort in his acquisitions. Among his sculptures we find both original works, and casts from the antique, a Laocöon, a Socrates, a Homer, an Aristotle, some sixteen busts of Roman emperors, naked children, models of heads, and of a negro from life, a mask of Prince Maurice taken after his death, an iron shield with figures by "Quentin the Smith," *Diana's Bath*, and a basin with nude figures in plaster by the sculptor Adam van Vianen. His taste in pictures was no less eclectic. Among his examples of the Italian masters, then so greatly admired in Amsterdam, were two of which he was joint purchaser with the dealer Pieter de la Tombe: *The Parable of the Rich Man* by Palma Vecchio, and *The Samaritan Woman* by "*Zjorzjone*" (Giorgione); a study of a head by Raphael, a *Camp* by Bassano, and two copies after Carraccio. The Flemish and Dutch schools were more fully represented. First on the list are four examples of the "primitives": a head by Jan van Eyck, and three pictures by the rare master, Aertgen van Leyden: *The Resurrection of a dead Man*, *St. Peter's Boat*, and *Joseph*. Next come seven pictures by Brauwer, and a portfolio of his drawings; a picture by Frans Hals, and two small studies of heads by Lucas van Valckenburg. We have already mentioned the works of contemporary landscape-painters, for which Rembrandt had a special predilection; to these we must add examples of his master Lastman, of Jan Pynas, another

[1] In a drawer containing a number of fans was found the skin of a bird of Paradise, from which Rembrandt made two pen-drawings, now in M. Bonnat's collection.

Man in Armour (1655).

(GLASGOW CORPORATION GALLERY.)

Printed by Chardon-Willmann Paris (France)

Italianiser, and of his friend Lievens, who was represented by a *Resurrection of Lazarus*, a *Hermit*, an *Abraham's Sacrifice*, a *Nativity*, all favourite subjects with Rembrandt, and, further, by two landscapes, one a *Moonlight Scene*.

But the engravings were the most important items of Rembrandt's rich and varied collection. These had a twofold interest for him. They gave him much valuable information as to the methods of his predecessors in an art of which he was himself a past master, and by their means he became familiar with the great painters of foreign schools, Michelangelo, Raphael—he frequently gave large prices for fine impressions of Marc Antonio's plates—Titian, of whose works he owned a complete set of prints, Holbein, Cranach, Ribera, the Bolognese masters, Rubens, Van Dyck, Jordaens, P. Brueghel, &c. The masters he most highly valued were the original artists, who engraved their own subjects, Mantegna, Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer, Callot, and his compatriots Lucas van Leyden, Heemskerk, A. Bloemaert, and Goltzius. He was never weary of studying their works, making drawings of those he most admired, such as Mantegna's well-known *Calumny of Apelles*, which he reproduced in a delicate pen-drawing; a bust of Andrea Doria, "Duke of Genoa," which he framed in a medallion; and the prints after Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* and *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*. But of all the creations of the Italian Renaissance, that which seems to have most deeply impressed him was Leonardo's masterpiece, the *Last Supper*. Of this he made two copies; one is a pen-drawing dated 1635, in the Berlin Print Room; the other, a study in red chalk, belonging to Prince George of Saxony. The latter is

THE SPORT OF GOLF.
1654 (B. 125).

especially interesting. Rembrandt first sketched in the subject carefully and lightly, working it over afterwards with bold, firm strokes of the pencil. His intention is very obvious. By means of these vigorously loaded touches, he admirably suggests the ingenious methods by which Leonardo brought the various figures of his composition into unity, and subordinated them to the principal personage, the Christ in the centre, revealing the geometrical basis of the arrangement, and the scientific spirit underlying the conceptions of his profoundly philosophical intellect. Such methods as these Rembrandt eagerly studied and assimilated.

In his quest for instruction Rembrandt also sought to familiarise himself with contemporary knowledge of the antique. He collected medals, sculptures and casts, and filled his portfolios with drawings and engravings from statues and classic monuments. He was no less eager for information touching foreign lands, and just as he studied history, not in books, but in the works of his predecessors, so we find him journeying into far countries with his *confrères.* We know that he affected the works of the *Italianisers;* he also collected views of Italy by various masters, and views of the Tyrol by Roelandt Savery. He studied Oriental buildings and costumes in the *Scenes from Turkish Life* of Pieter Coucke of Alost, and the *Turkish Buildings* of Melchior Lorch and Hendrick van Aelst. Or his fancy, dreaming of new horizons and undiscovered territories, took a wider flight, to countries as yet unvisited by the European artist. His imagination was fired by tales of the Indies, and the mysterious coasts visited by hardy Dutch mariners. Among the innumerable curiosities from those distant shores in his possession were Persian and Hindoo miniatures. Fascinated by the singularity, the mingled barbarity and refinement of Oriental art, he made careful studies from many of his specimens. The Louvre, the British Museum, and Messrs. Bonnat, Heseltine, and Salting possess copies by him from the miniatures: a rajah in a helmet, seated on a throne, surrounded by his court; a young prince on horseback, falcon on wrist, &c. These revelations of an exotic art were absolutely novel in Rembrandt's

days, and appealed strongly to his imagination. We may imagine how great his delight would have been could he have seen any of those Japanese drawings of which he sometimes shows, as it were, a curious prescience in his own works. His landscape sketches, indeed, and many of his etchings, are marked by the same exquisite sense of form, the same ingenious distribution of masses, the same intelligent and unforeseen interpretation of nature, which have fascinated the artists of our own day. Here again Rembrandt figures as a pioneer.

We must not omit such works of his own or of his pupils as were found among his effects. These were chiefly studies from nature, landscapes, or *Vanitas* which he re-touched, animals, heads, life-studies of men and women, two studies of negroes, a *Soldier in a Cuirass* (perhaps the one in the Cassel Gallery), together with a few pictures and sketches, such as the *Pacification of Holland*, an *Ecce Homo* in *grisaille* (in Lady Eastlake's possession), another *grisaille* now lost, *The Dedication of Solomon's Temple*, a *Virgin*, a *Head of Christ*, a *Lion-fight*, a *Courtesan adorning herself*. Of several others a *Flagellation*, a *Resurrection*, a *Descent from the Cross*, there were two and even three versions, perhaps replicas, perhaps copies, or compositions by pupils, touched up by the master. Such was a *Good Samaritan* among the number. A few, of various sizes, were unnamed. Finally, there was the *Diana* or *Danâe*, hidden in the lumber-room, identical, no doubt, with the nude Saskia of the Hermitage collection.

Among the engravings—apart from all those spoken of already—the inventory notes several portfolios, with complete sets of Rembrandt's own etchings; a number of plates by his friend Lievens and his pupil Ferdinand Bol; a cupboard containing reproductions of the master's pictures by J. van Vliet. His own drawings fill no less than twenty albums and portfolios. They were all carefully classified by him, and arranged in categorical order—life-studies, studies of animals, landscapes, studies from antiques, rough sketches of compositions and more elaborate sketches. It is curious to find one so careless of his own interests and neglectful of

ordinary business details, so laboriously methodical and exact in all matters that concerned his art.

Such was Rembrandt's home:—a museum of rare and precious things collected by the master in no spirit of ostentation, but for the delight and profit of his artistic faculties. We can hardly wonder that he felt little inclination to wander from the place where his tastes and his affections alike centred. But the day was not far distant when he was to be driven forth from this haven, and despoiled of nearly all that made up the happiness of his life.

TOBIT AND HIS WIFE.

THE CANAL.
About 1652 (B. 221).

CHAPTER IV

REMBRANDT'S EXTRAVAGANCE AND WANT OF FORETHOUGHT—THE 'MATHEMATICIAN' IN THE CASSEL GALLERY—'DR. DEYMAN'S LESSON IN ANATOMY'—'JACOB BLESSING THE CHILDREN OF JOSEPH'—THE GRISAILLE OF 'THE PREACHING OF ST. JOHN'—ETCHED PORTRAITS: 'J. LUTMA' AND 'OLD HAARING'—REMBRANDT A BANKRUPT—THE SALE OF HIS HOUSE AND COLLECTIONS.

BUST OF A WOMAN.
About 1631 (B. 358).

A NATURAL feeling of sympathy and admiration for great artists often leads us to lay the blame of what we take to be their undeserved misfortunes on their contemporaries. Rembrandt, so long the victim of calumnies detailed by inventive biographers, now, perhaps, usurps more than his legitimate share of the retrospective pity due to genius in distress. Many other artists, including some of the greatest among his own compatriots, died neglected, or tended by charity in a hospital. The names of Frans Hals, of Jacob van Ruysdael, of Van Goyen, of Aert van der Neer, of Hobbema, of Jan Steen, of Pieter de Hooch, of Vermeer of Delft, all figure in this martyrology of the Dutch school, some as the innocent victims of destiny, others as the architects of their own misfortunes.

Rembrandt, we are bound to admit, belongs to the latter category.

The accumulated embarrassments which finally resulted in ruin were due to himself alone. He had inherited a small patrimony, which, with Saskia's dowry and the various legacies that fell to him, should have secured him a comfortable income. Almost at the outset of his career he became the fashionable portrait-painter of the day, and earned considerable sums of money. The prices he commanded, though not extravagant, were among the highest obtained by any artist of his time. For portraits, and pictures of medium size, his usual charge was five hundred florins; for the *Night-Watch* he received sixteen hundred florins; for the pictures painted for Prince Frederick Henry, six hundred florins each for the first five, and twelve hundred each for the two delivered in 1646. He had further the fees derived from his numerous pupils, and contemporary evidence shows that his etchings were in great request, and sold for fair prices. All these circumstances tended to make Rembrandt's position a very enviable one as compared with that of other artists of his day. With some small share of that method and foresight which Rubens displayed throughout his career, he might, without emulating the magnificence of his Flemish *confrère*, or leaving a large fortune behind him, have kept a roof over his head, and honourably maintained his position in the first rank of Dutch artists. But, in addition to the general embarrassments in which his affairs became involved between 1652 and 1655, there were many purely personal causes of Rembrandt's disaster.[1] He had never learnt to economise. Generous and impulsive, he was incapable of protecting his own interests. No sooner did he lay hands on a sum of money than he lavished it on friends or relations, or on some caprice of the moment. As early as 1631 he lent a thousand florins to Hendrick van Uylenborch, and some years later he, in conjunction with two or three brother-artists, made a further advance of a considerable sum, for which Hendrick gave a security in 1640.

[1] Some of the details bearing on Rembrandt's financial position are given in Vosmaer's book and Scheltema's pamphlet; but these have been largely supplemented by the discoveries of Messrs. Bredius and De Roever, published in *Oud-Holland*. On these researches we base the chronological statement which summarises the essential facts of their discoveries.

We know that he behaved with no less liberality to the members of his own family. He had treated them with great generosity in the matter of the division of his parents' property, and we have no doubt that he often befriended his brothers and sisters, notably Adriaen, whose management of the mill was not very profitable, and Lysbeth, who is inscribed on the Leyden register of ratepayers as "almost bankrupt, and in very reduced circumstances." The "kindness of heart, verging on extravagance," which Baldinucci ascribes to him, must have often moved him to help distressed friends or brother artists. Though extremely frugal in his living and personal habits, he paid the most extravagant prices for works of art and decorative objects. Nothing was too costly for Saskia's adornment, and on the occasion of an inquiry, held about 1658–59 at the instance of his son's trustee, the goldsmith Jan van Loo and his wife, who had long been on terms of friendship with the master, deposed on oath before a notary that the following were among his possessions during his wife's lifetime: two large pear-shaped pearls, two rows of fine pearls, the largest forming a necklace, the others bracelets; a large diamond mounted in a ring, and two diamonds set as earrings; a pair of enamelled bracelets, the cover of a missal, a variety of articles in wrought iron and copper; two large pieces of ornamental plate; a silver dish, coffee-pot, and spoons, &c. On the same occasion Philips de Koninck deposed to having bought from his master seven years previously a rich necklace of fine pearls.

Such details give some idea of the nature of Rembrandt's collections. Two art-dealers, Lodewyck van Ludik and Adriaen de Wees, who were also examined, valued the various objects collected between 1640 and 1650, exclusive of pictures, at 11,000 florins approximately. For the pictures Rembrandt no doubt paid sums far in excess of their value, a result of the habit, already referred to, of out-bidding competitors at auctions by extravagant advances, on the pretext of raising his art in the public estimation. His passion for such acquisitions seems to have been entirely beyond his control. If he had no funds for purchases, he borrowed. When he got possession of a sum of money, he spent it, not in satisfying the claims

of his creditors, but in fresh purchases ; or, contenting himself with trifling payments on account, he plunged deeper into debt, heedless of a future day of reckoning. Under conditions such as these, he fell an easy prey to unscrupulous money-lenders, and thus with his own hands he dug the pit, in which he was presently to be engulfed.

PEN SKETCH.
(Boymans Museum, Rotterdam.)

The purchase of his house had also proved a most disastrous transaction for the artist. When he bought it in 1639, he had very little of the purchase-money in hand. But a short time afterwards he managed to pay half of the 13,000 florins agreed upon, and engaged to discharge the rest of the debt at stated intervals. Not only, however, did he fail to fulfil the contract, but from 1649 onwards he paid no interest whatever on the debt, and even evaded the payment of the rates, which therefore devolved on the former owner, one Christoffel Thysz. Thysz, who had long treated Rembrandt with forbearance, became impatient at last, and on February 1, 1653, he formally demanded payment of the sum due to him, amounting, with principal, interest, and moneys advanced, to 8,470 florins. Rembrandt, who was not in a position to satisfy his claims, replied by a refusal to settle the

account until the title-deeds of the property had been handed over to him. This was evidently a mere subterfuge, designed to conceal the actual state of his exchequer. Thysz, patient as he was, considered that thirteen years was as long as he could reasonably be expected to wait for his money. He therefore suggested that Rembrandt should either discharge the debt or give up the house. This last alternative was not at all to the painter's taste, and he seems now to have made some effort to appease his creditor, for on March 28 following he gave a power of attorney, duly attested by his two pupils, Heyman Dullaert and Johan Hindrichsen, to one Frans de Coster, empowering him to collect all moneys due to him. The total, however, seems to have been insufficient, or perhaps Rembrandt applied it to some other purpose.

PILATE DECLARES THE INNOCENCE OF JESUS.
(Stockholm Print Room.)

However this may be, it appears that in September, 1653, anxious to discharge his debt to Thysz, he borrowed 8,400 florins from the councillor C. Witsen and the merchant Isaac van Hertsbeek. The lenders formally protected their claims, by making a declaration of the loan before the court of *Échevins*, Witsen certifying his share as 4,180 florins, on January 29, 1653, Van Hertsbeek his a 4,200 florins, on March 14 following. But Rembrandt, with his

usual nonchalance in such matters, retained a portion of the sum thus raised. He was probably short of money for other purposes, and an agreement was made with Thysz, by which the latter received part payment of his debt, with a mortgage on the house to the value of 1,170 in discharge of the balance. Witsen and Van Hertsbeek considered themselves to have established a primary claim on Rembrandt's estate by the steps they had taken for their security; but their position in the matter proved to be less clearly defined than they had supposed.

Saskia, as we know, had left all her property in her husband's hands, and, confident of his rectitude, had even specially enjoined that the usual formalities should be dispensed with, and that no statement or inventory of the common property, defining Titus' share, should be required from Rembrandt. But as in time Rembrandt's embarrassments became notoriously hopeless, and his ruin imminent, Saskia's relatives, who had refrained from interference at first in deference to her wishes, felt it necessary to take action on behalf of Titus, of whose interests they were the legal guardians. In 1647, accordingly, they demanded that some statement should at least be made as to the value of Rembrandt's property in 1642, the date of Saskia's death. This Rembrandt fixed approximately at 40,750 florins. A sum of 20,375 florins was therefore claimed for Titus, and Rembrandt, in satisfaction of this claim, appeared before the Chamber of Orphans on May 17, 1656, and made over his interest in the house in the Breestraat to his son.

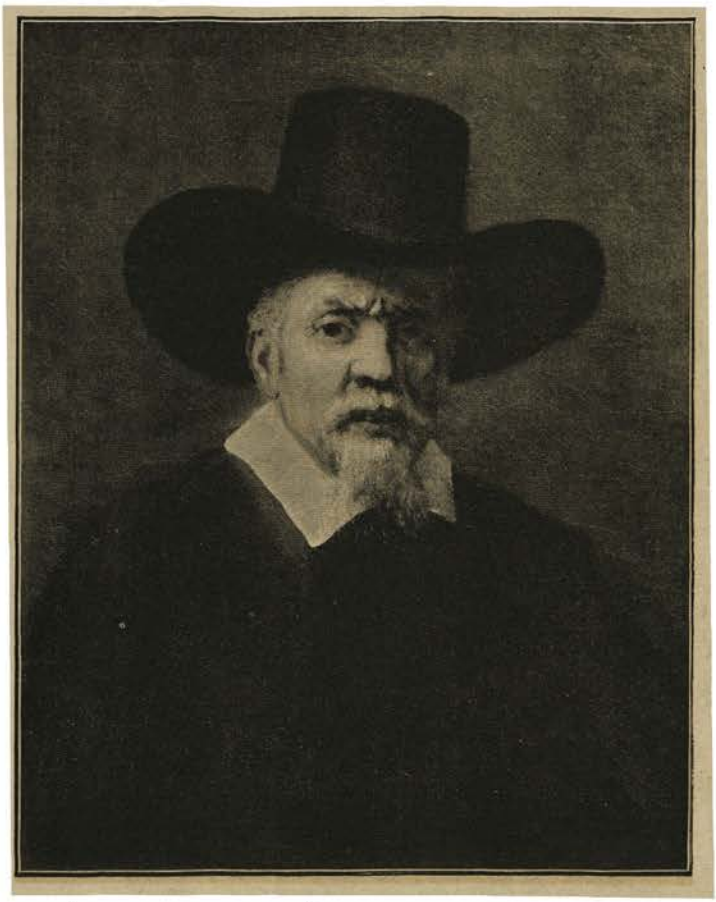
Rembrandt's creditors were naturally much incensed by this act of somewhat dubious morality, which neutralised all the precautions they had taken to secure their property. They denounced the transfer as a fraudulent infringement of their rights. We shall find later that the affair resulted in a series of complicated lawsuits, which were only concluded after innumerable pleadings and counter-pleadings before different tribunals.

Meanwhile, in 1654, a curious incident took place, which shows that Rembrandt's position was by this time well known, and that enterprising speculators were beginning to mark him out for

exploitation. One Dirck van Cattenburch, a shrewd man of business, himself a collector of works of art, proposed to Rembrandt that he should give up the house he was unable to pay for, and buy another. The plan he submitted to Rembrandt, though somewhat unusual, was of a nature to please the artist, for it involved no outlay on his part; on the contrary, the vendor of the property was to make him an advance. The nominal price was to be 4,000 florins. Rembrandt was to receive from Cattenburch 1,000 florins, on the understanding that he was subsequently to pay over 3,000 florins in kind,—that is to say, in pictures and etchings of equivalent value; he was further to etch a portrait of Cattenburch's brother Otto, secretary to the Count of Brederode at Vianen, and this portrait it was stipulated "should be as carefully finished as that of Jan Six." The project was acted upon to a certain extent. Rembrandt received the 1,000 florins, and duly delivered a certain number of pictures and etchings, among them six little pictures by Brauwer and Percellis. The works were valued by the dealers Lodewyk van Ludik and Abraham Fransz at a sum which, together with the estimated price of the proposed portrait, 400 florins, amounted to 3,861 florins. But the transaction does not appear to have been concluded, for no portrait of Otto van Cattenburch figures in Rembrandt's *œuvre*. It was settled, no doubt, in an amicable fashion, for there is no entry of any sum paid or received in this connection in the statement of Rembrandt's liabilities.

Having taken such precautions as he could to safeguard Titus' interests, Rembrandt made some efforts, if not to satisfy his creditors, at least to temporarily appease them by payment of occasional sums out of the profits arising from his pictures. The numerous and important works produced by him in the year 1656, one of the most prolific of his career, attest his industry. Now, as always, his art was his solace amidst the troubles and anxieties that beset him. Among the portraits of this period, we shall first call attention to one in the Hermitage of a young woman, seated, and leaning on a table covered with a red cloth. Some apples, and

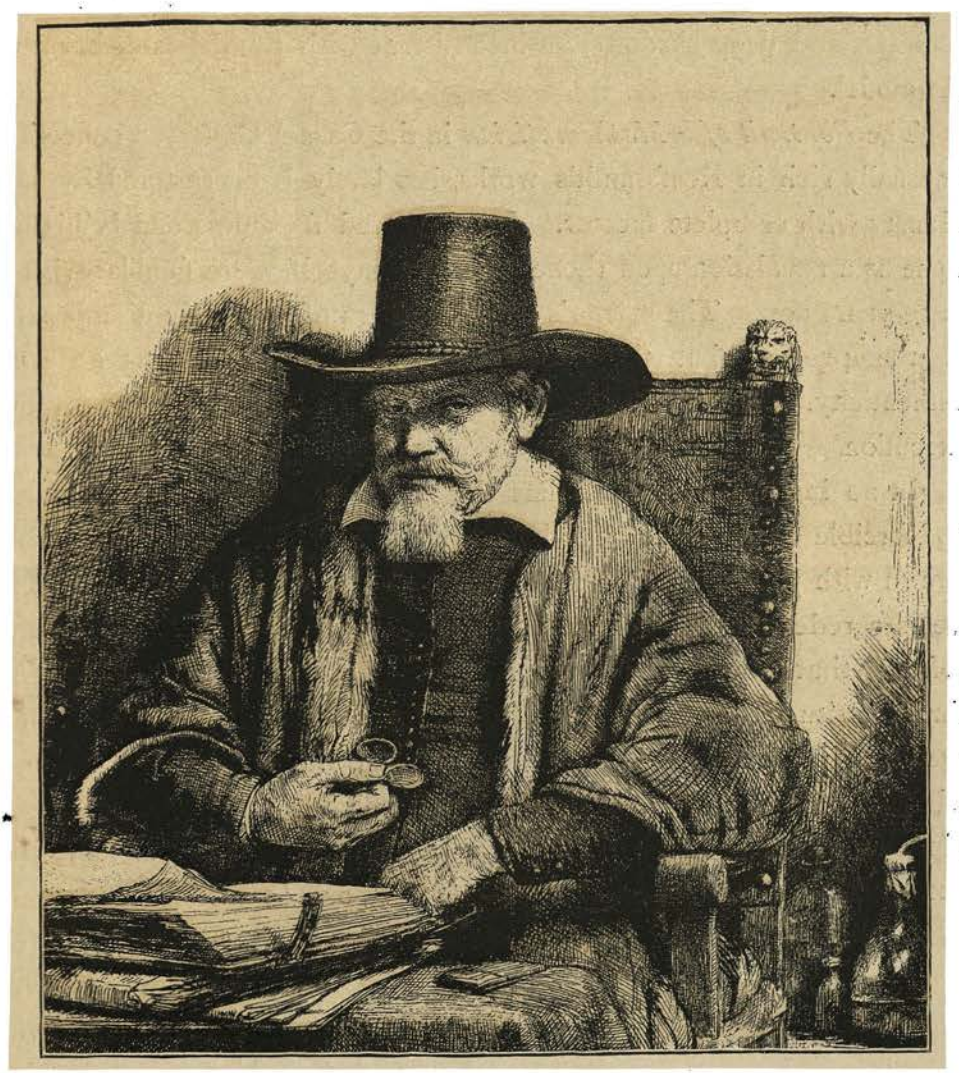
a prayer-book lie beside her. Her face is turned nearly full to the front. She holds a pink in her right hand, and wears an under-dress with red sleeves, and over it a black gown, and a large white collar, fastened with a gold clasp. She has regular features, and fresh, red lips. Her calm, confident expression and clear complexion denote health and vigour. The simplicity of the dress, and a certain coarseness in the large hands, make it not unlikely that the sitter was some friend of Hendrickje's. The master has bestowed great pains on the execution, and evidently took pleasure in the rendering of his worthy model, placing her figure in a strong, glowing light, which emphasises her characteristic air of well-directed energy.



DR. ARNOLD THOLINX.
1656 (M. Édouard André)

In the Copenhagen Museum there are two portraits of this period, forming a pair. The sitters are evidently husband and wife. Both are painted full face, and are very richly dressed. The female portrait is dated 1656. The husband, a young man with long fair hair, wears a large brown cap with strings of pearls for ornament, and a black doublet,

striped with gold, fastened with a clasp across his red vest. The painting is somewhat tame, and the expression lacks character, but these defects may be due in some measure to the poor condition of the



DR. ARNOLD THOLINX.
About 1655 (B. 284).

picture. The wife's portrait has more distinction. She rests one hand on the back of a red chair, and, like the young woman of the Hermitage, holds in the other a pink. Over her full yellow skirt she wears a black velvet jacket bordered with fur ; an elaborate head-dress, earrings of gold and silver, and a star-shaped brooch fastening her

collar to her chemisette, complete the costume. The small, timid eyes, the high forehead, the straight nose and ingenuous expression, make up a very characteristic individuality, and Rembrandt, who was ready to modify his manner at need, has been careful to avoid strong contrasts and deep shadows, as inconsistent with the delicate charm of his model.

The *Portrait of a Mathematician* in the Cassel Gallery, a collection unusually rich in Rembrandt's works, has lately been restored by Mr. Hauser with complete success. Its recovered freshness and brilliance come as a revelation upon those who, like myself, were familiar with it some years ago. The master's signature has unfortunately disappeared in the process, but the work now sufficiently proclaims its own authenticity. The date, 1656, is intact, and is fully borne out by the execution.

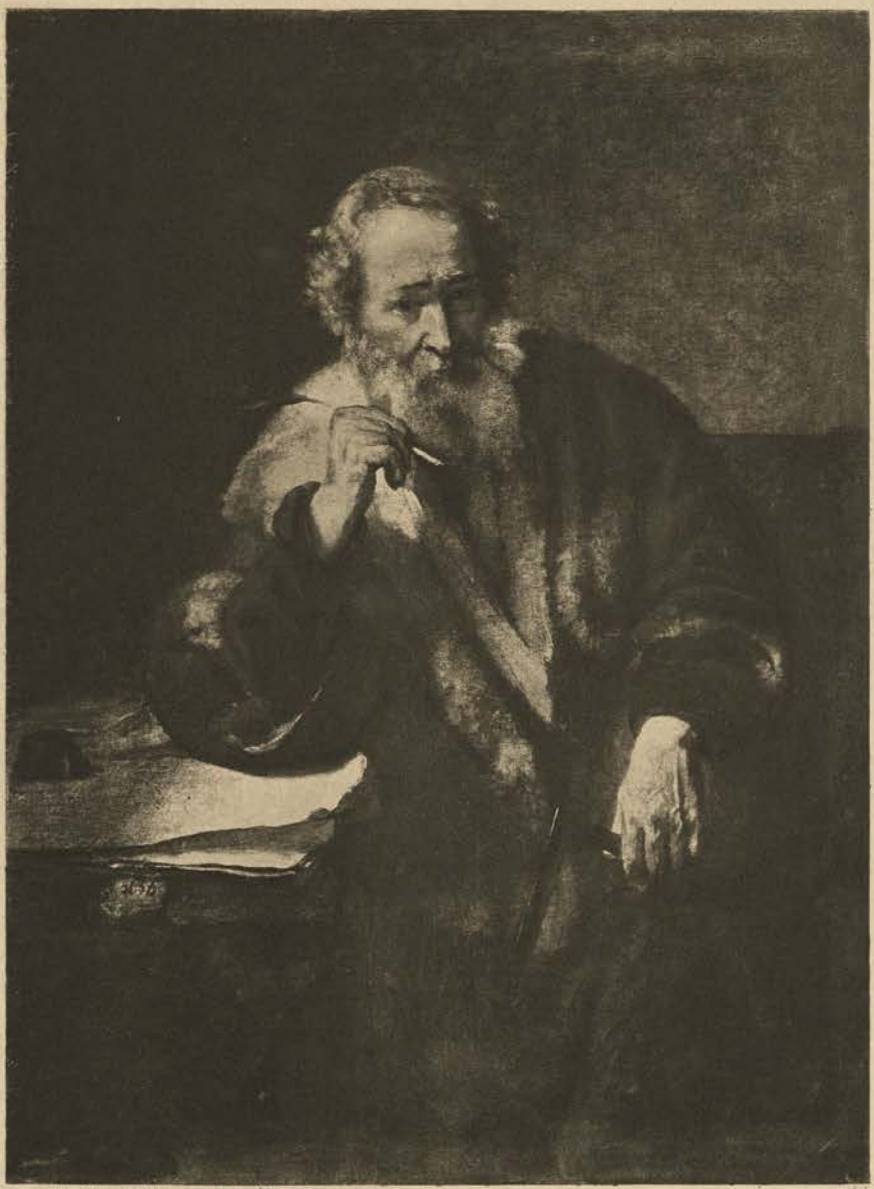
In no instance, we think, has the master achieved a more sincere and forcible expression of intellectual life. The old man sits at a table strewn with papers, his pen in one hand, a square in the other. He wears a reddish gown bordered with tawny fur. His beard, and the soft hair that crowns the refined, intelligent head, are quite white. The simple attitude, the calm reflective mien, the wrinkled nervous hand, even the half-consumed taper on the table, all suggest the student, whose life has been dedicated to research and lofty speculation. As if himself amazed at an unexpected revelation, he ceases writing, and sits absorbed in meditation. His deep-set eyes are in shadow, and seem to be following his thoughts through infinite space; the light falls full on his upturned forehead, the broad expanse of which seems to quiver under the passing breath of a vast idea. The restrained force of the handling and the extraordinary delicacy of the chiaroscuro combine most eloquently to express the sudden illumination of a human mind by a great truth, and the silent ecstasy of its endeavours to fix and formulate the revelation.[1]

We pass on to a very different conception in the robust type of masculine vigour so admirably depicted in the famous portrait of Dr.

[1] This fine and deeply interesting picture Dr. Bode is inclined to attribute to Nicolas Maes. If really by him, it is one of his greatest works.

The Mathematician (about 1556)

(CASSEL MUSEUM)

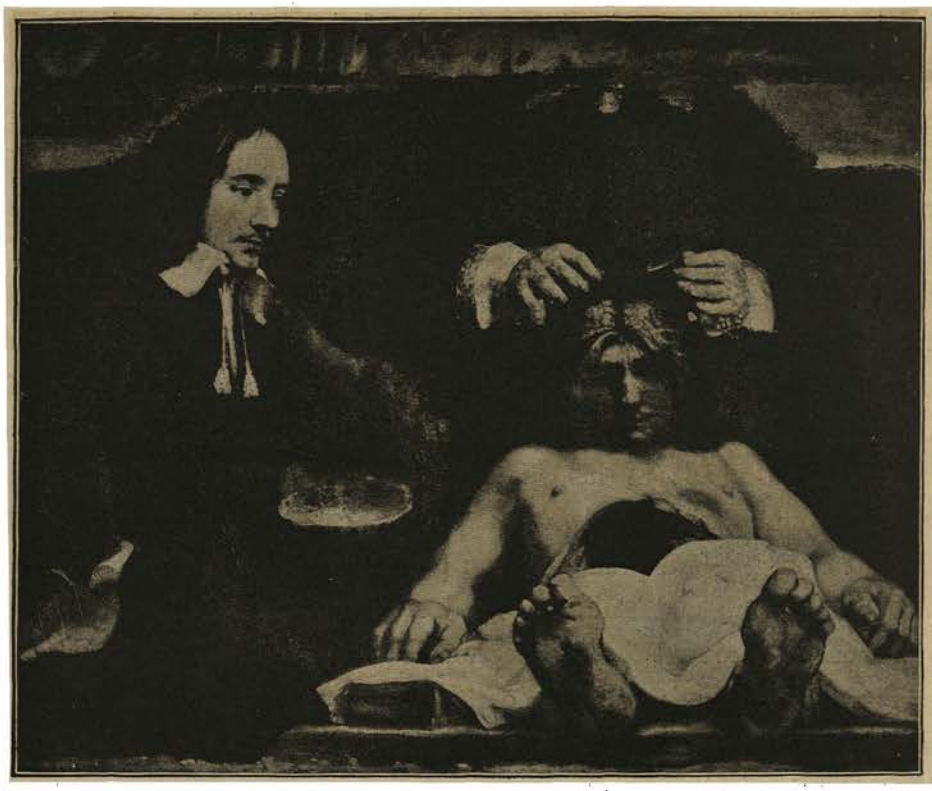


Printed by Chardon-Wittmann Paris (France)

Arnold Tholinx, formerly in the Van Brienen collection, and now one of M. Édouard André's many artistic treasures. The courtesy of its present owners enables us to reproduce this masterpiece, in which Rembrandt's powers are seen at their greatest. Tholinx is represented nearly full-face, wearing a broad-brimmed black hat, and a very simple black costume. The strong contours of his manly head, his fresh complexion and energetic features are defined by deep, but very transparent shadows. The brilliant carnations stand out in frank relief against the white collar and gray background; the mobile lips are parted as if to speak. In spite of the mature age indicated by the grizzled beard and moustache, the blood flows warmly under the supple skin; the eyes have the keen, penetrating gaze of the skilled physician. The broad execution is full of fire; the grand manner of the *Syndics* is foreshadowed in its vigour and decision. The master was already familiar with his model. The fine etched portrait, in which the doctor is seated at a table, an open book before him, a retort and phials at his side, was probably executed the year before. Rembrandt had always affected the society of doctors. He had not long before produced the portraits of Ephraim Bonus and Van der Linden; and Tulp, as we know, had materially contributed to his early successes by the commission for the *Anatomy Lesson.* Rembrandt was able to talk of this former patron with Tholinx, who, as inspector of the medical college, had revised Tulp's *Pharmaceutical Formulary.*

It was probably through Tholinx's introduction that Rembrandt became acquainted with his successor, Johannes Deyman, who, in his turn, commissioned Rembrandt to paint, for the Surgeons' Hall, a picture which was very much damaged and partially destroyed by a fire in 1723. Setting this disaster aside, however, the work must have greatly deteriorated in the present century, for Reynolds, who saw it in 1781, after describing the corpse as "so much foreshortened that the hands and feet almost touch each other," remarks that "there is something sublime in the character of the head, which reminds one of Michael Angelo. The whole is finely painted, the colouring much like Titian." For these doubtful analogies Reynolds might

more justly have substituted a comparison of the foreshortened corpse with Mantegna's *Dead Christ*,[1] from a print or drawing of which Rembrandt undoubtedly borrowed. Of the execution it is impossible to form an opinion in the present condition of the picture. Some idea of its primitive richness may be gathered from



DR. J. DEYMAN'S LESSON IN ANATOMY.
1656 (Ryksmuseum, Amsterdam).

the treatment of the linen drapery, and the faces of the operator and the corpse. The composition seems to have been painted on a canvas already used for some other subject. Traces of the original work are visible here and there, notably a Cupid's head, which, by a grim irony of chance, peers through the shadows beside the gaping abdomen, the open skull and decomposing flesh of the corpse, details which Rembrandt, more happily inspired, spared us in his earlier

[1] In the Brera at Milan.

Anatomy Lesson. Further details no less repulsive are indicated in a sketch for the picture by Rembrandt in the Six collection, and in a

THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS: A NIGHT-PIECE.
1654 (B. 83)

drawing of the composition in its entirety made by Dilhoff in 1760. Dilhoff's drawing, which belonged to Vosmaer, shows Deyman, his hat on his head, demonstrating to nine students. His assistant, Dr.

Gysbert Kalkoen, holds in his hand the brain-pan of the subject, no doubt a criminal, delivered to the operators after his execution. In spite of the ruined state of the picture, we cannot but commend the public spirit of certain amateurs, who, in conjunction with the city of Amsterdam, purchased the fragment now in the Ryksmuseum from an English owner, and restored it to their native land, the authenticity of the work having been previously attested by Messrs. Bode and Richter.[1]

Another important picture in the Cassel Gallery, the *Jacob blessing the Sons of Joseph*, which is no less indebted to Mr. Hauser than the *Mathematician*, claims mention as one of Rembrandt's most accomplished works. Conscious of his approaching end, the patriarch has summoned to his bedside the children of his best-loved son, and blesses them, laying his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the younger of the two. Joseph, displeased at the error, "holds up his father's hand, to remove it from Ephraim's head unto Manasseh's head." His wife looks on in silence. Such, in its simplicity, is the composition, of which Rembrandt had made several preliminary studies. The conception is one of the utmost nobility and pathos. The five figures, closely united as they are by a common interest, have each a marked individuality. The old man[2] seems to be struggling with the weakness of approaching death to carry out this last duty. Every detail tends to move our admiration afresh—the dim gaze of the patriarch, and the uncertain gesture of his failing hands, as he seeks the head of the child; the fine countenance of Joseph, in which a sense of justice contends with filial reverence; the secret satisfaction of the mother at the exaltation of her favourite child; the innocent simplicity in the fair, rosy face of Ephraim; the touch of resentment in the bold, alert expression of his dark-haired elder brother; the delicate gradations of vitality; above all, the harmonious unity of the action. The simplicity of costume, attitude, and arrangement harmonises with the noble conception of patriarchal life. Here Rembrandt relies solely on the expression

[1] The purchase, which was made in 1883 for 1,400 florins, was due to the initiative of Dr. J. Six.

[2] We have already remarked that the same model figures in a picture in the Hermitage (No. 818 in the Catalogue).

of human sentiment to give grandeur to the sacred theme, renouncing all the factitious dignity of picturesque accessories, fantastic architecture, and gorgeous costume, with which he not unfrequently marred the solemnity of his Scriptural scenes. A further novelty in the master's manner is the softness of the harmony in the Cassel picture, with its clear, suave intonations, its pale grays and subdued yellows, relieved here and there by some russet or purely red tint. The light, like the colour, is limpid, diffused, and chastened, and the effect is won without strong contrasts of any kind. The less important details are lost in a golden penumbra, and are very slightly indicated: the execution, at once broad and reticent, vigorous and discreet, is marvellously attuned to the solemn calm and silence of approaching death. Of the handling, indeed, the spectator takes little note, so entirely is it subordinated to the sentiment of the scene, spiritualised, as it were, by a poet who, in the midst of overwhelming anxieties, preserves a perfect serenity in his art, and reveals himself as he is, tender, affectionate, and pathetic. With a genius that commands the reverence of the greatest artists, Rembrandt combines a naïve familiarity that appeals to the most uninstructed. There is no straining after eloquence in his utterances; for deep in his own heart springs the fountain of that magnetic emotion which finds an echo in every breast.

The *Denial of St. Peter*, in the Hermitage, a picture of nearly the same dimensions, with life-size figures in three-quarters length, was painted at about the same period, probably in the same year (1656). The scene, in accordance with the Gospel narrative, is represented as taking place in the middle of the night. The darkness is relieved only by the flaming torch in the hand of a maid-servant, the light of which falls full on the figure of the apostle, wrapped in a loose woollen robe of a yellowish tint. He returns the questioning look of the maid with a steady gaze, emphasising his denial by an expressive gesture. A soldier sits on the edge of a wall, before the two central figures, his helmet and part of his armour in his hand; another soldier stands listening to the altercation; several barely distinguishable figures beyond are illuminated only by the fitful gleams from a fire burning in the background. The softly

diffused light of the *Jacob blessing the Children of Joseph* is here replaced by the concentrated glow of the torch on the face of St. Peter, and on the red bodice of the servant, a finely modelled figure in a tasteful costume. The broad execution brings out the picturesque elements of the conception, and the brown and golden tones that predominate are happily relieved by the vivid scarlet of the bodice, the one brilliant touch of colour in the picture. A similar harmony of yellowish tones prevails in another important work, which we take to have been painted at about the same period, the *Pilate washing his Hands*, recently bought by M. Sedelmeyer from Lord Mount-Temple. Rembrandt had already treated the episode in two drawings, differing but slightly one from another, which are now in the Vienna and Stockholm collections respectively. In these he strives to bring out the emotional aspects of the theme, while in the picture he confines himself almost wholly to the picturesque elements. The figure of Christ does not appear in the composition, and the effect of the armed men, whose heads are ranged one above another against the sky to the right, is somewhat grotesque. Pilate himself, pleased to be delivered from responsibility in the matter of "the just person" before him, washes his hands with an air of manifest satisfaction. A dark-haired child in a green dress with red sleeves stands before him, and pours water over his hands into the silver basin on his knees. A gray-bearded man beside Pilate, probably one of his advisers, seems to commend his prudence. The pictorial motive here is the harmony of the iron-gray architectural background with the brilliant yellows of this old man's robe, and the golden tones of Pilate's mantle, which, with its glittering embroidery of precious stones, produces an effect of extraordinary brilliance.

A work of very different character again attests the master's versatility. This is the fine *grisaille* of 1656, *The Preaching of John the Baptist*, once the property of Jan Six. It was bought by Cardinal Fesch for £1,600 (40,000 francs), and now belongs to Lord Dudley.[1] Rembrandt probably painted it as a

[1] *It was bought for the Berlin Museum at the sale of the Dudley Collection at Christie's in* 1892.—*F. W.*

Pilate Washing His Hands (about 1656).

(M. SEDELMEYER.)

Printed by Eudes & Chesseport Paris (France)

study for a proposed etching, which he designed for a pendant to

JAN LUTMA.
1656 (B. 276).

the *Hundred Guilder Piece.* For his *Ecce Homo* plate (B. 76), already mentioned, he had made a similar study in *grisaille* the

year before, which was one of the items in his inventory, and passed to England in 1734, at the sale of the W. Six collection.[1] The composition, carried out in what is practically a monochrome of golden brown, is really a carefully finished picture, and it is not surprising that Rembrandt, who disliked the drudgery of reproduction, and who at the time had no pupil to whom he could entrust the execution of so delicate a piece of work, abandoned the idea of the etching. Norblin's print gives a very poor idea of the original, accentuating as it does all those eccentricities of detail, which are lost in the magic of the general effect in the Dudley picture. The eager, ascetic figure of the prophet dominates the scene from a piece of rising ground. The light falls full upon him as, his hand on his breast, he harangues the crowd around him, a multitude of all ages, temperaments, and conditions, animated by the most widely varied emotions. The infinity of episode is further complicated by the diversity of costumes, the picturesque luxuriance of the landscape, the swarming masses of humanity, the rich luxuriance of animal life. From a cave over-grown with creepers, a flight of steps leads to a fantastic building on the left. At the entrance is an obelisk surmounted by a bust; a river dashes in a foaming torrent through the arches of a bridge, and beyond rise mountains studded with forests, villages, and castles. Scattered throughout the landscape are horses taking their rest, ruminating cows, fighting dogs, the camels of an approaching caravan. Warriors with halberds and lances, standing, sitting, or crouching on the ground, dignified figures in flowing robes, citizens, peasants, beggars, children wrangling or playing together, women rebuking or caressing them, listeners, attentive and indifferent, hesitating and convinced, argumentative, or rapt in silent ecstasy—a nation, a world, gathers round the orator. Yet, notwithstanding the multiplicity of detail, the teeming composition is simple in effect, so rhythmical is the flow of the lines, so skilful the distribution of the masses, so harmonious the grouping of the figures. The balance and unity of the con-

[1] We do not know where it is to be found at present, but in Smith's *Catalogue Raisonné* (No. 88) it figures as the property of Mr. Jeremiah Harman.

ception prevail; and the eye is riveted at once on the inspired figure of the preacher as, with burning words and impassioned gesture, he delivers to the simple souls around him the divine message of salvation.

Very inferior to this wonderful composition is the only Scriptural etching of 1656, *Abraham entertaining the Angels* (B. 29), a plate which, though not wanting in a certain picturesqueness of arrangement, is chiefly remarkable for the somewhat vulgar singularity of the types and costumes. Several of the etched portraits of this period, however, must be ranked among the finest of Rembrandt's works. The least happy, perhaps, is the portrait of his friend Abraham Fransz, the art-dealer (B. 273), whose affection for him was unswerving, and who gave him many substantial evidences of his attachment. Faithful to his habit of representing his sitters engaged in their characteristic pursuits, the master has seated Fransz at a window, a print, which he examines with great attention, in his hand. On the table before him are several other prints, and a small Chinese figure; a triptych, with the Crucifixion in the central panel, hangs on the wall, a picture on either side of it. The opacity of the shadows and a certain roughness in the execution give an effect of exaggeration to the chiaroscuro, though the composition itself is irreproachable.[1] In the *Portrait of Jan Lutma* (B. 276), dated 1656, it would be difficult, on the other hand, to find a fault. He, too, was probably one of the master's friends, or, at any rate, a man in whose society Rembrandt took pleasure. A native of Gröningen, Lutma, who was seventy-two years old at the date of his portrait, had a great reputation at Amsterdam as a sculptor and goldsmith. His dishes, vases, and goblets, of a very original style, somewhat heavy, but broad and rich in effect, were much in request among amateurs, and were often offered as

[1] *The plate of 'Abraham Fransz' passed through what was even an unusual number of 'states'—in itself, I think, some evidence that though it has its interest for us, the print never wholly satisfied the master. The modifications cannot all have been made to repair the ravages of use, and, if the first conception was not perfect, the afterthoughts were not all of them happy.—F. W.*

prizes in the competitions between the military guilds. They figured on many patrician sideboards, and in many of the corporation treasuries, and several specimens are still preserved in the *Chamber of Antiquities* at Amsterdam. Lutma was himself a lover of the arts; he collected engravings, and had commissioned Jacob Backer to paint the portraits of himself and his wife some years before.[1] His son, Jacob Lutma, born at Amsterdam in 1609, was an artist. He composed a series of ornamental designs for goldsmiths, sculptors, and stone-carvers, and was himself a chaser and engraver of considerable talent. The four plates he executed from busts of himself, Vondel, Hooft (*"alter Tacitus"*), and his father, by the latter, are remarkable for their boldness of drawing and originality of treatment. The year that Rembrandt etched his portrait of the elder Lutma, the son also produced a plate from the same model, in which he seems to have profited by some advice from the master, for the execution is freer and richer than in his other works, and the two prints, though very unequal in merit, have a certain analogy. Rembrandt must naturally have been attracted to a household where so many of his own tastes obtained. In Lutma's portrait he once more characterises his sitter by accessories denoting his habits and occupation. On the table beside him are a silver dish, a box of gravers, and a hammer. The famous goldsmith, who wears a black skull-cap and flowing gown, holds in his right hand a metal figure, probably his own work. In his keen eyes, intelligent features, and complacent smile, Rembrandt suggests, with no less truth than charm, the concentrated experience of a long life devoted to a much loved art, and the legitimate satisfaction of a man whose wealth had been won by honourable toil.

Rembrandt's relations with the Lutmas belong, strictly speaking, to his more prosperous days. But two other portraits of this period are closely associated with the difficulties and trials of his later career. The *Portrait of Young Haaring* (B. 275), though dark and somewhat loaded in treatment, is marked by the same hastiness of execution

[1] These two portraits are now in Count Inniszech's collection in Paris.

as the *Portrait of Abraham Fransz;* but that of *Old Haaring* (B. 274) is unquestionably one of the finest of Rembrandt's creations. Its depth and richness of tone, its truth of expression, its decision and flexibility of handling, are unsurpassed in the whole of the master's *œuvre.* The venerable face, with its crown of white hair, is full of a benign serenity. Haaring was an official of the Bankruptcy Court, and Rembrandt, whether in recognition of past services, or in hope of future favours, was evidently anxious to please the personage with whom his growing difficulties had brought him into contact.

SUPPOSED PORTRAIT OF FRANS BRUYNINGH.
1658 (Cassel Museum).

If we may accept the title by which it is commonly known, a picture in the Cassel Gallery, the so-called *Portrait of Frans Bruyningh* (No. 221) is another memorial of Rembrandt's ruin, for Bruyningh was secretary to the Bankruptcy Court. But, as Dr. Eisenmann has pointed out, there is really very little evidence for this comparatively modern appellation. He adduces the date on the portrait, which he takes to be 1652, in support of his contention. The last figure is not very legible. But after careful examination, we came to the conclusion already arrived at by Dr. Bode, that the figures are 1658, a date which is fully borne out by the execution. The work, in any case, is highly interesting. Both pose and costume are extremely simple. The light falls full on the very attractive head of the model;

the rest of the figure is bathed in a warm, transparent shadow. There is a haunting charm in this frank face, with its setting of rich brown hair, its smiling lips and eyes, its expression of cordial sweetness and sincerity. Never did Rembrandt show a more perfect comprehension of artistic sacrifice; never did he display greater mastery in the rendering of forms at once definite and mysterious, in the treatment of chiaroscuro, or in the suggestion of a fascinating personality.

Despite his courageous and determined industry, Rembrandt's ruin was inevitable. His desperate attempts to raise money, and to collect the sums due to him, were all unavailing. His resources were totally insufficient to meet his accumulated debts. The evil day was no longer to be staved off; and his creditors, incensed at the measures he had adopted to protect the interests of Titus, at last proceeded against him. Rembrandt was accordingly declared bankrupt, and on July 25 and 26, 1656, an inventory was made by order of the Bankruptcy Court of "all the pictures, furniture, and household goods of the debtor, Rembrandt van Ryn, inhabiting the Breestraat, near St. Anthony's Lock." The sale, however, was delayed awhile to give time for preliminary formalities necessitated by Rembrandt's circumstances, and it seems probable that he remained in his house. But under such conditions he must have had little time at his disposal. The business details he had always shunned were now forced upon him. He was in the grip of the law, closely beset by his creditors, and full of anxieties as to the future of his son. On May 17, 1656, the guardianship of Titus had been transferred to a certain Jan Verbout. Titus, however, continued to show the warmest affection for his father. The will he executed on October 20, 1657, and to which he made an addition necessitated by some irregularity of form on November 22 following, gives convincing proof of his attachment, not only to Rembrandt, but to Hendrickje and her daughter Cornelia. Recognising his father's

incapacity for the management of his own affairs, and the disabilities to which the claims of his creditors subjected him as a legatee, Titus bequeathes all his property to Hendrickje and to his half-sister Cornelia, on condition that Rembrandt shall enjoy the income arising therefrom during his life. If, however, his father should prefer to take his legitimate share of the heritage, it is directed that this be paid over to him from the estate, and that the residue be allowed to accumulate for Cornelia, and become her property either on her majority or her marriage. It is further provided that none of the income shall be used by Rembrandt to pay off debts contracted before the date of the will, and that, at his death, it shall revert to Hendrickje and her daughter Cornelia. At Cornelia's death her rights shall be transferred to her children, failing which the capital shall be equally divided between friends of the testator's father and mother, Hendrickje still retaining a life interest in the property.

Harassed by his creditors, and forced to occupy himself with matters for which he had no aptitude, Rembrandt was no longer able to seek distraction from his sorrows in his work, and this deprivation must have greatly enhanced the bitterness of his misfortunes. The year 1657 is one of the least productive of his career. We note but one etching, a *St. Francis Praying* (B. 107), treated in a somewhat summary manner. It represents the saint kneeling before a crucifix at the entrance of a picturesque grotto in deep shadow. The only Scriptural subject is the *Adoration of the Magi*, at Buckingham Palace, an upright composition, the small dimensions and numerous figures in which would seem to indicate a return to an earlier manner, but for the breadth of the handling and the richness of the harmony, in which reds and yellows predominate. The faces are full of life and expression, notably that of the old man kneeling beside the Virgin, who reverently lays his offering at the feet of the Holy Child. The remaining pictures of this year are all studies made by the master from himself or those about him. Dr. Bode mentions a fine portrait

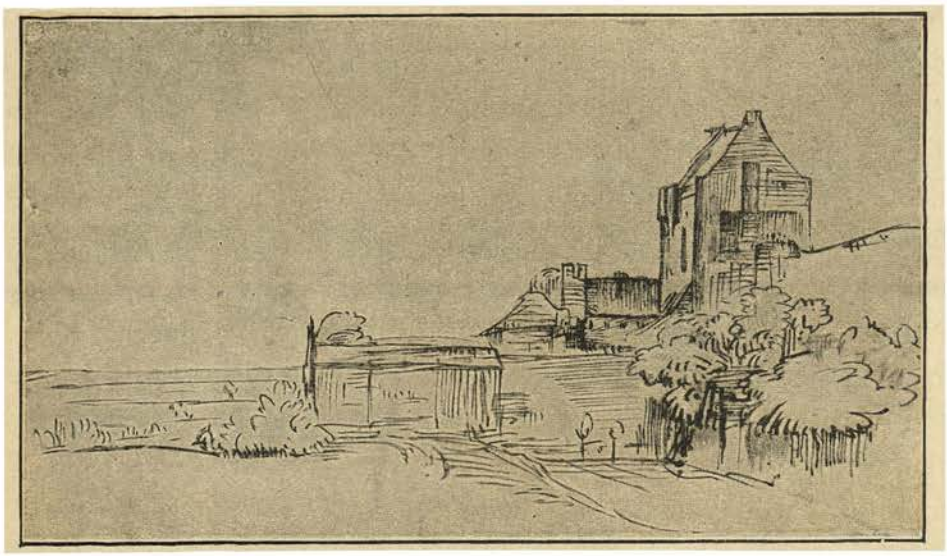
of a young man seated in an arm-chair, belonging to the Duke of Rutland, signed, and dated 1657. The *Rabbi* of the National Gallery is a vigorous study of an old man in a fur cloak, with a black cap, which throws a strong shadow on his forehead. A ray of strongly concentrated light strikes on the nose and the right cheek of a thin pale face, with brown beard and moustaches. The *Portrait of an Old Man in a meditative Attitude*, in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chiswick, is equally broad in treatment, and the expression of the head is even more remarkable. We may further mention three small studies of heads, one in Mr. Alfred Buckley's collection, the other two owned by M. Léon Bonnat and M. Rodolphe Kann. Both the latter are painted from the same model, a so-called *Rabbi* in a brown cap, with a spreading beard. The light falls on the wrinkled forehead and strongly marked brows, beneath which gleam a pair of singularly piercing eyes. The effect in these sketches is frank and life-like; and the rich impasto of the high lights is very dexterously opposed to the deep golden shadows of the surrounding surfaces.

AFBEELDING VAN DEN VOORGEVEL VAN HET BURGER-WEESHUIS IN DE KALVERSTRAAT, LATER DE KEIZERSKROON, OMSTREEKS 1560 GEBOUWD.
(Fac-simile eener teekening van 1725).

THE 'IMPERIAL CROWN' AT AMSTERDAM.
Facsimile of a drawing of 1725.

In the *Portrait of a Youth* in Lady Wallace's collection, we recognise Titus, older by some two or three years than in M. Rodolphe Kann's fine picture. He is painted almost full face,

simply dressed in a brown cloak, and a red cap, from beneath which his hair falls in curling locks about his neck. There is a slight down on his upper lip, but his face shows the same traces of ill-health, and is marked by the same sweetness of expression. In the isolation of his life at this period, Rembrandt naturally made frequent studies from himself. We recognise his features in several portraits, some dated, some ascribed to this period on internal evidences. One of these is in the Bridgwater Gallery, another in



LANDSCAPE STUDY.
Pen drawing (British Museum).

the Cassel Museum. The latter bears a date, which Dr. Eisenmann deciphers 1654. The execution, however, and the apparent age of the sitter, seem to us sufficient evidence that it was painted at a later period. A third of these studies belongs to Lord Ilchester, and is dated 1658. It appeared at the Winter Exhibition of 1889, where it attracted universal admiration, being, in fact, as Dr. Bredius observed,[1] the gem of the collection. It is a three-

[1] *Old Masters in the Royal Academy*, 1889; extract from the *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1889, No. 17.

quarters length of the master. He wears a fanciful costume, and holds a stick in his hand. The painting is wonderfully luminous in effect, and in perfect condition. The flesh tints are clear and brilliant, the hands broadly and firmly modelled. The melancholy eyes meet those of the spectator with an expression of deep dejection. Another portrait of the master, exhibited at the Royal Academy by Lord Ashburton in 1890, is closely allied to the last in treatment and expression, and was probably painted in the same year. The hair is grizzled, but the features, though somewhat heavier, are manly and vigorous, and the eyes have lost none of their keenness. The master wears a black cap, and a tunic of yellowish brown, opening over a red vest with sleeves, probably his working dress, for it reappears in the Cassel picture, and in a portrait in the Dresden Gallery, signed, and dated 1657, which, though it has deteriorated to a certain extent, and is somewhat black in the shadows, seems to us the most pathetic of the series. The days of fanciful costumes, military trappings, and lofty bearing are past. Under the stress of years and misfortune, the master's sedentary habits have grown upon him, and his dress has become severely simple, even negligent, according to Baldinucci, who relates that it was his practice, when painting, to wipe his brushes on his clothes. He is represented with a pen in his right hand, an ink-bottle and album in his left, engaged upon a drawing. In happier days he had been able to shake off his troubles, and forget himself in his work; but now the sadness of his face has become habitual, and the wrinkles are many, and strongly marked.

He had abundant cause for melancholy. Towards the close of 1657, the commissioners of the Bankruptcy Court had instructed Thomas Jacobsz Haaring to sell his goods. He was therefore forced at last to quit the home he had created, and to which he was bound by so many tender memories. On December 4 he removed to the *Imperial Crown*, an inn, kept by one B. Schuurman, in the Kalverstraat. As we may judge from the facsimile of an old drawing

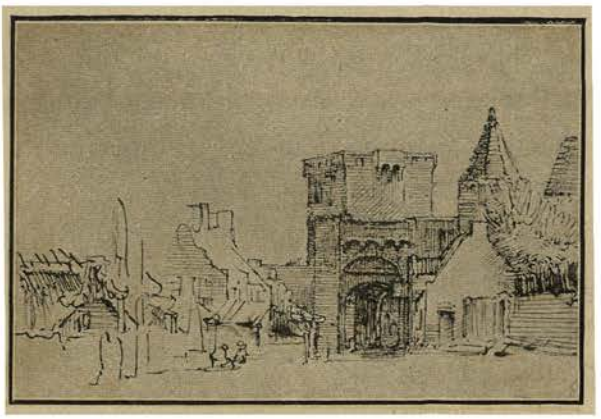
we borrow from *Oud-Holland*,[1] this inn was a remarkable building in the Dutch Renaissance style, which had been the municipal orphanage till 1578, since when it had become a much-frequented hostelry. Its name was derived from the crown carved over the main entrance, and repeated above the shields on either side of the façade. Public sales were commonly held at this inn in Rembrandt's time, and the custom seems to have continued into the next century, for in our reproduction, the original of which dates from 1725, two persons in the foreground appear to be reading a notice of some such proceeding. Judging from the accounts of his daily expenses at the *Imperial Crown*, which average from three to four florins a day, it seems probable that Rembrandt was alone at the inn, and that Hendrickje and Titus were bestowed elsewhere.[2] On December 25, a portion of Rembrandt's collections was sold at the inn; but the moment seems to have been an unfavourable one for some reason; and though the sale extended over six days, the more important items, including the greater part of the prints and drawings, were reserved till September, 1658, when a fresh sale took place at the same spot. The whole of the rare and beautiful things collected, as the catalogue puts it, "with great discrimination by Rembrandt van Ryn," realised the ludicrously inadequate sum of 5,000 florins. The house in the Breestraat had already been disposed of on February 1, 1658, by authority of the *échevins*, at the instance of the commissioner Henricus Torquinius, for 13,600 florins, which price was to include "the two stoves, and the partitions in the garret, which Rembrandt had used that his pupils might be separated." But the purchaser, a certain Pieter Wiebrantsz, mason, was apparently unable to carry out his contract, for the transaction was not completed. Another bidder, who offered 12,000 florins, was also unable to give the necessary securities, and a bargain was finally concluded with one Lieven Simonsz, a shoemaker,

[1] *Oud-Holland*, vi. p. 48.

[2] These accounts, which figure among the papers relating to the bankruptcy, were published by Scheltema and Vosmaer.

whose offer of 11,218 florins was accepted on the security of two other citizens.

We shall deal later on with the litigation connected with the proceeds of these successive sales. Meanwhile, Rembrandt's ruin was complete. At the age of fifty-five he found himself homeless and penniless, stripped of all that had made life pleasant to him, compelled to leave his refuge in the inn without even paying the expenses of that melancholy sojourn, during which all the treasures he had collected "with great discrimination" were divided among strangers before his eyes.



ENTRANCE TO A TOWN.
Pen drawing (Duke of Devonshire).

PEN DRAWING OF A LANDSCAPE.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

CHAPTER V.

REMBRANDT'S DIFFICULTIES WITH HIS CREDITORS—HIS LONELY LIFE—THE 'CHRIST' IN COUNT ORLOFF-DAVIDOFF'S COLLECTION—'DAVID AND SAUL'—PORTRAITS OF THIS PERIOD (1658–1660)—THE 'BURGOMASTER SIX'—'COPPENOL'—ETCHINGS OF HENDRICKJE—PORTRAITS OF TITUS AND OF REMBRANDT HIMSELF—THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN TITUS AND HENDRICKJE.

PEN SKETCH, WITH WASH.
(British Museum.)

THE unsettled life to which he was condemned for a while after the loss of his home must have been no small trial to one of Rembrandt's peace-loving temperament. He was now obliged to look for a lodging sufficiently spacious to serve as a studio, among the outlying districts where the rents were within his means. His art was more than ever necessary to him, both as a diversion and a means of livelihood. But he felt strangely out of his element in the various temporary dwelling-places with which he was forced to content himself, after the home which he had arranged to suit his own tastes and convenience. He had not only lost his engravings, his precious stuffs, his jewels, and all the accessories he

had hitherto considered essential to his art; but now, when advancing age was beginning to tell upon his sight, he was forced to accept such conditions of illumination as his improvised studios afforded. Neither had he come to the end of his business anxieties. His own affairs were indeed past mending. But it was his duty to give such help as he could to Titus' representative in his endeavours to make good the claims of the latter to a share in the profits arising from the sales. To save further explanations on this head, we may here give a brief account of the complications which arose from the settlement of the accounts.

On January 30, 1658, the commissioners in bankruptcy authorised the municipal secretary to pay C. Witsen the 4,180 florins owing to him, and in spite of the determined opposition of Louis Crayers, who had succeeded Jan Verbout as Titus' guardian, the other chief creditor, Isaac van Hertsbeek, was also repaid his share of the loan (4,200 florins) on May 10 following. A settlement was also effected with several of the other creditors, notably with the heir of Christoffel Thysz, the former proprietor of the house in the Breestraat, who received the equivalent of his mortgage on the property. But Crayers, a better man of business than his predecessor, carried on a vigorous campaign in defence of his ward's interests. His contention was, that though Rembrandt had made no formal acknowledgment of his son's claims after Saskia's death, these claims could not be set aside, and were, in fact, safeguarded by Titus' rights as a minor. Crayers further sought to establish by various evidences that Rembrandt's assessment of his personalty at 40,750 florins at the time of his wife's death was by no means exaggerated, and that Titus' heritage consequently amounted to 20,375 florins, the half of this total. Rembrandt's creditors, on the other hand, left no stone unturned to prove that he had greatly overstated the actual value of his property. Crayers retorted by calling witnesses to support his estimate. The result was a long inquiry, in the course of which, as was mentioned in the last chapter, Van Loo the goldsmith and his wife, Philips de Koninck, and several art-dealers were heard in evidence. Other witnesses were also produced by Crayers and Rembrandt. Jan

Pietersz, clothier, and Nicolaes van Cruysbergen, provost to the municipality, who both figure in the *Night Watch*, were responsible for the information we have already noted as to the price of that work. A collector named Adriaen Banck had paid Rembrandt 500 florins in 1647 for a *Susanna at the Bath.* Saskia's cousin, Hendrick van Uylenborch, gave evidence as to having acted as arbitrator between Rembrandt and Andries de Graeff in the matter of a portrait for which the latter claimed and received 500 florins. Abraham Wilmerdonx, Director of the East India Company, deposed to having paid Rembrandt 500 florins for a portrait of himself and his wife, with a further sum of 60 florins for the canvas and frame. Finally, one of the dealers who had been called upon to value the master's collections, proved having sold him a picture by Rubens of *Hero and Leander*, which he kept some years, for 530 florins. On such evidences of Rembrandt's earnings, and of the valuables among his possessions, Crayers founded his contention that his estimate of Rembrandt's property in 1647 was a fair and reasonable one, and that Titus' claim of 20,375 florins against the estate must be allowed priority over those of all subsequent creditors. A series of tedious and complicated actions before various tribunals followed. Witsen, who seems to have taken better precautions than his colleague, or whose position as a municipal councillor perhaps gave him a secret advantage, retained the sum paid over to him, but Van Hertsbeek, by a judgment given May 5, 1660, was compelled to disgorge his 4,200 florins, and hand them over to Crayers. His successive appeals to the Provincial Court and the Grand Council were dismissed, both courts confirming the previous judgment, which accordingly came into force June 20, 1665. When all the costs of this litigation were paid, Titus' inheritance amounted to a sum of 6,952 florins, which he duly received on November 5, 1665.

The possibilities of such a fortune were not extensive, and pending its acquisition, the pinch of poverty must have been severely felt by the master and his belongings. A few etchings saved out of the wreck were no doubt sold by way of supplementing such sums as Rembrandt could earn by painting.

But the moment was not a favourable one for the sale of pictures, more especially Rembrandt's pictures. A taste for the arts had indeed become much more widespread in Amsterdam, but painters had multiplied as the demand for their works increased. At the close of a festival held October 20, 1653, at the *Doelen* of Saint George, in honour of their patron, the members of the Guild of

ST. PETER DELIVERED FROM PRISON.
Pen drawing heightened with wash (Albertina).

Saint Luke, which had hitherto admitted tapestry-workers, glass-makers, and persons of various allied crafts, pronounced in favour of an entire reconstruction of the Guild, and a restriction of membership to painters, sculptors, and amateurs of the arts. The inauguration of the new body thus constituted took place a year later, on October 21, 1654.[1] Foremost among the promoters of the new association

[1] Vosmaer, p. 325.

were Martin Kretzer, Asselyn's brother-in-law, N. Helt-Stockade, and B. van der Helst; but we search the list of members in vain for the name of Rembrandt. It was not alone his love of solitude

ST. JEROME.
About 1652 (B. 104).

or his somewhat unsociable temper that kept him aloof; the very character of his genius tended to isolate him from his brother-artists. The representatives of that great generation which had founded the

Dutch school were beginning to dwindle. In Amsterdam, Rembrandt and his pupils were the sole adherents of the earlier tradition. Lastmann, Elias, and Jacob Backer were dead; Thomas de Keyser, Rembrandt's forerunner and sometime rival, now confined himself to pictures of small dimensions; and those among Rembrandt's pupils who had taken his place in the public favour, Ferdinand Bol, Govert Flinck, and Nicolaes Maes, had completely abandoned his manner, seduced by the more popular style of Van der Helst, then in the heyday of his reputation. Painters who had formerly imitated Rembrandt, recognising the reaction, gradually detached themselves from him. Houbraken tells us that J. de Baen, on leaving Backer's studio in 1651, had hesitated for a time as to which manner he should adopt, that of Rembrandt or of Van Dyck, and had finally decided on the latter, as "more durable." Landscape painters, such as Jacob van Ruysdael and Adriaen van de Velde, and masters of *genre* such as Pieter de Hooch, still maintained the glory and originality of the school. But the honours of the day were not for them. These were reserved for a style, the essentials of which were clarity, minute finish, a smooth, polished fusion of tints. The insipid prettinesses and affected grace of the academic school were exalted by the devotees of classic correctness, far above Rembrandt's noble simplicity and robust virility of execution. To them his compositions were too familiar, his sincerity too uncompromising, his colour too intense. Thus he found himself at last entirely deserted. But he cared little for the suffrages of the crowd. Even when most successful he had never abated one jot of his independence, and it was not to be expected that he should make concessions to fashion now, when his powers had reached their richest maturity. He set his face more steadily than ever towards the goal he had marked out for himself. The artist was now no longer a collector, and thus his very ruin tended to confirm him in the simplicity to which he had inclined more and more throughout his career. Within the bare walls of his makeshift studios, seeking solace in work and meditation, he lived for his art more absolutely than before; and some of his creations of this

period have a poetry and depth of expression such as he had never hitherto achieved.

Notwithstanding his manifold vexations and anxieties, he had set up his easel with unabated courage, though in many of his compositions of this period we catch the echo of his melancholy. The personality of the Saviour had always strongly attracted him; but now his own sorrows seem to have given him a peculiar insight into the Christly Life. He returns again and again to the Divine Figure, striving in each fresh essay after a more complete suggestion of the ideal type he had conceived. Some years before he had sought to express this sublime embodiment of spotlessness and compassion in the beautiful study of a head, now in M. Rodolphe Kann's collection. But in the larger study painted about 1658–1660, the conception is nobler and more impressive. We refer to the fine picture exhibited at Vienna in 1873, and now in Count Orloff Davidoff's collection at St. Petersburg. The face is turned full to the spectator; the figure, a half-length, is very simply posed, the arms partly crossed, the left hand resting on the right arm. The dress is a reddish tunic, open at the throat, and a dark mantle, drawn round the shoulders. A mass of bright brown hair, divided in the middle, falls on either side of the pure and delicately-featured face. The dark beard and moustache accentuate the pallor of the complexion; the large clear eyes look out from the canvas with an expression of mingled sweetness and authority. The broad handling, which has a somewhat confused appearance on close examination, is singularly powerful from a little distance, and amply justifies the master's methods by its perfection of modelling and consummate knowledge of effect. The supernatural beauty and serenity of this type reappears in another picture of 1661, the *Ecce Homo* in the Aschaffenburg Museum, where the Saviour is represented full-face, draped in a white robe open at the breast, on which the light is concentrated, the head being in deep, transparent shadow.

Of subjects which appealed strongly to his imagination Rembrandt never wearied. He returned to them time after time, approaching them from various points of view, bent on solving their innermost

mysteries. At this period, when his emotions were so deeply stirred by the vision of a compassionate Saviour, he felt a kindred attraction for those mystic souls who sought, in solitude and prayer, a closer communion with the Christ to whom he felt himself drawn by his own sorrows. Inspired by some sympathetic impulse strangely opposed to the practical Protestant spirit of those among whom he dwelt, he had already, in an etching of 1657, shown us Saint Francis, prostrate in holy ecstasy at the foot of the Cross. The same train of thought seems to have been at work in his choice of a monastic habit for his models in three studies painted in 1660. Count Sergius Strogonoff's example, a somewhat hastily executed work, represents a melancholy-looking *Young Monk*, his cowl drawn over his head; Lord Wemyss' *Monk*, at Gosford Park, is a man of about forty, with a fair beard. The face is entirely in shadow, but a brilliant light falls on his hand and on the book he reads. This is a clear and luminous picture, in excellent condition. The *Capuchin*, in the National Gallery, has unfortunately suffered somewhat from time. The devout gravity of the face is finely expressed, but the dark and somewhat dirty flesh-tones have caused doubts as to the authenticity of the work, which is, however, sufficiently evident.

REMBRANDT IN HIS WORKING DRESS.
Pen drawing (Heseltine Collection).

Attractive as Rembrandt seems to have found these subjects, his mind was not wholly engrossed by them; several pictures of a very different character, inspired by Biblical themes, belong to the

FIGURE OF CHRIST.
About 1658—1660 (Count Orloff Davidoff).

year 1659. Two of these in the Berlin Museum—*Moses breaking the Tables of the Law*, and *Jacob wrestling with the Angel*—are violent compositions, harsh and somewhat coarse in handling, the unpleasant

effect of which is no doubt due in some measure to their deterioration. The *Moses* in particular is very hastily treated, and the conception of the Lawgiver as a choleric person, brandishing the tables of stone above his head in a sudden access of fury, is vulgar and prosaic. In the second picture, however, there are touches of a happier inspiration, notably in the contrast of Jacob's desperate endeavours with the severe calm of the Angel, who refrains from bringing his adversary to the ground, content to make him feel his helplessness. The *David playing the Harp before Saul*, formerly in Baron Oppenheim's collection at Frankfort, and recently in the possession of M. Bourgeois of Paris, we take to have been painted about 1660. It is an important composition of two life-size figures, for which Rembrandt made a pen and ink study, now belonging to M. Bonnat. David, a red-haired youth in a scarlet tunic, stands at the foot of the throne, and endeavours to soothe the frenzied king with the strains of his harp. Saul wears a high turban surmounted by a crown, and a purple mantle over a tunic richly embroidered with gold and precious stones. His face is fixed in an expression of the deepest melancholy, and he wipes the tears that spring to his eyes on the drapery beside him; the tumult of his mind betrays itself in his wild looks, and the furious gesture with which he grips the spear in his hand proclaims the danger incurred by the young musician. He, however, absorbed in the play of his own skilful fingers, and unconscious of peril, gives himself up to the delight of improvisation. The contrast between the two figures, each engrossed in his distinct emotion, is stirringly rendered; the richness of the execution, and the powerful harmony of the red and golden tones, partake of that breadth and splendour which characterised Rembrandt's last pictures.

The year 1658 was marked by one of Rembrandt's rare essays in the treatment of mythological subjects: *Jupiter and Mercury received by Philemon and Baucis*. The theme was one which had already attracted the master: a somewhat confused sketch in the Berlin Museum represents the old couple preparing for the entertainment of their guests. But the composition of the small picture,

recently bought by Mr. C. J. Yerkes of Chicago from M. Sedelmeyer, is infinitely more picturesque and sympathetic. Jupiter, seated face to face with Mercury, expresses to his hosts his satisfaction at the welcome accorded to him and his companion. The husband and wife, approaching their guests to offer them a white goose, suddenly become aware of their divinity, and fall terror-stricken at their feet. A taper, the flame of which is concealed by Mercury, lights the humble cottage, dimly revealing its boarded partitions, the mats hanging from the beams, and on the left a few logs blazing on the hearth. The light is concentrated on the King of Olympus, a personage of somewhat fantastic aspect in a blue tunic with gold embroideries, and on the venerable features of the aged pair, who worship with folded hands. Their attitude of fervent adoration involuntarily suggests the *Disciples at Emmäus*, which Rembrandt certainly had in his mind when treating this mythological theme.

Together with these compositions, the master, happy to be once more at work, painted a considerable number of portraits and studies from models about him. Some neighbour probably figures in M. L. Goldschmidt's study of 1656–58 known as *Rembrandt's Cook*. She stands by a window, her rubicund face turned almost full to the spectator, a knife in her hand, with which she seems to be meditating an onslaught on some fowl outside. Her brown hair is drawn under a white cap, over which she wears a red hood: her brown skirt has a red bodice and sleeves, partially covered by a thick white kerchief. The strongly illumined head is very frankly modelled, and the brilliant carnations of the vulgar, but healthy and vigorous face, stand out in strong relief from the brown background. The study of a young girl, painted no doubt at about the same period, which we saw in M. Sedelmeyer's possession, whence it has now passed into that of Mr. Robert Hoe of New York, is no less remarkable. The model is a girl of about sixteen or seventeen, with a brilliant complexion, deep and piercing eyes, and an air of strong individuality. Rembrandt has painted her in one of those animated attitudes he loved to render, one hand on her breast, the other outstretched, and very skilfully foreshortened. The dress makes up a harmony of varying reds with

yellowish grays, and the vigour of the drawing is accentuated by the vivacity of the effect. But the transitions are so carefully managed that the contrast between the brilliant lights and intense shadows is not excessive. Here we recognise Rembrandt's methods as described by the worthy De Piles.[1] "It was his custom to place his models directly beneath a strongly concentrated light. By this means the shadows were made very intense, while the surfaces which caught the light were brought more closely together, the general effect gaining greatly in solidity and tangibility."

DAVID ON HIS KNEES.
1652 (B. 41).

Among the studies of this period we find several of those heads of old people for which Rembrandt showed so strong a predilection. We may draw attention to the *Old Lady* in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection, painted in 1660. She wears a white fichu and a brown hood, and seems to be entirely absorbed in the book before her. Another *Old Woman*, painted in 1658, is still more remarkable. But that her wrinkles are deeper and more numerous, and her cheeks hollower—and this may perhaps be accounted for by the interval of time which separates this from the earlier studies—we might identify her with the model for the portraits of 1654 in the Hermitage and in

[1] *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres*, 1715, p. 411.

Count Moltke's collection at Copenhagen, of which we have already spoken. The portrait in question is the magnificent study of an old

AN OLD WOMAN CUTTING HER NAILS.
1658 (Kann Collection).

woman, engaged in the prosaic task of cutting her nails, recently bought by M. Rodolphe Kann in Russia.[1] She is seated scissors in hand

1 This picture was in the Ingham-Foster collection towards the close of the last century. It was engraved by J. G. Haid for the Boydell collection, and was catalogued

in an armchair, almost facing the spectator, dressed in a yellow gown with a brown bodice, and a hood of gray and pale yellow, which throws a strong shadow over her face. She seems to have suffered deeply, and her worn features, and loose, wrinkled skin proclaim her failing strength. Notwithstanding the vulgarity of her features, and the excessive homeliness of her occupation, the effect she produces is grave and dignified. In this example, the execution, though free, is masterly to a degree, and in certain passages, such as the modelling of the face and hands, and the rendering of the furs and the bodice, extremely delicate. Criticism is disarmed before the manifold beauties of this fine work, one of the most vigorous and brilliant in Rembrandt's *œuvre*, as regards its resonant intonations—the reds, yellows, and iron-grays affected by the master at this period—the power and exquisite refinement of its harmony, its expressive quality, and imposing effect. Among the studies from masculine models of this period, we must be content with a brief mention of the *St. Paul* in Lord Wimborne's collection at Canford Manor, painted about 1658–1660, a seated figure, girt with a sword, posed in a pensive attitude by a table; and the *Portrait of a Merchant*, reading near a window, painted in 1659, a work in Lord Feversham's possession at Duncombe Park, described to me by Dr. Bode. The *Old Man* in the National Gallery, wrapped in a fur-trimmed robe, and wearing on his head a reddish cap, is dated 1659. This picture, which is painted in a rich, fat impasto, very skilfully worked up, has unfortunately darkened a good deal, but the thin face, with its melancholy expression, and the deep-set eyes that look out with a piercing brilliance from under the shaggy eyebrows, make a strong impression on the spectator. Another study of the same period, in the Pitti Palace, an *Old Man Seated*, is painted with the same mastery of chiaroscuro, but the colour is warmer, and the general effect very luminous. With these we may class a small *Study of a Head* in M. Rodolphe Kann's collection, representing a man with long red hair, features of a proud and aristocratic type,

by Smith, who had never seen the original, from this engraving. It was brought to Russia by M. Bibikoff, and was for some time at Moscow, in the possession of M. Massaloff, the father of the well-known engraver.

and a very penetrating expression; and two *Portraits of Youths*, more in the nature of brilliant sketches—the first, in which the sitter wears a gray dress, and a black hat with a red plume, belonging to Lord Spencer at Althorp, and erroneously supposed to represent William III.; the other a *Young Man Singing*, in the Belvedere, a broadly treated and luminous study of a model who wears a cap, from beneath which his bright brown hair waves luxuriantly about his face. A picture formerly in the Crabbe collection, sold in Paris, June 12, 1890, is a more important work.[1] It is the life-size portrait of a man, rather more than three-quarters length, turned almost full face to the spectator. He wears a broad-brimmed hat, and a loose furred robe over a red doublet embroidered in gold. A pouch is fastened by a leather strap across his breast, on which hangs a small gold instrument, apparently a whistle, an ornament which occurs in several portraits of this period. It was, no doubt, a symbol of authority, and, as such, may account for the title, *The Admiral*, bestowed on the personage of this portrait. His features have no great distinction, but the head is full of vitality, and the thin face, in its setting of long reddish hair, bespeaks the man of action. The high lights are accentuated by strong shadows; the colouring, which seems somewhat excessive at close quarters, resolves itself, when viewed from a distance, into a glowing harmony of the utmost richness.

The studies of friends or relatives, however, have a deeper interest for us than these portraits of unknown models. Among Rembrandt's sitters of this period we find the Burgomaster Six, whose friendship with Rembrandt remained unbroken. From a document recently discovered by Messrs. Bredius and De Roever[2] we learn that in 1653 Six made him an advance, for which L. van Ludik was surety. The debt was subsequently transferred to one G. Ornia, who, after Rembrandt's bankruptcy, came upon Ludik for payment. In October, 1652, Six further concluded a bargain with Rembrandt, by virtue of which he became the possessor of a portrait of Saskia, in exchange for which he returned to the master two other of his works—

[1] It sold for £4,260, and now belongs to Mr. Schaus of New York.

[2] *Oud-Holland*, viii. p. 181.

a *Simeon* and the grisaille, *The Preaching of John the Baptist*—on condition that Rembrandt should have the option of reclaiming them, up to a certain date. This agreement was, however, set aside by a decision of the commissioners in bankruptcy in 1658. It is evident that frequent intercourse had been kept up between Six and Rembrandt, and it was perhaps after some business interview with the Burgomaster that the artist set to work on his portrait, which, as we learn from a journal belonging to the Six family, was painted in 1654. So perfect is its condition that it might have been finished yesterday. Standing with his head a little bent, in a wonderfully life-like attitude, Six draws on his gloves, as if about to go out. He wears a black hat, and a gray doublet, over which is thrown a red cloak trimmed with gold lace. The face, which is modelled in planes of great breadth, is surrounded by waving masses of fair hair, and stands out from a dark background. The handling, in spite of its facility, is marvellously decisive. There are no subtleties of treatment, but emphasis is given by touches of unerring precision; the chord of colour, simple, yet supremely harmonious, is made up of subdued reds touched with gold, and neutral grays. In this work (painted probably in a few hours) every stroke told, every sweep of the brush was final; the artist obviously conceived and accomplished with equal rapidity and perfection. As Fromentin happily remarks: "We note the geniality of a mind that finds relaxation in a pleasurable task, the assurance of a practised hand amusing itself with the tools of its craft, and, above all, a

CHRIST AND THE SAMARITAN WOMAN.
Pen drawing, heightened with wash (Stockholm Print Room).

fashion of interpreting life only possible to a thinker, accustomed to be busied with high problems."[1] Such qualities have drawn generation after generation of amateurs to the hospitable house in the Heerengracht at Amsterdam, the doors of which are open to all lovers of art. There, in his old home, still the home of his descendants, Six looks down from the wall, side by side with his mother, the Anna Wymer painted by the master in 1641. A comparison of these two works will give students of Rembrandt some idea of the progress he had made in the twenty years that divide them.

CHRIST AND THE SAMARITAN WOMAN.
1658 (B. 70).

Lord Ashburton's little portrait of Coppenol, painted about 1658, is as remarkable for elaboration and finish as is that of Six for breadth and facility. Its exact date is not known, but Mr. Middleton-Wake, rightly as we think, assigns the etching which was executed from this portrait to 1658. The plate is an exact reproduction of the picture, save that the composition is reversed.[2] The old writing-master is represented sitting at a table, his cloak on his shoulders. The sleeves of a red waistcoat show below those of his doublet; he wears a flat white collar, and, on his head, a black skull-cap. His hair has become scanty and, like his moustache, is gray; but the freshness of his complexion, and the vivacity of his expression, denote a healthy and robust temperament. He holds a sheet of paper in his hands, and looks

[1] *Les Maîtres d'Autrefois*, p. 371.

[2] Rembrandt was even careful to pose Coppenol with his pen in his left hand, in order that it might appear in the right in the print reversed from the copper.

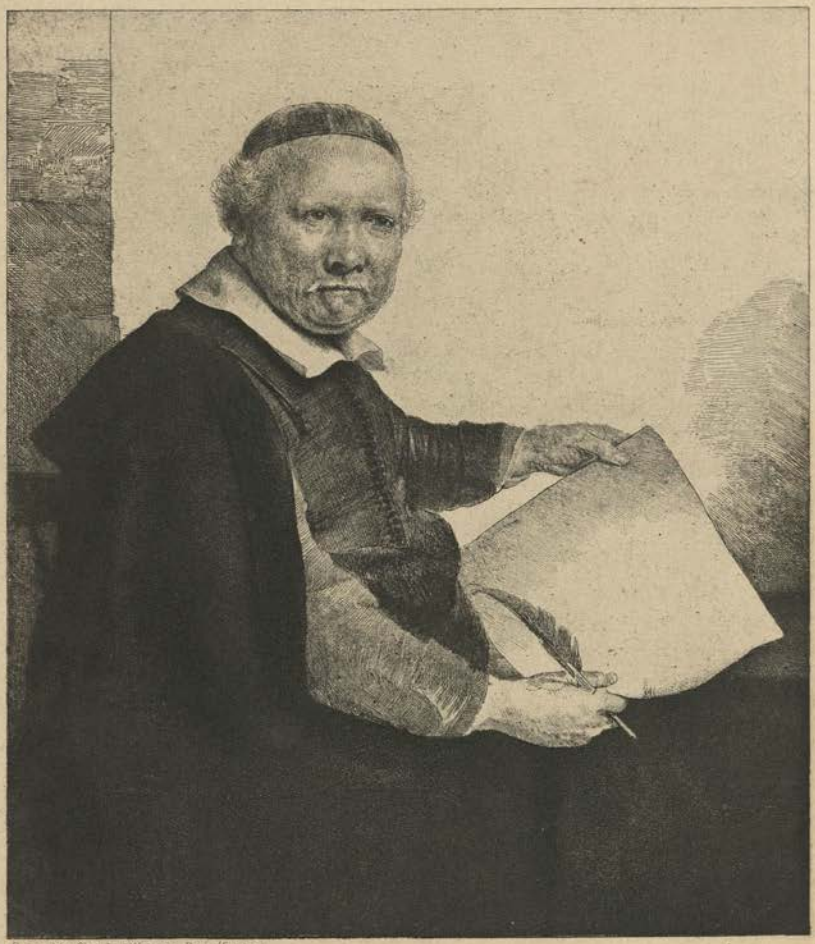
out towards the spectator with an air of triumph, as if challenging admiration for the wonders his skilful pen is to trace. The combination of breadth with closeness of execution is unique. While the full and luminous tones are worthy of Rembrandt at his best, the modelling rivals that of Holbein in scrupulous and learned precision. The old painter seems to be hurling a defiance at all the devotees of minute finish with whom his detractors were fond of comparing him to his disadvantage. He accepts the contest on their own ground, as if to confound them by showing that with all the prodigies of elaboration they produced, to him alone belonged the secret of that spirit and vigour of expression, that breath of life and grandeur, to which none of his rivals could attain. The etching made from this little masterpiece is of the same dimensions (B. 283), and is no less finished in execution. With his picture for guide, Rembrandt was able to work leisurely and methodically at his plate.[1] Thus, though the tones are rich and full, the print has all the transparence and delicacy of a work which has been carefully prepared, and accomplished with patience and precision. Like the picture, it is unique in its way, and the elaborate workmanship attests both the master's desire to please his friend and his own undiminished energy.

A few other plates of this period are of a very different character, and are for the most part rapid and summary in treatment. There are only two compositions, both of the year 1658, after which date we shall find no other etchings of this class. *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman* (B. 70) was a subject the master had already attempted more than once, and of which he had made several drawings (notably that in the Stockholm Museum) besides the etching of 1634 (B. 71). The later print is more in the nature of a sketch, broad and frank in treatment, and somewhat hasty. Turning towards Christ, the woman rests her arms on a bucket, which stands on the edge of the well, and listens respectfully to the words of the Teacher, seated on a projecting piece of wall

[1] *Yes, and the plate with all its perfection has something of the air of an accomplished translation. The sense of actual spontaneity is the charm denied.—F. W.*

The Large Coppenol, about 1658. (B. 283.)

Fac-simile of the Etching.



Printed by Chardon-Wittmann, Paris (France)

beside her. In the background is a picturesque landscape, with the outline of a distant town beyond; a group of peasants to the left observe the two chief actors, and converse among themselves. In the *Allegorical Piece*, also dated 1658, the master's intention is somewhat obscure, and both as regards *ensemble* and detail the work is peculiarly fantastic. In the foreground, at the base of a large pedestal, on the upper part of which is a shield with a ducal coronet, lies the colossal statue which once crowned the structure. In its place, a stork, the national emblem of Holland, stands on his nest in a luminous glory, while a little winged figure hovers in the air on either side, blowing a trumpet. A crowd of spectators below applaud the manifestation. Mr. Middleton-Wake explains the allegory as referring to Turenne's victory over the Spaniards at the Battle of Dunes, in 1658. His interpretation seems to us somewhat over-subtle, and though the traditional explanation of the piece, as representing the demolition of Alva's statue at Antwerp in 1577, is not absolutely convincing, it is at least more plausible. The plate is another instance of Rembrandt's incapacity for allegorical composition. The statue, the spectators, and the winged genii are of the most vulgar types: and the clumsy bird on the top of the pedestal is much more like a goose than a stork. The hasty execution in no wise redeems the faults of the composition, on which the master evidently bestowed little labour.

Three other plates dated 1658, the *Woman sitting before a Dutch Stove* (B. 197), the *Woman preparing to dress after bathing* (B. 199), the *Woman with her Feet in the Water* (B. 200), and perhaps too the *Naked Woman seen from behind* (*La Négresse Couchée*) (B. 205), are merely nude female studies, bold and brilliant in effect, if somewhat coarse in execution. They are all from the same model, probably Hendrickje. The faces are so slightly indicated as to afford little clue; but the breast, and the proportions of the body, are unmistakably those of the *Bathsheba* in the Louvre, whose attitude differs very slightly from that of the *Woman sitting before a Dutch Stove*. We recognise Hendrickje again in the *Jupiter and Antiope* (B. 203), apparently a reminiscence of

Correggio, though there is little of the Italian master's beauty of form in the sleeping figure, which an old satyr contemplates with the air of a connoisseur. In this later work, Rembrandt seems to have determined to justify the violent attacks of his academic critics, whose strictures were echoed a few years after the master's death by Andries Pels, a mediocre Dutch writer, in his *Poem on the Theatre*[1]: "When he attempted to paint a naked woman," he remarks of Rembrandt, "he chose, not the Grecian Venus, but a washerwoman or farm-servant . . . . Such models he reproduced in every detail, flabby breasts, distorted hands, even the ridges formed by the bodice round the waist, and the marks of the garters about the legs." If Rembrandt more than once justified this criticism, it was not, as Pels supposes, "from a deliberately adopted heresy . . . . arising out of his inability to compete with Titian, Van Dyck, and Michelangelo." The misconception here is two-fold; Rembrandt had no deliberate theory in the matter. In this, as in all things, his sincerity was absolute. Neither can it be truly said that he was incapable of rendering beauty, and that his "glaring aberrations" were the result of his revolt against "authority and tradition." In the matter of studies from nature, Rembrandt had no system other than that common to all

YOUNG WOMAN ASLEEP.
Pen drawing (Heseltine Collection).

[1] *Gebruik en Misbruik des Tooneels*, 1681, p. 36.

Portrait of Rembrandt (1660).

(LOUVRE.)

great masters. His observations were based on the facts before him. As his patrons fell off, he, who could not exist without work, made use of the only models available for those exercises he loved and diligently pursued until his death.

Titus was Rembrandt's model, as well as Hendrickje. As far as it is possible to judge through the deep shadow in which the contours are veiled, he it was who sat for a picture in the Hermitage, painted about 1660 (No. 825 in the Catalogue), which, in general effect, harmony, and style of execution, recalls the beautiful portrait of Bruyningh in the Cassel Museum. Dr. Bredius further recognises Titus in two portraits in the Louvre; one, the very expressive study of a pale, olive-complexioned young man, of aristocratic appearance, with an air of dignified melancholy; the other a broad, sketchy work, in the Lacaze collection, remarkable for the vivid frankness of the high lights. The likeness between the two, however, seems to us very slight, and the sitter in both considerably older than Titus in 1667 or 1668, the approximate date of the two portraits.

PEN SKETCH HEIGHTENED WITH SEPIA.
(Seymour-Haden Collection.)

As for those studies of himself which Rembrandt had laid aside during his brief period of popularity, they become more and more numerous with advancing age. Two almost similar portraits, one in the Uffizi, the other in the Belvedere, were painted about 1658, and represent the master nearly full face, in his working dress: a cap, and a loose brown tunic, held to the figure by a scarf, into

which his hands are thrust. Two other portraits of Rembrandt, one belonging to Lord Ellesmere, the other to Lady Wallace, are marked by the same expression of melancholy. The more austere portrait of 1660, in the Louvre, which we reproduce, is perhaps even more characteristic. It shows the master at his work, in a loose gown of cheap material, and a white night-cap. His face is unshaved, his hair has become gray and scanty. Standing by his easel, palette and brushes in hand, he studies his model, fixing the forms and colours before him on his memory. In that keen, searching gaze, we divine the artist, accustomed to note the most fugitive shades of expression in a human face, and the infinite modifications of light. He has accumulated knowledge and experience without prejudice to his perfect sincerity. Absorbed in the problem before him, and temporarily oblivious of his sufferings, he finds calm and refreshment in his task. Once more he tastes the delight of creation. Shattered by adversity, his one desire is for some quiet corner in which at least he may work.

His art was, in fact, the sole direction in which he showed himself practical and clear-sighted, and, recognising this, those who loved him conspired together to mark out his life and protect it, and to prevent the imprudences and prodigalities into which he would again have drifted if left to himself. They had also found it necessary to shelter him in some measure from the importunities of his creditors. On December 15, 1660, in the presence of a notary and two witnesses, Hendrickje and Titus entered into an agreement, one of the main objects of which was to ensure Rembrandt's future comfort, and the tranquillity necessary for his work. As all Rembrandt's own earnings were at the mercy of his vigilant creditors, Hendrickje had devised a plan by which she hoped to free him from their power. She and Titus entered into partnership as dealers in pictures, engravings, and curiosities, a business she had already started some two years before. Each partner agreed to embark his whole fortune in the venture, and each was to be part proprietor of the stock-in-trade, and to make an equal division of profit and loss. But, "as it was indispensable that the partners should

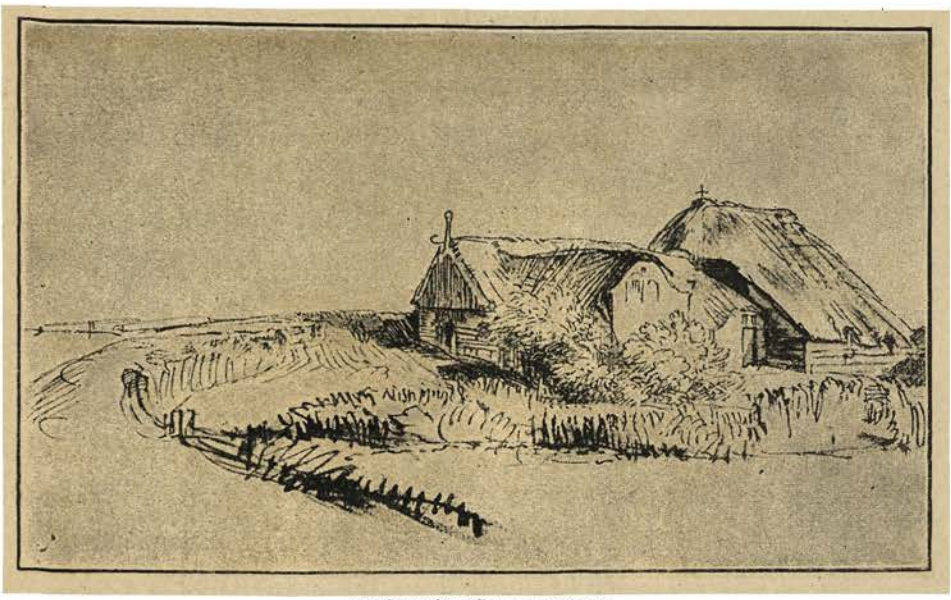
have the help and advice of a third person, and as none was so capable of directing them as Rembrandt," it was further agreed that he should live with them, receiving board and lodging in return for his services. He was to reserve nothing he might possess at that or any future time, and was further to bind himself never to make any claim upon the profits of the partnership. In consideration of which, Titus agreed to allow him 950 florins and Hendrickje 800 florins, which sums he promised to return as soon as he should earn sufficient by his own work.

In this combination, which placed the partners on a footing of absolute equality, Rembrandt was treated as the child he had shown himself to be in money-matters. He had become the ward, for whom Titus and Hendrickje undertook to administer the common property. It may be supposed that an agreement so obviously aimed at the interests of the creditors was not complaisantly accepted by them; they made, in fact, repeated claims and demands. It seems unlikely, moreover, that the business can have been very lucrative. The country was more or less exhausted by the war with England; the truce was generally believed to be but temporary, and the times were hardly favourable for dealers in luxuries. As Dr. Bredius has shown in his interesting study on the traffic in works of art during the seventeenth century,[1] many of the great art-dealers of this period ended their days in bankruptcy and poverty. But it is very probable that Titus and Hendrickje had learnt caution from former disaster, and avoided speculations involving large risks, contenting themselves chiefly with the sale of Rembrandt's own works, notably his etchings. Although Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 was a fairly circumstantial one, we find no mention in it of any of the copper plates of his etchings. Some, no doubt, had been sold to dealers; but it is not improbable that he kept a good many, either to finish, or re-touch, and that these were not included in the sale of 1658. Amateurs were beginning to appreciate his etchings; famous collections of them were formed, and the various states often fetched considerable prices,

[1] *Amsterdamsch Jaerboekje, voor Geschiedenis en Letteren.* 1891.

which were determined, perhaps, rather by their rarity, than by their artistic merit. It is doubtless to this traffic that Houbraken refers, in the statement that Titus was in the habit of travelling about carrying his father's etchings for sale, a statement the author makes the text for a further denunciation of Rembrandt's avarice. We may ask with Vosmaer: "What possible disgrace could attach to such a commerce?" The profits of these sales sufficed for the maintenance of the little family, and Rembrandt, free from anxiety on this score, was once more able to devote himself entirely to his art. His powers had reached, if possible, more perfect development by means of the numerous disinterested studies of the last two years, and he was about to signalise the close of his career by new masterpieces.

THE HOLY WOMEN ON CALVARY.
Pen drawing (Stockholm Print Room).



PEN DRAWING OF A LANDSCAPE.

(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

CHAPTER VI

REMBRANDT'S RETIRED AND LABORIOUS LIFE (1661)—'SAINT MATTHEW AND THE ANGEL'—'VENUS AND CUPID'—'THE CONSPIRACY OF CLAUDIUS CIVILIS'—PICTURES OF THE CIVIC GUILDS IN HOLLAND—THE 'SYNDICS OF THE CLOTH HALL'—THE UNITY OF THE LITTLE FAMILY—STUDIES AND PORTRAITS OF THIS PERIOD.

SMALL HEAD OF REMBRANDT STOOPING.

About 1630 (B. 5).

THE year 1661 is one of the most prolific in Rembrandt's career. It was marked by the production of one supreme work, and of several which are important. This fertility bears witness to the energy with which he had returned to his labours. He established himself this year in a house on the Rozengracht, where he remained till 1664. It was, at the time, a comparatively unfrequented quarter, where the master, no doubt, had been able to find a suitable domicile at a reasonable cost. Land was cheap in this district, and immediately opposite Rembrandt's house, David Lingelbach of Frankfort, father of the well-

known painter, Johannes Lingelbach, had laid out one of those pleasure-gardens then popular under the name of *Labyrinths* (*Doolhof*). Lingelbach was an enterprising and industrious person, and had already started a *New Labyrinth*, known as *The Orange Tree*, in 1636, on the Loiersgracht, a neighbouring quay, where he offered greater attractions than any of his predecessors had been able to collect. Among these were mechanical set pieces, such as *Orpheus charming the Beasts*, surprise fountains, and monumental fountains, such as *The Samaritan Woman* and the *Seven Provinces*, natural curiosities of every kind, strange animals, alive or stuffed, patriotic groups, satirical representations, such as the *Procession of the Ommegang*, grottoes, flower-beds, and various other spectacles for the attraction of visitors, who brought their families to these establishments to see the sights, enjoy the music, and partake of refreshments.[1]

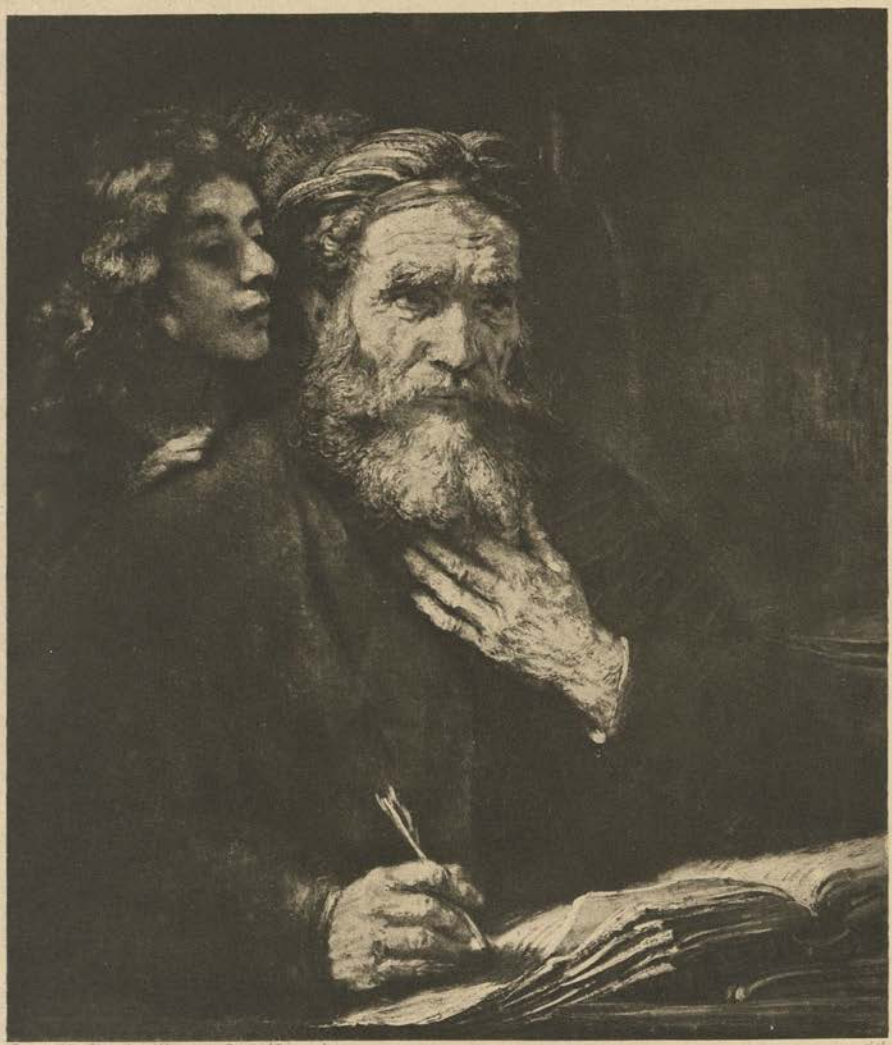
Lingelbach opened the *Labyrinth* on the Rozengracht in February 1648. It occupied a considerable space, and had involved the purchase of two large gardens, and several adjoining houses. But the amusements of such a place were little to Rembrandt's taste, as we know, and he was now less inclined than ever for such distractions. He had no money to spend at sales, or in the shops of art-dealers, and when he made up his mind to leave his studio, he generally turned his steps towards the country, which was easy of access from this quarter of the town. Here he found a variety of excursions, along the ramparts and canals, and in outlying suburbs, dotted here and there with laundries and windmills. His sedentary habits, however, were more confirmed than ever, and he rarely left the shelter of his roof. The friends who were willing to seek him out in the Rozengracht were few, and his work was very seldom interrupted. But he had no lack of occupation.

Among the pictures he painted at this period, the first in order is a *Circumcision* at Althorp, which Smith describes in his *Catalogue*

[1] See Mr. N. de Roever's interesting article in *Oud-Holland* (vi. 103-112) on the successive *Labyrinths* laid out at Amsterdam. These pleasure-gardens were the forerunners of the magnificent zoological gardens now established at Amsterdam and Antwerp.

Saint Matthew and the Angel (1661).

(LOUVRE.)



Printed by Chardon-Wittmann Paris (France)

raisonné (No. 69) as "an admirably finished study, remarkably brilliant and effective . . . dated 1661," while Dr. Bode, who was unable to decipher the date, declares it to be a sketch-like composition, painted in the bright, high tones, and fluid manner afterwards adopted by Rembrandt's pupil, Aert de Gelder. The ceremony takes place in a vast building, the light falling full on the seated Virgin, with the Infant Jesus in her lap, and on the kneeling High Priest, who wears a brilliant yellow mantle. In the background, as in the etching of 1654 (B. 47), a group of spectators lean forward to watch the operation, and some cattle in stalls are distinguishable beyond.

The *Saint Matthew and the Angel* in the Louvre dated 1661, is a more elevated composition. The apostle's face, it is true, lacks nobility. His features are coarse, his dress poor, and the harmony of the brown garment, the gray cap, and the rather strong flesh tints, is neither rich nor distinguished. The handling is harsh and abrupt, even coarse at times, but here and there we note those subtleties of expression peculiar to Rembrandt. The idea—that of divine inspiration breathed into a human soul—seems almost impossible of concrete realisation, and wholly beyond the resources of painting. Yet Rembrandt has succeeded in rendering it with unrivalled clarity and eloquence. Seated at his table, the old man becomes conscious of the presence of the divine messenger, who visits him in his retreat. The angel draws near, laying his hand gently on the apostle's shoulder, and placing his lips to his ear. The saint presses his withered hand to his breast, as if in the rapture of divine inspiration. He seems to gaze fixedly into space at things unspeakable that rise before him; he sees the events he will presently transcribe at the angel's bidding.

We feel some diffidence in passing from this picture to another canvas in the Louvre, the *Venus and Cupid* of about the same date, which Dr. Bode, rightly as we think, conjectures to be a study of Hendrickje with her child, the little Cornelia. The apparent ages of the two figures, and the type of the *Venus* support his assumption. But Hendrickje, if Hendrickje it be, has grown stouter; her contours have lost their youthful grace, and the peevish-looking Cupid

by her side has no more of distinction than his mother. But for the wings set awkwardly on his shoulders, it would be hard to divine the very unfortunate title of the picture, against which the unmistakably Dutch character of the forms, types and accessories seems to enter a vigorous protest. Once more we recognise the master's shortcomings as a painter of mythological subjects. But if we set aside the legend, with which the characters have evidently no connection, and take the picture merely as a conception of maternal love, it is full of tenderness and charm; we forget the incongruity of the supposed theme, in admiration of the mother's loving expression, the gentleness with which she consoles the child, and the deep mutual affection of the pair. The *Young Woman at the Window* in the Berlin Gallery (No. 828 b.), must have been painted at about the same period. Dr. Bode, it is true, hesitates to accept this as a portrait of Hendrickje such as Rembrandt painted her in the *Portrait* of the *Salon Carré*. But the resemblance between the Berlin model and the *Venus* seems to us very striking, and their ages appear to be the same. The *Young Woman at the Window* is perhaps, if anything, a trifle younger. Hendrickje has become stouter, and broader; the double chin is now apparent, but she is still fresh and attractive. Her somewhat fanciful costume is very

YOUNG WOMAN AT A WINDOW.
About 1665 (Berlin Museum).

tasteful; she wears a red mantle trimmed with fur over a white under-dress, a cap striped with broad bands of gold, pearl earrings and bracelets, and a gold ring hanging by a black ribbon at her breast. But the easy negligence of the pose, and the low chemisette which partly reveals the neck and bosom, seem to mark the sitter as one who was on terms of close intimacy with the master. The bold, free touch gives us little clue as to the date of execution.

THE FAITHFUL SERVANT.
Pen drawing (Bonnat Collection).

At this period Rembrandt's handling varies so perpetually that it is impossible to draw anything but approximate conclusions from the character of his work, which in one picture is rough, hasty and impulsive, in another sedate and careful, according to his changing mood.

Neglected as he now was, the master still retained a few constant friends. Of this we find evidences in two very important commissions of this period. One of these works, or rather a fragment of the

original, is in the Stockholm Museum. The subject long exercised the sagacity of critics, and has recently been determined by the discovery of a document in which reference is made to it. The scene as represented in the mutilated picture is certainly somewhat obscure. Round a table lighted by a blazing torch are grouped ten life-size figures. To the left, facing the spectator, sits their chieftain, to whom they appear to be swearing obedience, brandishing aloft their swords and drinking-cups. The leader, who wears a sort of high tiara, responds by holding up his own blade. He is a man of imposing appearance and grave demeanour, apparently blind of one eye. Both he and his companions wear rich dresses, which are, however, not sufficiently distinctive to give any hint as to the episode represented.

Who are these warriors, and for what mysterious purpose are they assembled? Various solutions have been proposed from time to time, but none of a very convincing character. Noting that the leader is represented as one-eyed, some writers supposed him to be John Ziska. But we know how rarely Rembrandt sought inspiration in modern history, and it was difficult to believe that he could have chosen a theme so fantastic, and so alien to the artistic conceptions of himself and his compatriots. This hypothesis was accordingly abandoned, and a solution was sought for in the Scriptures, Rembrandt's perennial source of inspiration. It came to be very generally accepted that the theme was taken from the Book of the Maccabees, and that the artist intended to represent either Mattathias and his sons swearing to defend their faith against the persecutors, or the meeting of Judas Maccabæus and his brothers before their encounter with the troops of Antiochus. In later times, Professor K. Madsen suggested *The Founding of the Kingdom of Sweden by Odin.*[1] The wide diversity of these opinions shows their inconclusiveness. On a personal examination of the work, though I could arrive at no solution which satisfied me as to the subject, I was persuaded that the canvas had been mutilated much after the same fashion as the *Night Watch*, though

[1] *Studier fra Swerig*, by K. Madsen. 1 vol. 8vo. Copenhagen. 1892.

I little imagined to what an extent. It is now known that the Stockholm picture, large as it is—it measures rather over six by ten feet—is only a fragment, equal in surface to about a quarter of the original. Our facsimile of a drawing in the Munich Print Room will give some idea of the primitive work and its dimensions. This drawing, to which attention has already been drawn in the Stockholm Catalogue, though it gives the composition in its entirety, affords no clue as to the subject. It was reserved for Mr. de Roever to solve the much discussed problem, which he does in a recent number of the valuable journal of which he is joint-editor.[1]

The learned archivist had been struck by a passage in a *Description of Amsterdam*, published by Melchior Fokkens in 1662, in which mention is made of a picture in one of the angles of the great gallery in the Town Hall, now the Royal Palace, representing *The Midnight Banquet of Claudius Civilis, at which he persuaded the Batavians to throw off the Roman Yoke.* "The subject of this picture," adds Fokkens, "was one Rembrandt had treated." We know further, from a document already referred to in connection with the advance made by Jan Six to Rembrandt, that Lodewyk van Ludik, Rembrandt's security, received from the artist, in August, 1662, a deed, by which it was agreed that the half of Rembrandt's earnings up to January 1, 1663, should be devoted to paying off the loss of 1,082 florins incurred by Lodewyk through this transaction. It further provided that Van Ludik should be entitled to a quarter of the price paid to Rembrandt "for a picture painted for the Town Hall." Thanks to M. de Roever's collation of these statements, and to the evidence afforded by the Munich drawing, it is now possible to reconstruct the original composition, and to determine its subject. In the place indicated by Fokkens in the great gallery of the Palace is still to be seen an immense picture hanging very high up, in a dark corner, which might perhaps for a moment be mistaken for the work of Rembrandt. But the test

[1] *Een Rembrandt op't Stadhuis; Oud-Holland*, ix. p. 296. See also an article in the *Nederlandsche Spectator*, April, 1892, in which the question is admirably summed up by Mr. Cornelis Hofstede de Grote.

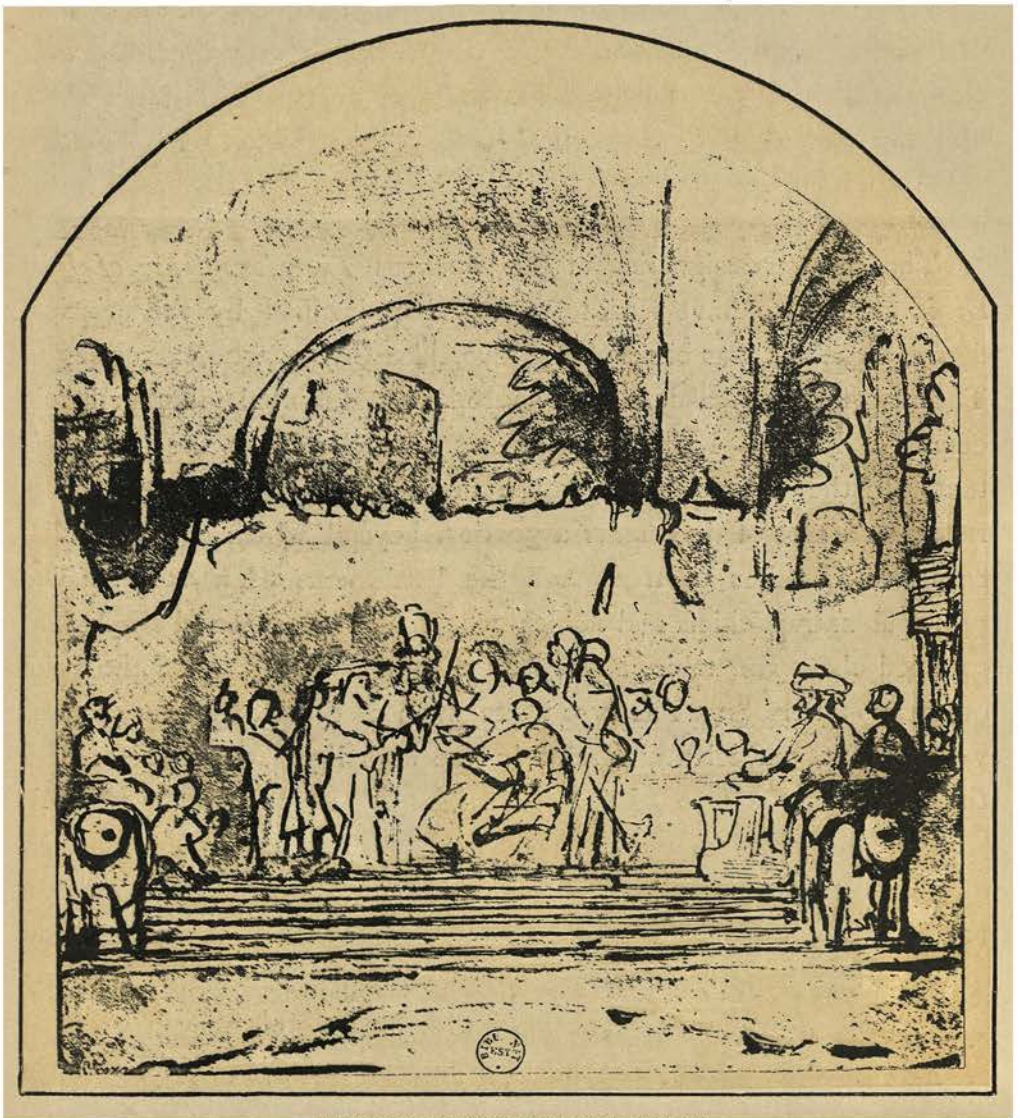
of the electric light has revealed the fact that this mediocre and coarsely executed picture was substituted for that of Rembrandt, as indeed Zesen informs us in his *Description of Amsterdam* (1663). No doubt Rembrandt, bearing in mind the destination of his canvas, had also treated his subject in a free and decorative style, the effect of which was unpleasant at close quarters. As it did not find favour with the magistrates, it seems not unlikely

THE CONSPIRACY OF CLAUDIUS CIVILIS.
1666 (Stockholm Museum

that they ventured on certain strictures which Rembrandt ignored, and that the result was the rejection of his picture. It then became a question how to dispose of this huge canvas, some sixty-five feet square, by far the largest ever covered by the master. In its original dimensions it was hopeless to offer it to a private purchaser, and this consideration, no doubt, led to the paring down of the canvas to the central group, which, after various vicissitudes, has found a resting-place in the Stockholm Gallery.[1]

[1] Of its *provenance* nothing is known but that, in 1798, it was bequeathed to the Fine Arts Academy at Stockholm by a certain Dame Peill, née Grill, whose husband, like herself, was of Dutch origin. It was removed to the Museum in 1864.

As we learn from the accounts of the Amsterdam Treasury, Flinck was the person originally entrusted with the decoration of this gallery in the Town Hall, by virtue of a contract approved on



STUDY FOR THE CONSPIRACY OF CLAUDIUS CIVILIS.
(Facsimile of a drawing in the Munich Print Room.)

November 28, 1659.[1] The choice of *The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* as one of the episodes to be treated is readily explained by the part the hero had played in the Batavian revolt, and by the

[1] The scheme of decoration comprised twelve pictures to be painted in six years, at 1,000 florins each. See *Amstel's Oudheid*, II. p. 143.

analogies the poets of the day, Vondel among others, had drawn between the early struggle against the Roman dominion, and that the Princes of Orange had brought to a triumphant issue against the Spaniards. But Flinck's labours having been interrupted by his death on February 22, 1660, the commission for the picture of Claudius Civilis was passed on to Rembrandt. It is not unlikely that the influence of his early patron, Dr. Tulp, who held the office of municipal treasurer from 1658 to 1659, was exercised in his behalf.

The earlier designation of the work as *The Conspiracy of John Ziska* was, as we have seen, to some extent justified by the principal figure, for Ziska was blind of one eye, like Civilis, who, according to Tacitus, gloried in a defect he shared with Hannibal, another heroic enemy of Rome. Rembrandt adheres very closely to the historian's text. In the Munich drawing the table of the midnight banquet is raised on a sort of daïs under a portico, beyond which we dimly discern the branches of trees, and the battlements of a castle. The principal native chiefs and nobles who have rallied round Civilis are grouped about the table, and swear with him to throw off the yoke of their oppressors. The broad execution of the Stockholm picture, which is yet sufficiently careful in the high lights, harmonises with the mysterious nature of the subject, and a very powerful effect is won by the simplest means. We recognise the hand of the master, and the exquisite delicacy of his harmonies, in the varied play of reds and yellows, with which the cunningly distributed blues and greens are so happily contrasted. The portion to the right especially is a miracle of brilliance. The man with long white hair in a cymar of pale golden tissue, and the four figures beside him, make up a colour passage of inimitable grace and distinction.

We may find some solace for our regrets at the mutilations undergone by such works as the *Night Watch* and the *Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis*, in the perfect preservation of another canvas of this period. Commissioned by the Guild of Drapers, or Cloth-workers, to paint a portrait group of their Syndics for the Hall of the Corporation, Rembrandt in 1661 delivered to them the great

picture which formerly hung in the Chamber of the Controllers and Gaugers of Cloth, at the *Staalhof*, and has now been removed to the Ryksmuseum. As in earlier days at Florence, the wool industry held an important place in the national commerce of Holland, and had greatly contributed to the development of public prosperity. At Leyden, where the Guild was a large and important company, we know that the Drapers decorated their Hall with pictures by Isaac van Swanenburch, representing the various processes of cloth-making. At Amsterdam, they formed a no less conspicuous body, and an admirable work, also in the Ryksmuseum, painted by Aert Petersen in 1599, has immortalised the *Six Syndics of the Cloth Hall* of that date. On this brilliant and perfectly preserved panel, the arrangement of the six figures has, it is true, a somewhat accidental appearance, and evidently cost the artist little trouble. But the frankly modelled heads have a startling energy and individuality, notably that of the central figure, a middle-aged man with grizzled hair, and a face of remarkable intelligence and decision. The following inscription on the panel sums up in few words the duties of the administration: "Conform to your vows in all matters clearly within their jurisdiction; live honestly; be not influenced in your judgments by favour, hatred, or personal interest." Such a programme of loyalty and strict justice was the foundation of Dutch commercial greatness. The model traders of Holland combined with their perfect integrity a spirit of enterprise which led them to seek distant markets for their produce, and a tenacity which ensured the success of the hazardous expeditions they promoted. They brought the qualities they had acquired in the exercise of their calling to bear upon their management of public business, and it was not unusual for the most prominent among them, who had proved their capacity in the administration of their various guilds, to be elected councillors and burgomasters by their fellow-citizens, or to undertake the management of those charitable institutions which abounded in all the Dutch towns. As was the custom among the military guilds, which gradually declined as the civic corporations increased in importance, it became a practice among the

latter to decorate their halls with the portraits of their dignitaries. Whatever the character of the Company, the manner of representation differed little in these portraits. Save in the case of the *Anatomy Lessons*, painted for the guilds of Physicians and Surgeons, or some few awkwardly rendered episodes inspired by the distribution of alms to the aged and the orphaned, the painters of these compositions contented themselves with arranging their patrons round a table, making no attempt to characterise them by any sort of accessory. The balancing of accounts, an operation common to all the Companies, had become a favourite motive in such groups. The administrators would appear seated at a table, covered with a cloth, busily verifying their accounts, and the contents of their cash-boxes, and explaining, with gestures more or less expressive, that all was in order, and that they had faithfully fulfilled their trust. In the background, standing apart with uncovered heads, some subordinates awaited their pleasure, or aided them in their task. Such was the trite theme, which was adapted to each of the societies in turn, and to which all the painters of corporation groups conformed with more or less exactitude. The only modifications of treatment arose from the varying degrees of talent in the executants. But in all we find that same spirit of conscientious

WOMAN AT A WINDOW.
Pen drawing washed with Sepia (Heseltine Collection).

exactitude and absolute sincerity which had brought wealth to their models, and was the first foundation of Dutch greatness alike in commerce and in art.

Such a spirit had already manifested itself in the *Regents of the Asylum for the Aged*, by Cornelis van de Voort, and in the pictures of Werner van Valckert, an artist who had won a well-deserved reputation by his studies of life in the Municipal Orphanage, and who

THE PRINSENGRACHT AND THE WESTERKERK.
(Near the Rozengracht, Rembrandt's later home.)
(Drawing by Boudier, after a photograph.)

painted a portrait-group of *The Four Syndics of the Mercers' Guild*, in 1622. In the hands of Thomas de Keyser and Nicolaes Elias the *genre* had reached its full development. Proclaimed their painter in ordinary by the leading citizens of Amsterdam, Elias was commissioned in 1626 to paint the *Regents of the Guild of Wine Merchants*, and in 1628 produced his fine work, *The Regents of the Spinhuis*. Santvoort in his turn—though his talents lay chiefly in the direction of female portraiture—displayed his powers very creditably in his *Four Regents of the Serge Hall* of 1643, a serious and well-considered work, finely

modelled, and very characteristically treated. But to Haarlem belongs the honour of having produced the finest corporation picture executed before Rembrandt's masterpiece Too much stress has perhaps been laid on the manifestation of his influence in Frans Hals' *Regents of the Hospital of St. Elizabeth*, painted in 1641. The Haarlem master may, we think, justly lay claim to the full glory of his achievements. As if grateful in anticipation for the succour he was afterwards to receive from his models, Hals here combines with the magnificent technique usual in his works, a precision and dignity to which he had never before attained.

At this period, Dutch art had reached its apogee, and corporation pictures were beginning to show symptoms of decline. The unquestionable talent of Ferdinand Bol, one of Rembrandt's best pupils, had not preserved him from a certain mannerism in his *Regents of the Asylum for the Aged*, dated 1657.[1] The six persons are seated in the usual manner round a table. The heads are somewhat round and soft in the modelling, and have little of the strong individuality that impresses us in the works of Bol's predecessors. The composition is lacking in simplicity, and the painter's anxiety to give variety to the attitudes is somewhat distractingly obvious. Each figure seems to claim exclusive attention, and this neglect of artistic subordination injures the unity of the composition, though it was indeed one of the main causes of Bol's success, for each model was flattered by the importance of his own figure in the group.

Such were the most important productions in this *genre*, when Rembrandt was commissioned to paint his group of Syndics. It is not unlikely that Van de Cappelle had used his influence on the master's behalf. He was on terms of friendship with Rembrandt at this period, and had dealings with most of the principal Drapers, in connection with his dye-works. It is therefore possible that he recommended the master to their patronage. On this occasion Rembrandt made no attempt to vary traditional treatment by picturesque episode, or novel method of illumination, as in the case of the *Night Watch*. As Dr.

[1] He was afterwards himself a Regent of the institution.

Bredius remarks: "He recognised, no doubt, that such experiments were far from grateful to his patrons, or it may be that they themselves made certain stipulations which left him no choice in the matter."[1] Be this as it may, Rembrandt accepted the convention of his predecessors in all its simplicity. The five dignitaries of the Corporation are ranged round the inevitable table, prosaically occupied in the verification of their accounts. They are all dressed in black costumes, with flat white collars, and broad-brimmed black hats. Behind them, and somewhat in the shadow, as befits his office, a servant, also in black, awaits their orders with uncovered head. The table-cloth is of a rich scarlet; a wainscot of yellowish brown wood, with simple mouldings, forms the background for the heads. No accessories, no variation in the costumes; an equally diffused light, falling from the left on the faces, which are those of men of mature years, some verging on old age. With such modest materials Rembrandt produced his masterpiece.

At the first glance, we are fascinated by the extraordinary reality of the scene, by the commanding presence and intense vitality of the models. They are simply honest citizens discussing the details of their calling; but there is an air of dignity on the manly faces that compels respect. In these men, to whom their comrades have entrusted the direction of their affairs, we recognise the marks of clean and upright living, the treasures of moral and physical health amassed by a robust and wholesome race. The eyes look out frankly from the canvas: the lips seem formed for the utterance of wise and sincere words. Such is the work, but, contemplating it, the student finds it difficult to analyse the secret of its greatness, so artfully is its art concealed. Unfettered by the limitations imposed on him, the master's genius finds its opportunity in the arrangement of the figures, and their spacing on the canvas, in the slight inflection of the line of faces, in the unstudied variety of gesture and attitude, in the rhythm and balance of the whole. An examination of the various details confirms our admiration. We note the solid structure of the heads and figures, the absolute truth of the values, the

[1] *Les Chefs-d'œuvre du Musée d'Amsterdam*, p. 26.

individual and expressive quality of each head, and their unity one with another. Passing from the drawing to the colour, our enthusiasm is raised by the harmony of intense velvety blacks and warm whites with brilliant carnations, which seem to have been kneaded, as it were, with sunshine; by the shadows which bring the forms into relief by an unerring perception of their surfaces and textures; and, finally, by the general harmony, the extraordinary vivacity of which can only be appreciated by comparing it with the surrounding canvases.

The execution is no less amazing in its sustained breadth and sobriety. As Fromentin justly observes: "The vivid quality of the light is so illusory that it is difficult to conceive of it as artificial." "So perfect is the balance of parts," he adds, "that the general impression would be that of sobriety and reticence, were it not for the undercurrent of nerves, of flame, of impatience, we divine beneath the outwardly calm maturity of the master." No criticism could be more admirable, save for the terms "nerves" and "impatience," which seem to me to be peculiarly inappropriate. I appeal to all students of this great work, in which there is not the slightest trace of precipitation or negligence, in which the "flame" is the steady fire of an inspiration perfectly under control.

That phase of Rembrandt's development in which he had yielded an almost slavish obedience to Nature had long passed away; but his assurance has none of the bravura of a virtuoso making a display of his proficiency. His is the strength that possesses its soul in patience, and attains its end without haste or hesitation. Never before had he achieved such perfection; never again was he to repeat the triumph of that supreme moment when all his natural gifts joined forces with the vast experiences of a life devoted to his art, in such a crowning manifestation of his genius. Brilliant and poetical, his masterpiece was at the same time absolutely correct and unexceptionable. Criticism, which still wrangles over the *Night Watch*, is unanimous in admiration of the *Syndics*. In it the colourist and the draughtsman, the simple

The Syndics of the Cloth Hall (1661).

(AMSTERDAM RYKSMUSEUM.)

and the subtle, the realist and the idealist, alike recognise one of the masterpieces of painting.

We know not how the work was received. But the absence of any evidence to the contrary seems to prove that it made no great impression on Rembrandt's contemporaries. Its virile art was little suited to the taste of the day; an enamelled smoothness of surface, and elaborate minuteness of treatment alone found favour. The master's broad and liberal manner must have seemed a direct challenge to his contemporaries. At Rembrandt's age, and in the conditions under which he was living, it was impossible that he should long sustain the high level of excellence he had reached in the *Syndics*. Proud and independent as he had remained in his poverty, he cared little for popular judgment. His life became more and more retired. In the district where he was now established, his patient industry and the decorum of his household had gradually won the sympathy of those about him. Hendrickje's affectionate solicitude for Titus, no less than for Cornelia, gave colour to the assumption that both were her children; she herself passed for Rembrandt's lawful wife. In the early days of their *liaison*, that *liaison* had caused scandal. In the inventory of Clement de Jonghe's effects, dated February 11, 1679, the etchings in his possession at the time of his death were—as has been said before—catalogued under the titles by which they were then commonly known. One of these appears as No. 47, *Rembrandt's Concubine*. It was probably one of those studies of naked women already described, of which the master produced yet another example in 1661, the *Woman with the Arrow* (B. 202), a more carefully executed plate than the earlier essays. The preliminary sketch, a pen drawing washed with sepia, is in the British Museum. Hendrickje was, no doubt, again his model, for the type is certainly the same as that in the etchings of 1658. But the simple and regular life led by Rembrandt and his mistress disarmed suspicion as to the legitimacy of their connexion, and a document recently discovered by Dr. Bredius offers convinc in proof that in their new home they were unquestioningly accepted as man and wife. The *procès-verbal* of an inquiry held October 27, 1661, into some

disturbances caused by a drunken man in the neighbourhood, mentions Hendrickje, "lawful wife of Rembrandt the painter,"[1] as one of the witnesses. Unhappily, her health began to fail at about this period. Some weeks before, on August 7, 1661, believing herself to be in imminent danger, she had sent for a notary, though the day was a Sunday, and had made known her last wishes. Her will gives final evidence of that affection and harmony which had united the family. Hendrickje made her daughter her heiress; but in the event of Cornelia's death, provided that her inheritance should pass to her half-brother, Titus. Rembrandt was appointed her guardian, and was further given a life-interest in the property, should he survive Cornelia. The document above referred to shows that Hendrickje had recovered, to some extent, by October 27. But her days were then numbered, and although the exact date of her death is unknown, it probably took place before 1664. In the interval of her companionship that remained to him, however, Rembrandt once more enjoyed a certain measure of peace and happiness in the modest home on the Rozengracht. He may even have again tasted the joys of collecting on a small scale, either for himself, or for Titus and Hendrickje, for he seems to have had certain drawings by famous masters in his possession. In an unpublished letter, written by Constantine Huygens to his brother Christian in 1663, he begs him to study some drawings by Carraccio in Jabach's possession, "so as to be able to determine whether the one belonging to Rembrandt at Amsterdam be a copy; which, however, he cannot believe, on account of the boldness of the touch."[2] Although he lived thus in solitude, Rembrandt was not absolutely forgotten, and a few friends still occasionally sought him out in his retreat. A precious album, now the property of the widowed Madame Kneppelhout, records their names. The collection was formed by one Jacob Heyblock, a writer and professor of some repute, who was for a time a teacher of Latin at Leyden, and finally settled at Am-

[1] *Huysvrouw van S. Rembrant van Reyn fijnschilder;* as on all other occasions, she attests the statement with a cross, which Titus witnessed and confirmed.

[2] Communicated by Dr. Bredius.

sterdam, where he was on terms of friendship with most of his distinguished contemporaries, such as Vossius, Heinsius, Vondel, Voetius, Cats, Huygens, &c. Side by side with their names in this album, we find those of the faithful few who had been constant to the master in his misfortunes. First among them are his pupils, Govert Flinck and Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, the latter represented by a somewhat mediocre composition of *Mercury and Argus;* then his fervid admirer, J. van de Cappelle, who contributes a pretty drawing of golf-players, dated 1654; J. de Decker, an adherent of Rembrandt to the end; and the worthy Coppenol, who in 1658 transcribed two sets of verses in praise of calligraphy, in his most finished style. In 1661 Rembrandt takes his place bravely in this distinguished company, with a sketch of *Simeon,* heightened with Chinese white and bistre, in which he delicately expresses the emotion of the old man, as he takes in his arms the Infant Jesus, whom Mary and Joseph contemplate with reverent tenderness.

The year 1661 is among the most productive in Rembrandt's career. Together with the various works we have enumerated, as preceding the masterpiece that eclipsed them all, he painted a number of studies and portraits. Some of these are dated; others we refer to this period on internal evidences. The most important is perhaps the *Praying Pilgrim,* signed and dated 1661, which was recently bought by M. Sedelmeyer, in England, and has since passed into the Weber Collection at Hamburg. The work is of the highest quality, the handling broad, nervous, and superbly expressive. The life-size bust is in profile. The pilgrim wears a mantle of yellowish gray, to which is fastened the symbolic scallop-shell; his staff and hat lie beside him. Standing, with folded hands, he prays fervently. The light strikes full on his bony hands and illumines a pallid face with angular features, a small pointed beard, and luxuriant hair. The simple harmony of the picture first claims our attention, and we linger to admire the impressive beauty of the head, the fire and fervour of the expression, and the unity of intention in face and attitude. We may next refer to the portrait formerly in Lord Lans-

downe's collection, which was bought by Lord Iveagh in 1889, a sombre work, somewhat indecisive in the modelling, notwithstanding its intense shadows. It represents a man still young, in a black dress and high black hat. In Lord Wimborne's portrait at Canford Manor, the model, whose face is relieved against a curtain of dull crimson, is a man of some forty years old, seated before a table with a red cloth. He wears a pointed hat, which casts its shadow over part of his face. The head is very powerfully modelled, and the brilliance of the carnations and breadth of the treatment may compare not unworthily with like qualities in the *Syndics*. The portrait of a man of about the same age in the Hermitage was probably painted in the same year. His refined and somewhat unhealthy face is framed in an abundant setting of reddish hair and beard. He wears a brown cap, a yellowish doublet, and a cloak of dull violet. The dark background brings out the firm modelling of the visage, with its somewhat melancholy expression, and compressed lips. The strong individuality of the sitter is sympathetically suggested. On close examination, the brushing seems somewhat coarse, and the colour exaggerated. But this excess of emphasis is tempered by distance, and gives a singular vigour to the effect.

JACOB'S BLESSING.
Pen drawing (Stockholm Print Room).

Another male portrait, lent by Lord Ashburton to the Winter Exhibition of 1890, is signed and dated 1661. It represents a man of florid complexion, with very piercing eyes; he wears a black dress, and a broad-brimmed black hat, which throws a deep shadow on

A Pilgrim Praying (1661).

(WEBER COLLECTION, HAMBURG.)

Printed by Eudes et Chassepot Paris (France)

his forehead. We need not concern ourselves with the French inscription at the top of the panel: *Portrait of Jansenius, the father of a numerous family, who died in* 1638, *aged fifty-three years.* It was added in the days when the value of a picture was supposed to be greatly enhanced by an attractive title. Jansenius, judging

ELIJAH IN THE DESERT.
Pen drawing (Berlin Print Room).

by his acknowledged portraits, had nothing to do with this, which is evidently painted from life. The date 1661, which I myself was not able to discover,[1] seems to me a suspicious one, and hardly agrees with the character of the execution. The elaborate

[1] No doubt on account of the glass, a protection now very generally adopted for valuable pictures in England. Dr. Bode's catalogue, and the catalogue of the exhibition, both give the date 1661.

finish of this work, its sedate and somewhat fluid handling, its sparing impasto, are so many evidences to us, as to Dr. Bredius,[1] of earlier origin. It has more the appearance of a work of 1645—1648. The best and most important picture of this class produced by the master at the period is the large portrait signed and dated 1661, belonging to Mr. Boughton-Knight, which, on the absurd system so often alluded to, is called *Rembrandt's Cook!* Knowing what we do of Rembrandt's frugal habits, it is curious to find him credited with the possession of a *chef!* The so-called cook is a middle-aged man of an open, pleasant countenance, with closely cropped hair. He faces the spectator, wearing a greenish gray dress, opening over a white chemisette, and a brown cloak. Some books lie by his side, and in his right hand he holds the small knife which gave rise to the title of his portrait. What the true function of this instrument may be, we are no more able to suggest than Dr. Bode. He rests his chin on his other hand, and seems to be reflecting deeply. He was perhaps some savant, perhaps one of those doctors whose society Rembrandt affected, certainly one of his friends. Whoever he may have been, he had every reason to be satisfied with his portrait. The powerful effect of the sober intonations, the masterly freedom of the touch, the brilliance of the light on face and hands, are among the many admirable qualities of this work.

Together with these portraits of friends or patrons, we find several of those studies of himself by which the master has marked the successive stages of his laborious career. In one of these, a bust portrait in Sir John Neeld's collection at Grittleton House, a work somewhat below the master's level in expressive quality, and over-black in the shadows, he wears a brown costume and a pale violet cap striped with red. Another, which belongs to Lord Kinnaird, a more luminous and interesting study, is one of those harmonies in brown tones relieved by reds and yellows, with which Rembrandt loved to accentuate the brilliance

[1] Bredius: "*Old Masters in the Royal Academy*"; *Nederlandsche Spectator*. 1890. No. 13.

of his carnations. As in the Louvre picture, his head is swathed in a white and yellow turban; but instead of palette and brushes, he holds a book in his hand, and looks up from the page at the spectator. His expression is calm. The bitterest of his trials were past, and though his position was still a precarious one, he seems to have recovered a certain measure of hope.

In spite of the numerous evidences of Rembrandt's activity throughout the year 1661, the legend of his sojourn in England at this period has been revived of late, on the evidence of a document to which Dr. Bredius calls my attention. In the manuscript of Vertue's diaries, dated 1713, in the British Museum[1] the following note occurs: "Rembrant van Rhine was in England, livd at Hull in Yorkshire about sixteen or eighteen months, where he painted several gentlemen and seafaring men's pictures. One of them is in the possession of Mr. Dahl, a sea-captain, with the gentleman's name, Rembrant's name, and York, and the year 1661. Reported by old Larroon who in his youth knew Rembrant at York.—Christian."[2] We may ask how it was possible that Laroon, who was born at the Hague in 1653, could have met Rembrandt in Yorkshire in 1661. Laroon may have come to England at an early age; but in 1661 he was only eight years old. On the other hand, Rembrandt's presence in Amsterdam in 1661 is attested by many important works, and by official documents. It was the year in which he settled on the Rozengracht, the year in which Hendrickje made a will in his favour, the year of the report already quoted, in which she is described as his "lawful wife." Besides the evidence of the drawing in J. Heyblock's album, we have that of such important pictures as the *Saint Matthew with the Angel* in the Louvre, Mr. Weber's *Pilgrim*, the masterpiece of the *Syndics*,

[1] Add. MSS. 21,111. f. 8. (1713).

[2] *In the transcript of this volume (Add. MSS. 23,068) there are negatives in Vertue's writing against the statements as to the name, place, and date in the last sentence. The 'Christian' who appears to have given Vertue this information was Charles Christian Reisen, the seal-engraver.—F. W.*

and the huge *Claudius Civilis*. Is it credible that the master can further have found time for a visit to England? Up to the present date, none of the portraits he is supposed to have painted at Hull have come to light. Until some fresh evidence is offered, we must reject the tradition.

PEN SKETCH OF A LANDSCAPE.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection)

SKETCH OF A LANDSCAPE, HEIGHTENED WITH SEPIA.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

CHAPTER VII

THE DEATH OF HENDRICKJE—THE PROBABLE FAILURE OF REMBRANDT'S HEALTH AND SIGHT—THE 'LUCRETIA' AND THE 'JEWISH BRIDE'—AERT DE GELDER AND HIS WORKS—THE 'LE PECQ REMBRANDT'—PORTRAIT OF JEREMIAS DE DECKER—THE 'FAMILY GROUP' IN THE BRUNSWICK GALLERY—THE 'FLAGELLATION' AT DARMSTADT—THE 'RETURN OF THE PRODIGAL SON'—REMBRANDT'S LAST PORTRAITS—THE TRIALS OF HIS CLOSING YEARS—HIS DEATH.

AN OLD WOMAN IN A BLACK VEIL.
1631 (B. 355).

THE term of tranquil industry enjoyed just now was not of long duration. Sorrow after sorrow, each more cruel than the last, darkened the last years of Rembrandt's life. It seems probable that he lost Hendrickje before 1664. The death of that faithful friend undoubtedly preceded his own, for after the year 1661 she disappears from the master's *œuvre*, and no mention of her occurs in any of the documents relating to Rembrandt or his children. She was probably buried in the Wester Kerk; but as there is no entry of such burial in the registers of this

church from 1664 to 1670, nor in any of the other registers of Amsterdam churches from 1661 to 1670, it may be that the sale of Rembrandt's family vault in the Oude Kerk on October 27, 1662, coincided with Hendrickje's death. After his change of domicile, the vault was useless to the master, and, in his impoverished state, he was forced on purchasing another to give it up.

By the death of Hendrickje, Rembrandt was left more defenceless than ever against the anxieties to which he was exposed. His position had long been somewhat of an anomaly, complicated as it was by the various family arrangements to which he had been a party. Hendrickje's will, her partnership with Titus, the prolonged liquidation consequent on the bankruptcy, all these afforded Rembrandt's creditors pretexts for intervening in his affairs, of which they were not slow to avail themselves, hoping on each occasion to recover some part of their property.

Overwhelmed at last by this concatenation of miseries, the old painter seems to have given way for a time to a very natural depression. His health, and probably his sight, were beginning to fail. If, we consider his age, his many troubles, the sedentary life he had led, we shall not be surprised to find that a constitution naturally robust was greatly impaired. The body to which he had been such a harsh taskmaster at last began to resent his ill-usage. The portraits of himself he painted at this period reveal the ravages wrought by the last few years on his person. He has grown fat and unwieldy ; an unhealthy puffiness of flesh has become apparent in his cheeks and throat. His features are contracted, as if with pain, and the bandages round his head under his red cap seem to suggest continuous sufferings from head-ache. The sunken, bloodshot appearance of his eyes, and the swollen eyelids further indicate a gradual weakening of his sight.

What artist, indeed, had ever made severer demands upon his powers of vision ? Consider the strain to which he had constantly subjected them, the long education by which he had made them subservient to his will, teaching his eyes to read the depths of the profoundest shadows, to seize the minutest gradations of light, to express them in all their infinitude, with no abatement of the general unity,

with no forgetfulness of the final effect. Consider the long-sustained effort of an undertaking so minute and laborious as the *Hundred Guilder Piece.* Rembrandt was condemned to expiate the abuse of his powers by a period of enforced idleness. So, at least, we interpret the absence of any work by him from 1662 to 1664. His etchings, which had gradually declined in number, cease entirely from 1661 onwards. For some time before they were marked by an increasing hastiness and loss of delicacy. The life-studies and landscapes also come to an abrupt end, together with those etchings and landscapes in which he had taken so great a delight. When at last Rembrandt was able to resume his painting, his style had undergone a marked change. He was no longer able to attack complex subjects, which necessitated study and preparation. He now confined himself in general to one or two figures of large size, which he was content to sketch broadly on his canvas. All unnecessary details were dispensed with; he limited himself to the essentials of expression, on which he concentrated all his powers. In time his harmonies become less intricate, his effects less subtle, his palette less varied; but he shows an increasing predilection for depth and richness in the few colours to which he restricts himself. The violets disappear, and their place is taken by vermilions, blended with brilliant yellows and tawny browns. The execution shows a growing breadth, simplicity, and decision. When the work prolongs itself unduly, the master's nerves are no longer under perfect control, and he has recourse to violence, where before he was content that patience should solve the problem.

As Dr. Bode remarks, the productions of this last period have many analogies with his youthful works. They are rather studies than portraits, and for most of them he himself and his intimates were the models. Just as in his early pictures he made use of the butt-end of the brush to draw the hair and beard of his figures in the moist paint, so now he has recourse to the palette-knife, and lays on bold masses of colour, which he afterwards works up into luminous relief with an eager, feverish touch. And yet, as Félibien naïvely remarks: "The broad and even coarse treatment which gives to some of these

works the appearance of hasty sketches on close examination, is amply justified by their effect at a certain distance. As the spectator recedes the vigorous strokes of the brush, and the loaded colour, assume their legitimate functions, melting and blending into the desired harmony." [1]

But with Rembrandt we have always to reckon with the unexpected. Side by side with these tempestuous creations we find works of the most impeccable execution. Occasionally the same canvas shows startling inequalities. Some passages are finished with elaborate care; others are barely sketched. In one place the impasto is loaded to excess, in others the ground is scarcely covered. The *Death of Lucretia* of this period is an example of such anomalies; its remarkable breadth and freedom is tempered by a certain reticence in parts. The subject was one that pleased the master, and he appears to have already treated it, for in the inventory of one Abraham de Wyss, dated March 1, 1658, Dr. Bredius discovers "a large picture of *Lucretia*, by Rembrandt van Ryn." The *Lucretia* of 1664 is signed and dated. It was formerly in the San Donato collection, and we saw it not long since in Paris. The life-size figure is rather more than three-quarters' length. Lucretia holds in her right hand a dagger, its point towards her breast. The other hand is upraised in a gesture of despair, as if calling Heaven to witness

PEN SKETCH HEIGHTENED WITH SEPIA.
(Lord Warwick's Collection.)

[1] *Entretien sur les Vies et les Ouvrages des plus excellents Peintres.* 5 vols. 12mo., 1725. Vol. III. p. 458.

All this is hardly exceptional: hardly even peculiar. At least we recognise its counterpart in the prompt and potent inspirations of the old age of Velasquez—of the old age of David Cox.—F. W.

that death is the victim's only refuge. The young matron wears a tunic of golden brown over a white chemisette, and a necklace of pearls; a medallion with a large pearl attached hangs on her breast. Her head is slightly bent, and is crowned by a golden diadem, round which is coiled a mass of bright brown hair. The regular features, the pure oval of the face, the rich hair, recall one of the fair Venetians immortalised by Titian. In the execution, which is more

THE JEWISH BRIDE (BOAZ AND RUTH?).
About 1665 (Rykṣmuseum, Amsterdam).

discreet and supple than is usual at this period, we note further reminiscences of the painter of Cadore, for whom, judging by the examples of his works collected by the master, Rembrandt seems to have had a deep admiration. But the harmony of the amber tones, and the luminous brilliance of the carnations against the dark background are very characteristic of Rembrandt, and justify Bürger's criticism: "It is painted with gold." The work is more summary, but the expressive quality, on the other hand, is of a higher order in the *Workers in the Vineyard*, a picture in

the Wallace collection, probably painted at about the same period. Here the figures, like that of the *Lucretia*, are life-size, and three-quarters' length. Seated at a table, his purse beside him, the gray-haired master of the vineyard is paying his labourers. He wears a high turban, and a red robe, opening over a white shirt with an ornamental pattern. Resting one hand on the table, he points with the other to the account on a sheet of paper before him, to which he calls the attention of one among the three labourers, another of whom wears a military dress, and a helmet with white plumes. The harmony, a deliberately austere scheme of reds, toned whites, and gray or yellowish browns, has peculiar distinction. But the main beauty of the composition lies in the nobility of the conception, in the air of authority on the benevolent face of the master, outraged at the unjust claims by which his bounty is rewarded.

To this same period, about the year 1665, we may probably assign a picture of the Van der Hoop collection, in the Ryksmuseum, the traditional title of which, *The Jewish Bride*, seems to us as purely arbitrary as that of *The Night Watch*. The theme, though simple in treatment, is very enigmatical. The elderly man who lays one hand on the young woman's shoulder, the other on her breast, in a somewhat compromising attitude, looks too reverend a personage for a gallant, too serious and respectable for a seducer; his air of gravity, and the deferential expression of the young woman, seem rather to proclaim him a father or guardian, from whom she is about to part. We can detect nothing in the appearance of either model to help us to their identification with any of the master's friends or relatives. The subject, which may possibly, as has been suggested, be the courtship of Boaz and Ruth, is, however, unimportant, as compared with the great technical interest of the work. Note especially the natural grace of the young woman, the beauty of her hands, the magnificent harmony of her flesh-tones, and the rich crimson of her gown, a harmony brought into vivid relief by the dark green of the background, and the iron-grays skilfully distributed among the more brilliant tints.

In this year 1665, the prolonged disputes arising out of Rembrandt's relations with his creditors were finally brought to an end. The most

formidable creditor, Van Hertsbeek, had, as we know, appealed in vain against the judgment of the provincial court of December 22, 1662, ordering him to restore the 4200 florins he had obtained from the insolvent estate. The decree was confirmed by the Great Council on January 27, 1665, and on June 20 following Van Hertsbeek was ordered to pay over the money to Louis Crayers, advocate, and agent for Titus.

To avoid further difficulties, Rembrandt made up his mind to establish Titus' position, by demanding an abridgment of his minority by a year. Jointly with his son, he presented a petition to the magistrates of the town, asking them to support the request before the Grand Council.[1] In this document Titus sets forth that "as a citizen of Amsterdam, his situation as a minor is a drawback to him in his business, and might become very prejudicial." He solicits permission "to manage his own affairs and administer his own property." The faithful Abraham Fransz—who was probably Titus' friend and counsellor in his business as a dealer "in engravings, pictures, and curiosities of all sorts"—further certifies that the young man is perfectly qualified for the dispensation "by reason alike of his business capabilities, and his exemplary conduct," an opinion in which Fransz is supported by two witnesses. The request having been favourably received by the magistrates, the desired indulgence was granted on June 19 following, and on November 5 Titus was awarded the sum of 6952 florins "being the balance, as well of the produce of the sale at his father's house, in the Breestraat near St. Anthony's Lock, in 1658, as also of the former inheritance." Although the sum fell far short of what he had originally claimed, the conclusion of the litigation was an infinite relief to Rembrandt. After a sojourn of some three years in the house on the Rozengracht, his life had become more or less nomadic. He seems however to have been on excellent terms with his late landlord, one Van Leest, for on January 26, 1663, Rembrandt acted as his witness to an inventory of his deceased son's property. But in 1664 Rembrandt gave up his house, and installed himself on a neighbouring quay, the Lauriergracht, where he remained only a year.

[1] Vosmaer, p. 374 and 449.

In 1665 we find him back again on the Rozengracht, and there he remained until his death. These successive changes seem to point to money-difficulties, and it is probable that Titus' tardy inheritance relieved the old painter's distress at a most opportune moment.

LABAN AND LEAH.
Pen drawing (Duke of Devonshire's Collection).

Notwithstanding the neglect which had overtaken the master, a pupil came to him at this period, whose talent and aptitude must have cheered the forsaken artist in his solitude. This, his latest scholar, Aert de Gelder, was born October 26, 1645, at Dordrecht, the city which had furnished Rembrandt with so many disciples. De Gelder had been a pupil of one of these, Samuel van Hoogstraaten, until the departure of the latter for England, in 1662. As Mr. G. Veth has already remarked,[1] it is probable that De Gelder passed directly from Hoogstraaten's studio to Rembrandt; for Houbraken, who knew him personally, only mentions these two as his masters. He belonged to a

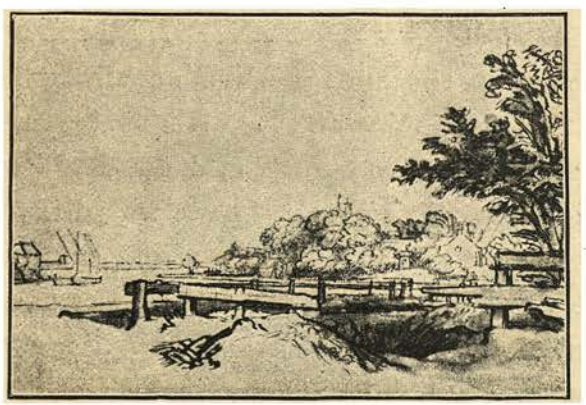
THE NATIVITY.
About 1652 (B. 45).

[1] *Anteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordretsche Schilders; Oud-Holland*, vi. p. 184.

good family, and was, in all probability, the son of J. Gelder Aertsz, accountant to the East India Company at Dordrecht in 1650. An enthusiastic worshipper of Rembrandt, De Gelder soon adopted all

PEN DRAWING HEIGHTENED WITH SEPIA.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

his tastes. He imitated his execution, painted kindred subjects, and, like Rembrandt, adorned the walls of his studio with a mass of ornaments, embroideries, foreign shoes and weapons. It was not only his habit to lay on his colours with a palette-knife, as was the practice of his master; he even kneaded the paste with his finger and thumb, "despising," as Houbraken says, "no technical device to obtain a desired end, and often producing truly surprising effects from a distance."



PEN DRAWING WASHED WITH SEPIA.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)
(This drawing, the one above it, and the head-piece of Chapter I., Vol. I., are studies of the same landscape.)

Among De Gelder's best works we may mention the *Synagogue*, a picture of sixteen figures, painted in 1671, the chiaroscuro of which is so delicately studied that, in Bürger's words, it is hard to believe it anything but a sketch by Rembrandt;

the *Painter engaged on the portrait of an old Lady* (1685) in the Städel Institute at Frankfort, perhaps his masterpiece; the *Ecce Homo* at Dresden (1671), a work evidently inspired by Rembrandt's large plate of 1655 (B. 76); and a second picture in the same gallery, the charming *Contract*, attributed to C. Paudiss, but undoubtedly by De Gelder. The type of the woman and her head-dress are almost identical with those of a *Bathsheba at David's Death-bed* belonging to Madame Lacroix. The analogies of the execution are further very marked. Madame Lacroix's example was a famous work even in the painter's life-time, and was formerly in the celebrated Van der Linden Van Slingelandt collection, sold at Dordrecht in 1785.[1] We may close the list with the two pictures in the Prague Museum, the *Vertumnus and Pomona*, engraved by Lepicié as a work of Rembrandt's, but restored to its true author by Lebrun; and the *Ruth and Boaz*, the composition of which, being closely allied to that of the *Jewish Bride* in the Ryksmuseum, confirms the hypothesis that this was the subject treated by Rembrandt.

In these various works, the disciple approaches the master so closely that it is easy to explain occasional mistakes of attribution. To Aert de Gelder, we think, must be assigned the so-called *Le Pecq Rembrandt*, a picture which gave rise to the most passionate controversy, both in France and abroad, at the beginning of 1890. Public interest in the question was so great that we may be pardoned for devoting some few lines to this *Abraham entertaining the Angels*, which bears Rembrandt's signature, and the date 1656. I was one of the first to whom M. Bourgeois submitted the picture after its purchase at a public sale held at Le Pecq, near Saint Germain. I saw it under unfavourable conditions, and by gas-light. But my immediate impression was that the work was not by Rembrandt. During my fifteen years' study of the master, and more particularly during the three years I have devoted exclusively to his works, I have often been called upon to pronounce on the authenticity of pictures attributed to him. There have been occasions when I have hesitated

[1] The *Bathsheba* then fetched 200 florins. The collection included five other works by Aert de Gelder, among them two allegorical figures, *Liberty* and *Concord*.

between Rembrandt and his pupils; but in this case my decision was made at a glance. Two days later the opening of the Winter Exhibition necessitated my presence in London, and before leaving I was only able to express my opinion as to the so-called Rembrandt to one or two friends. At the time I was far from foreseeing the violent discussions of which I subsequently caught the echoes in numerous European, and even American newspapers. But while in London my opinion was fully confirmed by Dr. Bode, who arrived two days after me, and who had examined the picture on his way through Paris. He negatived the attribution on grounds identical with those already advanced by me. I afterwards saw the picture in a strong light, and examined it carefully, with the result that my first impressions were in every respect justified. As far as my knowledge goes, Rembrandt treated the subject three times: in the etching of 1656 (B. 29), and in two pictures, one the "little gem" of 1646 (No. 2 in Smith's Catalogue), the other the large canvas of the same year in the Hermitage. Both in the etching and the pictures, the master has adhered scrupulously to the text, representing Abraham as a white-bearded old man, and Sara, as holding somewhat aloof, and laughing at the suggestion that she shall yet bear a son in her old age. In the Le Pecq picture Sara is not present. The figure of Abraham, though in the foreground, is veiled in a strong shadow, and is barely recognisable. His attitude and his brown hair are very uncharacteristic of the patriarch as elsewhere conceived by Rembrandt. The types also differ widely from those affected by the master. The heads of the angels are poorly drawn, and expressionless; the Eternal Father in the centre is a venerable figure; but his refined and delicate features have none of the power and majesty with which Rembrandt would have endowed them. The weakness and incorrectness in the modelling of the hands are flagrant; not that the master himself was always beyond reproach in this respect. But his very errors have a brilliance totally wanting here. In spite of De Gelder's simulated audacity, in spite of his loaded impasto, and free use of the palette-knife, his execution is essentially timid. We recognise

the uncertainty of handling, the spurious vigour of one whose excitement is calculated and deliberate, rather than the assurance of touch, the freedom, the feverish impatience of an artist sure of himself, as was Rembrandt, in works where he too had recourse to the palette-knife, as for instance the *Syndics*, the *Jewish Bride*, and the *Family Portrait* in the Brunswick Gallery. At this period nothing could have been more alien to his manner than the somewhat insipid refinement, and elaborate care that marks his pupil's conception of God the Father—the best, and indeed the only good figure of the composition. In the presence of this work, we cannot but concur in Smith's appreciation of Aert de Gelder's powers: "Many of this artist's productions, when viewed at a moderate distance, have a deceptive resemblance to Rembrandt's, but when examined more closely, they will be found exceedingly thin and meagre in colour, and slight in the execution."[1] To be brief, we consider the work, though inferior to the Frankfort picture, and injured by an early restoration, which has reduced the impasto, and given it a certain rawness and monotony, to be nevertheless one of De Gelder's best productions. But for the reasons we have stated, as for many others we might point out, we cannot admit it to a place in Rembrandt's *œuvre*.

PEN AND SEPIA SKETCH.
(Lord Warwick's Collection.)

At about the same time that De Gelder came, an apt and docile pupil, to cheer Rembrandt's solitude, the master had the further satisfaction of increased intimacy with one who had long been among his friends. This was Vondel's pupil, Jeremias de Decker, whose portrait, painted by Rembrandt in 1666, is now in the Hermitage.

[1] *Catalogue Raisonné*, vii. p. 249.

Decker professed the warmest admiration for the master, and had sung his praises in a sonnet inspired by his picture: *The Magdalene*

THE STANDARD-BEARER.

About 1662—1664 (Lord Warwick's Collection).

at the Feet of Christ.[1] He extols his friend's "respect for the

[1] Rembrandt twice treated the subject, once in the picture in Buckingham Palace, dated 1638, and again in that in the Brunswick Gallery, dated 1651. It is not known to which De Decker referred; probably, however, to the later picture, as the first edition of the poet's works appeared at Amsterdam in 1656.

sacred text." "Have pen and pencil ever been so intimately allied?" he asks. "Did ever colours approach reality so nearly?" Speaking of the touching figure of the Magdalene, he dwells on the poetic charm of her attitude and expression. "She believes and doubts by turns; she hesitates between hope and fear. The towering rocks of the sepulchre give a mysterious majesty to the scene. Friend Rembrandt, I saw the work grow beneath thine active hand; my pen does homage to thy brush, my ink to thy pigments." The fine quality of the Hermitage portrait proclaims Rembrandt's evident pleasure in the rendering of his model. He is turned almost full face to the spectator, and wears a broad-brimmed hat, which throws a strong shadow across the upper part of the face, concentrating the light on the nose and the left cheek. The black costume is relieved by a flat white collar. The somewhat blunt features express vigour and resolution; the keen eyes are full of sincerity. The work is marked by no special display of technical mastery. Its characteristics are rather the noble breadth and simplicity that give the painter of the *Syndics* a place apart among artists. Such an interpretation of his personality moved the poet to express his gratitude in verse. In a poem written immediately after the completion of the portrait—he died the same year—Decker lauds the generosity of the Apelles, whose work was undertaken, not in the hope of profit, but "for the love of his friend and of the Muses." He wishes that he were able, in like masterly fashion, to reproduce the artist with the pen—not his features, but his cultured mind and ingenious art, which he (Decker) would fain manifest to all the world, to the confusion of Envy, that evil beast. But what, he asks, can verse such as his own avail the painter, whose glory has spread wherever the ships of free Holland have sailed? Though his pen can add nothing to the fame of Van Ryn, he begs him to accept the verses as a humble tribute from one who will ever be his obliged and grateful friend.

Such appreciation must have sounded strangely in Rembrandt's unaccustomed ears. His friends were few, and more than ever his work had become his main solace. Most of the pictures

painted at this period are portraits, or rather studies, for, judging by their attitudes and costume, the persons represented were chiefly those about him. The *Portrait of a Young Woman*, in the National Gallery, signed and dated 1666, no doubt belongs to this category. She is painted nearly full face, in a black costume, with pearls in her ears, and rings on her fingers. Her hands are crossed on her breast, and in one she holds a handkerchief. Her features are commonplace enough, but her smiling lips and the sweet expression of her eyes denote a kindly nature, and in his rendering of her characteristic type Rembrandt combines an absolute sincerity with that consummate mastery of material to which he had now attained. Mr. Charles Morrison's *Portrait of a Young Girl* is even more attractive, though it has lost something of its first freshness. It must have been painted at about the same time, but only the first three figures of the date (166) are now legible. As Dr. Bode remarks,[1] there is no justification for the title, *Rembrandt's Daughter*, by which it is commonly known. Cornelia was only eleven or twelve years old at the time, and the girl in the portrait is apparently from eighteen to twenty. The graceful figure is seated in an elbow-chair, on the arm of which she rests her right hand. She is wrapped in a white fur, which, while it serves to supplement her scanty draperies, leaves her chemise and part of her breast uncovered. The deep violet crimson of the table-cover beside her, and the dull red of the curtain behind set off her brilliant carnations, and the beauty of her youthful contours is fully displayed by the truth of the attitude, and the delicacy of the chiaroscuro.

In addition to these youthful models, Rembrandt found around him a few of those old men he loved to paint, because they fell in submissively with his fancies, and allowed him to pose and accoutre them as he pleased. Foremost among these was the *Standard-Bearer* now at Warwick Castle, an elderly man who stands facing the spectator, in a broad brimmed hat with white plumes, and a brown costume relieved by a dark green scarf and gold baldrick. In his left hand he grasps a red and yellow standard. His features

[1] Bode, *Studien*, p. 551.

are delicate and refined, and, as Dr. Bode remarks, there is a curious incongruity between his placid expression and his martial trappings.

Lord Northbrook's *Portrait of an old Man leaning on a Stick* seems to us not altogether above suspicion. It is signed and dated 1667, but the weakness and timidity of the handling make this date an incredible one. The Duke of Devonshire's *Old Man* at Chiswick is a more important work, and worthier of the master; but the finest of this series is the *Old Man* in the Dresden Gallery (No. 1570 in the Catalogue), which must have been painted at this period. Though Rembrandt has laid his palette with a certain reticence, the effect is marvellously rich and vigorous. The somewhat strong shadows enhance the brilliance of the high lights, which are very carefully studied, the touches being juxtaposed, but without fusion, a device by which the play of the impasto takes on a vibrating quality of extraordinary depth and harmony. The more loaded passages—such as the brocaded drapery, and the clasp which fastens the mantle—are rather modelled than painted, and from a short distance are almost illusory in their rendering of the glimmer of gold and the glint of precious stones.

SCRIPTURAL SUBJECT.
Pen and Sepia (Lord Warwick's Collection

To this period—1666 to 1668—we think must be assigned a pair of bust portraits of a husband and wife, purchased in 1889 by Messrs. Rodolphe and Maurice Kann, from the Comte d'Oultremont at Brussels. They are marked by the freedom of touch, the vigour almost verging on violence, which distinguish the works already

enumerated. The husband, a man of energetic appearance, with a florid complexion, brown moustaches, and grizzled hair rising in a mass above his forehead, wears a yellowish doublet with a small flat collar, and over it a full gown of deep red. Round his neck is a gold chain, and in his left hand (the only hand visible) he holds a magnifying glass. The strong but transparent shadows

FAMILY GROUP.
About 1668—1669 (Brunswick Museum).

are so disposed as to give great effect to the harmony. The thin face of the model has great nobility, and the expression of the eyes denotes a singular power of concentration. Though the likeness was evidently striking, we divine a something above and beyond reality, due to the genius of the artist. The splendour and harmony of the colour is no less remarkable in the wife's portrait. In her crimson dress, the diadem of gold and pearls that crowns her red hair, her ornaments of gold and gems, and her pearl earrings, the lady is rather striking than beautiful. Like several other of Rembrandt's sitters, she holds a pink in her right

hand. Her small mouth, her thin straight nose, her large, inquiring eyes, make up a singular, but very original and life-like type. The general effect is extraordinarily rich and glowing; the olive-green curtain against which the head is relieved brings out the magnificent reds of the dress, which are tempered here and there by gold. The handling, though broad and free as a whole, is varied by passages of great delicacy, and the neutral half-tones are exquisitely delicate.

In appearance the couple seem to us not unlike the husband and wife whom Rembrandt painted with their three young children in the large *Family Group* of the Brunswick Gallery, one of the most marvellous creations of his closing years.

The light is concentrated on the five figures of the group, the father, mother, and three children, and these figures, with their sparkling eyes, their brilliant complexions, the almost supernatural vivacity of their bearing, look like apparitions emerging from the gloom around them. In the vigorous contrasts necessary for such an effect as Rembrandt has here conceived, there was scope for the most intense blacks, and the most brilliant high tones, and for an infinity of delicately modulated gradations between the two extremes. A like luxuriance characterises the colour. The general harmony wavers between red and yellow, but red predominates, a red of regal magnificence, now frank and vivid, now veiled and subdued, its glowing, velvety transparence accentuated by sudden touches of pure colour which give increased resonance to the tonality. The effect is that of an open casket, its golden ornaments and precious stones displayed on a lining of purple. Forms stand out in bold relief, or melt into obscurity in the iridescent radiance, now merely indicated by the brown outline of the sketch, now worked up and modelled with equal ease and audacity.

These manifold contrasts are further heightened by that of touch, which is by turns fiery and restrained, light and loaded, mellow and unctuous, as the master's instrument is by turns the brush itself, its butt-end, or the palette knife. On one portion of the picture the colour is spread smoothly on an even ground, so thinly that the texture of

the canvas appears, while close beside we have the rough impasto piled up in heavy, serrated masses, in which the various objects seem rather to be modelled than painted.

There is a sort of frenzy in these caprices of treatment. We know no work by the master with such violent contrasts, such flagrant incoherences. And yet, all the inequalities of touch, the clangour of tones, the complexities of light, take on order and harmony when seen from a distance. We have but to step back a few paces and the structure becomes logical and vigorous, the values balance themselves, the colours sing in radiant melody. We turn to the neighbouring canvases, and all seem dull, lifeless, and insignificant. Involuntarily, our gaze is once more riveted on the stupendous creation, which combines the vague poetry of dreams with a manifestation of intense reality.

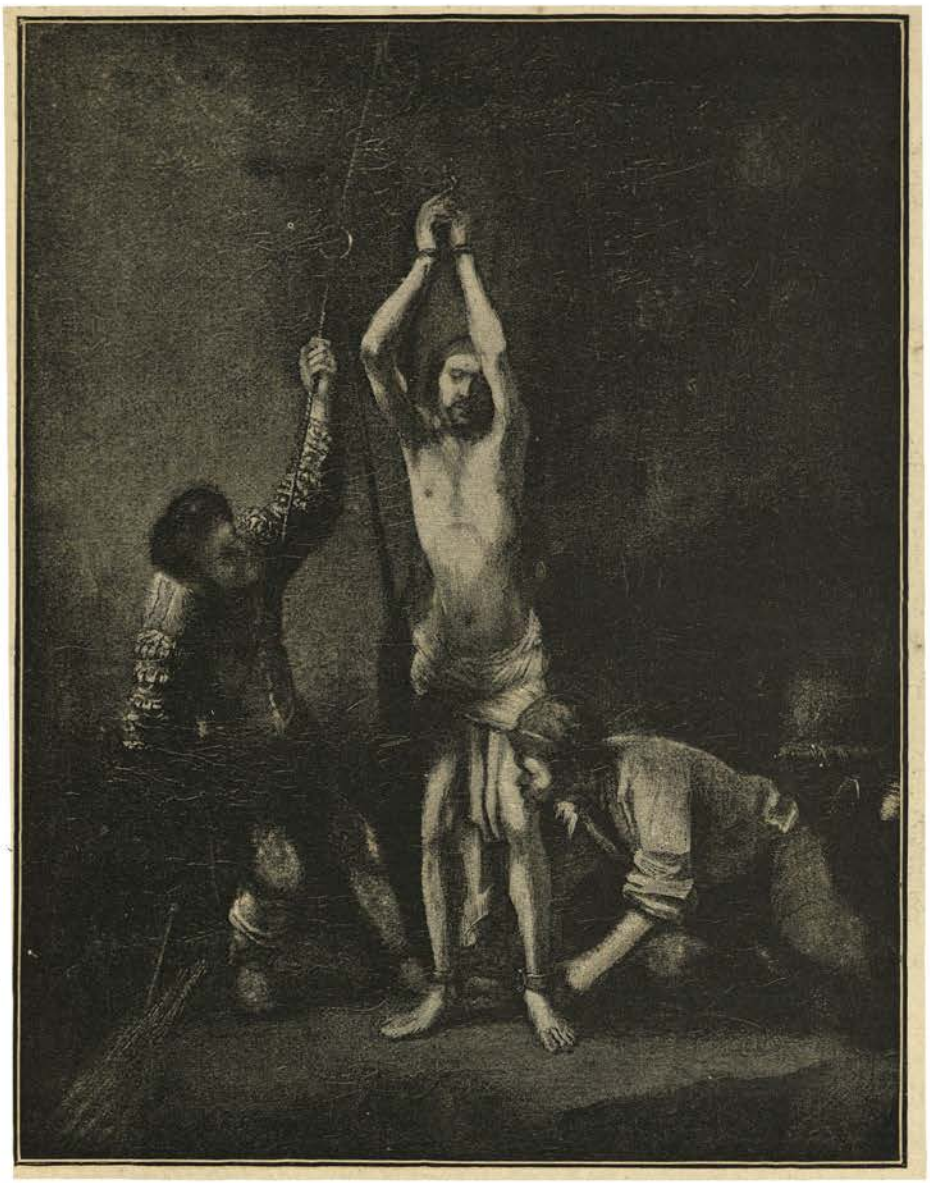
The date of the *Flagellation* in the Darmstadt Museum has long been a subject of debate. The third figure is so indistinct that it may be read either as an 8 or a 6. If, as Dr. Bode and Mr. Hofmann, the Director of the Gallery, think, the figures should be read 1668, we must acknowledge the execution, masterly as it is, to point rather to an earlier period. The anomaly is perhaps to be explained by the fact that Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 mentions two *Flagellations*, one by his own hand, the other a copy. It is very possible that one of the two remained on his hands and that he completed and signed it in 1668. A drawing of a naked figure with uplifted arms, in the Louvre, seems to confirm this hypothesis. It is a study for the figure of Christ, drawn with the pen and heightened with bistre, and its careful execution and somewhat dry precision undoubtedly indicate a period prior to 1660. Be this as it may, Rembrandt's conception is deeply impressive. In a dungeon lighted from above, two rustics of a brutal type are engaged in torturing the Saviour. One of them, a ruffian with red hair and moustaches, dressed in a shirt and a pair of red breeches, fetters the feet of the victim; the other, who wears a cap, and a loose yellow jacket with sleeves of grayish blue, strains at a rope passed over a pulley, to which the

victim's hands are fastened. A stick, a bundle of rods, and various weapons are scattered here and there. The abruptness of the lines and colours, and the violence of the action, accentuate the whiteness of the long thin body, the quivering pallor of which breaks through the shadows like a sob of agony. The improbabilities and exaggeration of the episode, which is not to be found in the sacred books, are obvious. But we forget them as our eyes are drawn to the touching face of the victim, with its expression of patient suffering. It seems as if Rembrandt, retracing the horrible drama, had sought courage in his own distress from the Great Exemplar.

INTERIOR OF THE WESTER KERK.
(Facsimile of a contemporary Print.)

No such discussions as have risen concerning the date of this picture are possible in the case of the *Return of the Prodigal* in the Hermitage, unquestionably a work of Rembrandt's latest period. Yet Vosmaer, misled by the "Van Ryn" of the signature, which occurs in no other example of the period, and further by the etching of the same subject dated 1636 (B. 91), assigns the picture to this date. But he had never seen it himself, and merely describes the composition, ignoring the character of the execution. Had he spoken from personal observation, he could never have referred such a work to the master's

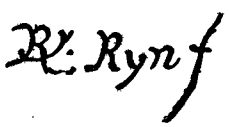
youth—a work M. Paul Mantz happily describes as a "heroic painting, in which art finds most eloquent and moving expression." "Never," he



THE FLAGELLATION.
1668 (Darmstadt Museum).

adds, "did Rembrandt show greater power; never was his speech more persuasive. . . . . The free use of red tones, the vigorous execution,

the 'fine frenzy' of the brushing, forbid the ascription of this masterpiece to a period of comparatively timid and tentative work. . . . Here Rembrandt shows all the formidable strength of the unchained lion."[1] Dr. Bode is equally positive on this head, and rightly, in our opinion, assigns the work to 1668—1669. The master, careless of technical perfection, displays something of the same fierce and terrible energy that marks the latest works of Titian. But the rough rind conceals a precious fruit.[2] In addition to the etching of 1636 Rembrandt had produced many sketches of this subject, which was one entirely suited to his genius. But never before had he risen to such a height of pathetic eloquence in its treatment. What force and originality of invention marks his conception of the father, who clasps his dearly loved child to his heart! The son he has so long mourned is restored to him. Clothed in miserable rags that barely cover his meagre body, he kneels before the old man who alone has recognised him in the misery to which his long absence has brought him. The servants look on in wonder at a scene incomprehensible to them. But the father and son, heedless of spectators, give way to their emotion, the one full of repentant shame, and the other of joy. Enraptured at the return of the son he had given up for lost, the father lays his hands on the young man's shoulders, and draws him to himself with tender words of comfort. Before this noble work we forget the roughness and harshness of the touch, in admiration of the sentimental and expressive power. The absolute simplicity of the harmony, which is composed of browns, reds, and yellowish-whites, contributes to the intimate pathos of the scene, probably the last composition ever painted by the old master.



REMBRANDT'S SIGNATURE.

The few pictures painted after the *Return of the Prodigal* are all portraits of Rembrandt himself. In his declining years, as in the outset of his career, he took pleasure in tracing his own likeness. Perhaps no

[1] *Le Musée de l'Ermitage;* text by Paul Mantz. Ad. Braun and Co.

[2] Bode, *Studien*, p. 527.

other model now remained to him. His face changed considerably in these closing years, and the ravages of premature old age are very pronounced in two portraits, one in the Uffizi, the other at Vienna, both painted about 1666—1668. In both he almost faces the spectator, and wears his working dress, the reddish-brown tunic and cap he rarely laid aside towards the end of his life. His features are worn, his skin puffy and faded, his forehead seamed with many wrinkles. And yet, on his lips, and in his small sunken eyes, there is an unmistakable expression of serenity and contentment, an expression which is even more strongly marked in the famous portrait formerly in the Double collection, and now the property of Mr. Carstanjen of Berlin. This extraordinary work, perhaps the last Rembrandt painted, is modelled with prodigious vigour and freedom. With superb audacity, the master shows us once more the familiar features, on which age and sorrow have worked their will. They are distorted, disfigured, almost unrecognisable. But the free spirit is still unbroken. The eyes that meet ours are still keen and piercing; they have even the old twinkle of good-humoured irony, and the toothless mouth relaxes in frank laughter. What was the secret of this gaiety? In spite of his poverty, he had still a corner in which to paint. Beside him stand an easel and an antique bust, perhaps some relic of his former wealth. He holds his maulstick in his hand, and pauses for a moment in his work. He is happy because he can give himself up to his art.

But his troubles were not yet ended: the short term of life remaining to him held sorrows in store. The marriage of his son must, however, have given him pleasure. Titus' wife was his cousin, Magdalena van Loo, the daughter of Dr. Albertus van Loo and Cornelia van Uylenborch, Saskia's niece. The young couple settled on the Singel, in a house known as *The Golden Scales*, near the Apple-Market, and Rembrandt remained on the Rozengracht with Hendrickje's daughter, Cornelia.[1] His sedentary and retired life sufficiently explains the complete oblivion into which he had sunk.

[1] Scheltema, *Rembrandt*, p. 68.

So entirely was he forgotten by his contemporaries, that the most absurd fables relating to him were credited almost before his death. Baldinucci, whose information on many points was so exact, believed that Rembrandt quitted Holland to settle in Stockholm, as painter in ordinary to the King of Sweden, in whose service he was supposed to have died in 1670. Other writers, as we have already said, relate that he ended his days in England, at Hull or Yarmouth.[1]

In happier days, he had found it difficult to carry out his numerous commissions; but towards the end of his life he could not sell his pictures, even at nominal prices. His great-nephew, Wybrandt de Geest, grandson of Rembrandt's brother-in-law of the same name, has left some pitiable details on this score: "But a short time ago," he says in his book,[2] "the ignorance of reputed connoisseurs was so gross with regard to the admirable works of the mighty Rembrandt, that it was possible to buy one of his portraits for sixpence, as many well-known amateurs and dealers can attest. After a while, however, the price rose to eleven florins, and now one of these powerful works commands several hundred florins."

JESUS CHRIST IN THE MIDST OF HIS DISCIPLES.
1650 (B. 89).

The embarrassments inevitable under such conditions were aggravated by crushing bereavements. Titus died in the year of his marriage. He was buried in the Wester Kerk, September 4, 1668, and in March of the following year his young wife bore a

[1] Burnet, *Rembrandt and his Works*, p. 6; and Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 13.
[2] *Le Cabinet des Statues*, published 1702.

daughter, who was baptised on the 22nd of the month, in the presence of her grandfather and her guardian, Frans Bylert, receiving the name of Titia, in memory, no doubt, both of her father and her great-aunt. The death of Titus was the occasion of further formalities. His partnership with Hendrickje had never been legally dissolved, and it therefore became necessary to define the position of the two little girls, and to establish their respective claims. At the time of Rembrandt's bankruptcy, in 1656, Hendrickje had rescued a small quantity of plate and linen, valued at about 600 florins, by swearing

THE COTTAGE WITH WHITE PALES.
1642 (B. 232).

that the various items were her personal property. She may, perhaps, have also saved a small sum which at her death had passed to Cornelia. But adversity had more than once overtaken the household, obliging Rembrandt to encroach on the little store. Broken down by poverty, and crushed by bereavements, the old master was not long parted from his son. His death, of which no mention is to be found in any contemporary document extant, is briefly noted in the death-register of the Wester Kerk as follows: "Tuesday, October 8, 1669; Rembrandt van Ryn, painter, on the Roozegraft, opposite the Doolhof. Leaves two children."

Rembrandt was buried in the Wester Kerk, near the foot of the

staircase below the last pillar, to the left, towards the edge of the engraving reproduced. A year or two ago, when the pavement of the church was re-laid, several graves were discovered, one of which, judging by the arrangement of those opened in this part of the church in 1669, was probably Rembrandt's; but no remains were to be found in the half open coffin.[1] The burial expenses amounted to thirteen florins, a sum sufficient to allow of a decent ceremonial in those days. Titus' widow, no doubt, shared the cost with Cornelia, for in the inventory drawn up shortly afterwards it is expressly stated that the great artist "left nothing of personal property but some linen and woollen garments, and his painting materials."

An evil fate seemed to pursue the family. A few days after Rembrandt's burial, on October 21, 1669, Titus' widow passed away. The task of regulating the accounts of the succession was undertaken by Frans van Bylert, acting for Titia, and by Christian Dusart and the ever faithful Abraham Fransz, on behalf of Cornelia. Again it became necessary to invoke the testimony of neighbours and inmates of the household, in order to assess the claims of the two minors. An inquiry was held, and the requisite depositions were made before the authorities on March 16 and 18, and on April 25, 1670.

Once more we shall note the name of Titia van Ryn some sixteen years later, on the occasion of her marriage with Frans Bylert, the younger, the son of her guardian, June 16, 1686, at the church of Slooten. At this date she was barely seventeen. Bylert was a jeweller, established at Amsterdam on the Kloveniers-Burgwal. Titia seems to have died before her husband, on November 22, 1725, and it is probable that several children were born of the union, who all died young, and who are inscribed on the death registers of the Wester Kerk under the family name of Van Ryn, in 1688, 1695, 1698 and 1728.[2] Cornelia married one Suythoff, whom she followed to the East Indies. Two

[1] Communicated by Mr. N. de Roever, Municipal Archivist of Amsterdam.

[2] Scheltema, *Rembrandt*, p. 69.

grandsons of the great painter figure on the baptismal registers of the Dutch settlement of Batavia as the fruit of this marriage. The elder, baptised December 5, 1673, received the name immortalised by his grandfather, Rembrandt; the second, baptised July 14, 1678, was named Hendrick, no doubt in memory of his grandmother.

The silence preserved by all Rembrandt's contemporaries touching his death shows how complete was the isolation in which the last years of his life were spent. He, once the most famous painter of his age, and destined to be his country's greatest glory, passed away without notice from men of letters or brother-artists. We may gather some idea of the neglect that had overtaken him from the strictures of one who had taken his place in public favour some forty years after his death. Gerard de Lairesse, then at the height of his reputation, thus sums up the genius of the master, whom he probably knew personally during his youth at Amsterdam.[1] "In his efforts to attain a mellow manner, Rembrandt merely achieved an effect of rottenness. The vulgar and prosaic aspects of a subject were the only ones he was capable of noting, and with his red and yellow tones, he set the fatal example of shadows so hot that they seem aglow, and colours which appear to lie like liquid mud on the canvas." Lairesse admits however that, in respect of intensity of colour, "Rembrandt was no whit inferior to Titian, while the vigour and sincerity of his art preserves it from utter worthlessness." He thinks it his duty, however, "to warn young students against the teaching of such few adherents as Rembrandt still possesses, who maintain that he has surpassed the most famous masters in vigour of colour, and beauty of illumination, in richness of harmony and sublimity of ideas." He concludes, with a sincerity truly praiseworthy in the author of so many cold and laboured allegories, by avowing that: "he himself had inclined for a time to this style of painting," hastening to add, however, that he had

[1] *Groot Schilderbock*, 1714.

"long abjured his errors, and abandoned a manner founded on a delusion."

Great, no doubt, would have been the amazement of this exponent of academic doctrines could it have been revealed to him that a just reaction in connoisseurship would finally result in the total eclipse of his own fame and that of his rival, Van der Werff, before the glory of the great master he contemned.

SEPIA DRAWING.
(Heseltine Collection.

PEN DRAWING AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI'S "LAST SUPPER."
(Berlin Print Room.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE MAN AND HIS WORK—HIS DESULTORY LIFE, AND THE CONSTANT DISCIPLINE TO WHICH HIS POWERS WERE SUBJECTED—HIS DRAWINGS—HIS ETCHINGS—HIS PICTURES—THE CHARACTER AND ORIGINALITY OF HIS GENIUS.

REMBRANDT WITH FRIZZLED HAIR.
About 1631 (B. 336).

POSTERITY has taken upon itself to avenge the oblivion into which Rembrandt fell. And yet we should be wrong to bear too hardly upon his contemporaries for their want of appreciation. Rembrandt's art was too original, too diametrically opposed to receive ideas, for things to be otherwise. The average man could not understand it, and the touch of moroseness in the artist's self-contained personality was not calculated to attract his affection. He scandalised his fellow-townsmen by some of his proceedings, and in none did he lay himself out to please them. Always in extremes, his temperament offers many contradictions. From one point of view he was a dreamer, incapable of managing his affairs, or even of arranging his daily life. On the other hand, in all that touched his work, he showed a tenacity and a sense of system which are rare even

with the best regulated artists. He created his own methods of study from the very foundation. Simple in his habits and of an extreme frugality, he yet shrank from no expenditure when it was a case of satisfying an artistic caprice. Good-humoured, kindly, and ready to do a service as he was, he nevertheless lived apart, in a solitude which had something forbidding about it. He took an interest in all things, and yet, although his movements were perfectly free, he never left his native country. Gifted with a fine imagination, he yet clung to the skirts of nature; eager for every novelty, it was yet in the humblest and most beaten tracks of life that he sought and found the subjects he dressed in unexpected poetry. His sense of beauty was perfect, and he spares us no extreme of ugliness. On a single canvas he will mix up the highest aspirations with the commonest trivialities, the most absolute want of taste with a refinement of delicacy almost excessive.

As we might expect with so complex a temperament, Rembrandt's life, like his painting, was full of lights and shadows. He underwent every vicissitude of fortune, and experienced all the joys and all the trials of existence. After a youth passed in hard work, and warmed by family affection, he left his native city to find himself alone and famous at Amsterdam. After having, by his genius, won the first place among the painters of his native country, he did not hesitate to compromise his reputation with the *Night Watch*, a challenge to public opinion, and a wound to the self-love of those who took care to make him suffer for his exploit. With a little tact he might have replaced the applause of the crowd by the patronage of the upper class. But he neither cared for the great, nor possessed social skill. He lays his character bare in the remark quoted by his biographers: "When I want to give my wits a rest, I do not look for honours, but for liberty." In fact, he took care to remain his own master and to spend his time in the way that seemed best to himself. Tender and passionate, he loved his own hearth above all places. And

yet what inconsistencies we find in that home-life to which he clung so fondly! He marries a girl who is at once rich and well born, whom he adores, and of whose perfection he is so jealous that he cannot bear the least criticism of her conduct, or of her powers as a housekeeper. After her death he seems inconsolable, and yet only a few years pass before he exposes himself to public reprobation by living openly with her maid. By good luck, the servant—now his mistress—is tender, faithful, and full of devotion to himself. She becomes the providence of his evil days, and helps him through the miseries which fall thick and fast upon him. Hendrickje behaved as well to the son of Saskia as she did to her own daughter by the same father, and the two children grew up side by side, objects of an equal love and solicitude.

Happy once more and at peace, in the house he had bought without having the means to pay for it, in the house he had filled with all that could delight his eyes and develop his powers, with curiosities of every kind as well as with pictures, engravings, and drawings of every time and school, the master again devoted himself to work with all the ardour of youth. But the time was at hand when all this comfort had to be abandoned for one of those obscure lodgings into which a bankrupt is hunted by his creditors. There, surrounded by all the squalid accompaniments of insolvency, harassed by men of law, tutored by his servant and mistress, Hendrickje, and his boy, Titus, we see him driven, with all his horror of affairs, into the most distressful kinds of business. And yet, in spite of all this, in spite of the equivocal situation in which he finds himself, the friends he had won among the honest and God-fearing gentry of Holland do not desert him. Finally, after he is stripped of everything he once thought indispensable to the practice of his art, we shall see him, in the naked and lamentable apartment which formed his last studio, producing not a few of his most famous masterpieces.

The want of order and conduct which are so striking in the life of Rembrandt, make the unity of his artistic career seem all the more

extraordinary. The strong will so conspicuous by its absence from the management of his affairs was nevertheless his master-quality. But he kept it all for his art. His love of work equalled his sincerity. He allowed no interference with his liberty, neither as a man nor as an artist. In spite of the vagaries and the harkings back on himself that we find in his work, one thing remains unchanged through every vicissitude, I mean that constant love of nature which was the foundation of his originality from the first moment to the last. Compare one of the laboriously finished works of his early years with some audaciously handled picture from the last stage in his development, and you will say that an impassable abyss yawns between the two—you will scarcely believe they can be the work of the same hand, so numerous and deeply seated are the points of difference. And yet, if you look closely into their constitution, you will see at last that there is no mistake in the reasoning which puts one name at the foot of both.

YOUNG WOMAN ASLEEP AT A WINDOW.
Pen drawing heightened with Sepia (Heseltine Collection).

Between the timidities of his prudent, though ardent youth, and the audacities of his old age, there was a whole life of labour. Review his various phases with care, and all his transformations fall into their frame; his genius appears as a perfectly regular and natural whole. As soon as he had mastered the elements of his trade, he felt that

masters had no more to teach him. He set to work to experiment with systems of study, and to discover a method for himself. He was fond of solitude, for it was in solitude that he could work most freely, and could try his own powers with least chance of error. What could Italy have done for him? He found it difficult enough to shake off the influence of his first teachers as it was. It was only by slow

JOB AND HIS FRIENDS.
Pen study with Bistre (Stockholm Print Room).

degrees that he detached himself from the sham picturesque, from the style at once common and pretentious, from the general false taste of those *Italianisers* who held so great a place in the Dutch school when he began to paint. The opportunities for self-improvement which led others into distant countries he saw all round him. Was not the sincere and continuous study of such nature as lay to his hand better than the superficial and incomplete note-taking of a foreign tour? Was not man himself the best and most interesting, as well as

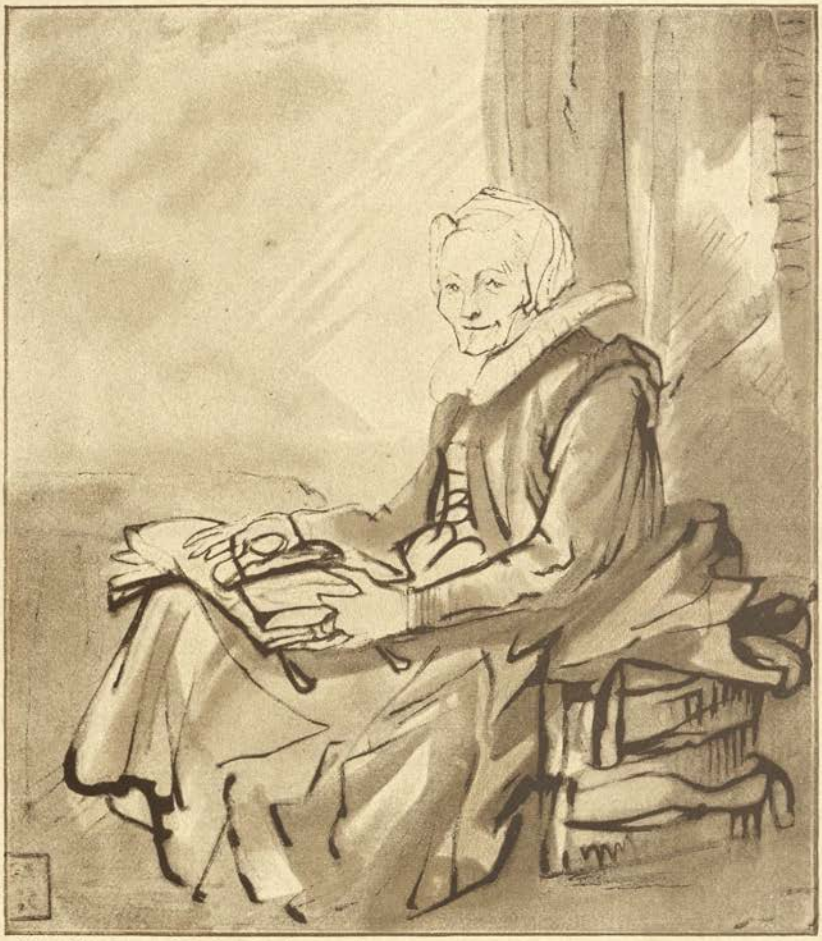
the most convenient object of study? Does not each one of us find an endless field for inquiry and comprehension in his own person? The trouble that most of us take to avoid self-examination, to amuse ourselves and to get away from our own thoughts, Rembrandt lavished on observation of his own personality. He could find no better model than his own countenance and his own person. With no other sitter could he vary and multiply his studies with such complete freedom, with no other could he train eye and hand so entirely in his own fashion. Through all his changes of fortune he never ceased to multiply his own image, to reproduce it in every pose, in every sort of costume, under all lights, and at all ages. And in every study he learnt something new. Each head he painted added to his power of distinguishing the vital traits, of keeping, under the superficial changes of varying expression, the persistent character of his sitter, and of grasping an emotion in its depth, or a fleeting sentiment in its rapid passage across the countenance.

With powers ripened by labours such as these, the young artist found the most indulgent of models at his own fireside. His relations and friends lent themselves with a touching good-will to his artistic caprices, and he made the best use of their devotion. When he left Leyden, the precocious reputation which had preceded him to Amsterdam drew the best society of the Dutch metropolis to his studio. Young and old, magistrates and *viveurs*, patricians and parvenus, dignified matrons and elegant young women, all sat to him, and from each he drew some addition to his stock of knowledge. At first he laid himself out to please every one who came to him, but before long he began to show his preference for those from whom he could win improvement. His pleasure in the society of surgeons and physicians soon declared itself. He discussed their occupations with them, more especially anatomy, of which he himself was a devoted student. He carried on debates, too, with ministers of religion, but in a more than tolerant spirit. Above all dogmatic prejudice, he was able to appreciate the fundamental honesty which lay alike beneath the

Portrait of a Woman, seated.

Pen and Sepia.

(HESELTINE COLLECTION.)



Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

opinions of the orthodox clergy, of the Mennonites, and of the Jewish Rabbis. From each of these he drew light on those sacred writings to which he turned almost exclusively for the subjects of his pictures. On the other hand he does not seem to have been frequented by men of letters, and we search in vain among his portraits for those of Vondel, Hooft, Cats, Van Baerle and others of their class. Their culture was too much affected by convention, their writings too full of academical subtlety for his ingenuous spirit. He preferred a less artificial air, a freer, healthier, and franker outlook upon life. Old men, especially, he liked for the ease with which their faces could be read, and for the clearness with which their moral habits were stamped upon their features. The higher classes of society were open to him, as we have said, but he preferred the lower. Some of his panegyrists have thought it necessary to explain away this preference by throwing doubts on the plain evidence of contemporaries. But their interpretations are clearly forced, and there is no doubt that Rembrandt was powerfully attracted by the ease with which the human emotions could be followed in the looks and gestures of such uncultivated children of nature as sailors, workmen, peasants and the beggars of the towns.

As for artists, he confined himself practically to landscape-painters. Not only did he buy their works, but among them we find his dearest friends, such as Roghman, Van de Cappelle, Berchem and Asselyn. From these he had something to learn, and they were all united by a common love of nature. As for painters in other *genres*, we find none except some of his own pupils, such as Eeckhout and Aert de Gelder, among his intimates. They were too inferior to himself, and their ideas were too different from his, for much community. When he wanted to commune with his peers he turned to his portfolios, to the drawings of every time and school therein collected. Neither his preferences nor his methods of work were logically deduced from any well-reasoned principle, but they were governed by an unfailing instinct. Art for him was a living thing,

to which he had given himself up once for all. His whole heart was in it, and its ways were made clear to him by the light of his own devotion. Moreover, he did not know what it was to be idle, and his chief recreation was such as he obtained from a change of work.

Scarcely any artist has produced more than Rembrandt, and we know of none who has made so many drawings. Even in the activity of Rubens there were moments of relaxation, even periods of absolute repose. His foreign journeys, the honours heaped upon him, the princely visits he received, the diplomatic missions on which he was sent, were so many occasions of holiday. Nothing of the sort happened to Rembrandt. He lived in retirement, and suffered no break in his constant labour. Neither in his youth at Leyden, nor in the full tide of his success at Amsterdam, nor even in the first flush of his passion for Saskia, did he interrupt his work. In the evil days of his maturity, when he was hunted a pauper from his familiar studio, he took his easel with him and went on bravely with his work. He never seems to have cared for amusements. His one care was to prevent his time from being broken in upon. His chief pleasure, after a day spent in painting, was to pass the evening with his pen or his graver. He drew every thing he saw, and the vast number of his designs is the best proof we could have of his fertility of fancy, as well of his excellent employment of his time.

YOUNG WOMAN READING.
Pen drawing (Berlin Print Room).

Rembrandt's drawings are interesting for the revelations they give not only of his talent, but of his methods, and even of his domestic arrangements. Their chronology is a little difficult. Unlike his etchings and pictures, they are scarcely ever either dated or signed, while the evidence embodied in their manner is not always decisive. At each period in his career, just as we find every kind of process, so do we find drawings of every sort, from the rapid scribble, carrying the mere suggestion of a design, to the conception in which every line is pondered and set down with restraint and care. No doubt, like every other original master, he consistently enlarged his manner. It is only at the outset that we encounter the finish, the care for elegance and delicacy of execution, which distinguish such drawings as the *St. Jerome* of the Louvre, the studies in red chalk of the Berlin Museum and the Städel Institute, and Mr. Heseltine's drawing for the *Philosopher Meditating*. Seductive as this manner is, he soon abandoned it. His drawings were not made to please other people, but to develop his own powers and to express his own thoughts. He cared nothing for neatness in the result. He used his tools as he saw fit at the moment, and public approbation

STUDY FROM RAPHAEL'S BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE.
Pen and Sepia (Albertina, Vienna).

was the least of his cares. Side by side with the most conclusive proofs of his ability, we find sketches that are almost childish in their naïveté, sketches full of the sincerity of the man who seeks to give its full significance to his work, no matter how many hesitations or tergiversations take place on the way. The man himself, with all his originality, with all his fire and spontaneity, appears in these paper confessions. If, in the numerous inequalities which mark his talent, we are left sometimes in doubt whether we have to do with himself or with one of his countless pupils or imitators, no doubt whatever is possible with regard to his better works. There we recognise the hand and thought of the great master without question; we no longer think of the attribution. It imposes itself upon us and we are left to exhaust our powers of enjoyment in one of those moments of communion with a great spirit which is the keenest pleasure that Art can offer.

The drawings of Rembrandt may be classed under two heads: his studies from nature and his studies from the masters. The first bear witness to his intellectual curiosity, to his insatiable desire for a knowledge of all that nature has to tell. He reproduces the every-day events of his own house, he draws from his wife, from his children, from his neighbours, from the old women who gossip about his doorstep, from the people who spend their lives in hanging about the pavement, from some young Dutchwoman drawn to the window by the life of the street, from an old woman absorbed in a book, from another who nods over her volume—and they all vibrate with life, with life seized as it passes, and set down in a stroke or two of the point or brush. Side by side with these memoranda from nature, we find others made from memory of some scene at which the artist has assisted. At Stockholm, for instance, there is a sketch of a man who has fainted: the crowd presses about him as crowds are wont to do, each member giving help or proffering an opinion, the man himself full of the sudden pathos of failing life. Mr. Salting has a drawing of children staring,

The Woman at the Window.

Pen and Wash.

(HESELTINE COLLECTION.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur, Paris

wonderingly, at a *Star of Bethlehem* carried through the street by a group of their companions. Rembrandt loved to make hasty but vivid notes of such episodes as these. They trained his already great faculty for observation, and their results appear in the treatment of crowds, and of the emotions by which they are swayed. We have already talked of his life-studies, of his drawings from animals, of those landscape studies which, in their scrupulous fidelity, display so marked a contrast with most of his pictures in the same *genre*. They are studies pure and simple, aiming at nothing but truth and its consequent instruction; there is no attempt to be poetical, or to embellish reality; and yet, in spite of this, the slightest sketches of Rembrandt bear the mark of his genius, so concise is their expression and so instinctively just is their choice of means.

His originality is, of course, still more striking in his compositions. The care he gave to this side of his art and the numerous studies he made in order to develop it, show what importance it had in his eyes. To the spirit of independence, which was one of the distinctive marks of his nature, he joined a full determination to profit by what his predecessors had done—we have already seen with what intelligence he studied and copied some of the best of those Italian engravings on which he had lavished his money. We shall find it no less interesting to examine his method of conception, and to make ourselves familiar with his first attack, so to speak, upon a subject. As we might have guessed, he is first attracted by opportunities for the treatment of chiaroscuro. It was by management of light and shadow that he first conquered his great position, and though others before him may have handled similar problems and arrived at conclusions no less veracious than his, he alone had elaborated chiaroscuro into an instrument of composition powerful enough and delicate enough for the most various ends. It was by chiaroscuro that he gave significance to his ideas, that he won subordination, that he called up in the beholder those emotions of cheerfulness or melancholy, of calm or passion, on which he relied for the success of his conceptions. Rembrandt, in fact, was a

consummate and unapproachable master in tracking light through its infinite modifications, through all its changes of relation to the objects on which it falls, and through the alterations it may cause in the character of a subject.

The fact, however, must not be lost sight of, that when Rembrandt underlined the essential factors of his subject in this way, he committed himself to giving a maximum of expressive value to those particular figures on which he concentrated the spectator's attention, and that something more than a mere question of illumination then came in. If he had been a mediocre draughtsman his method would have been ruinous to himself. He has been belauded for the skill and originality he shows in his management of light, and he certainly deserves the title of *luminariste* given to him by Fromentin, for his power of "painting with light and nothing else."[1] Nevertheless it is inaccurate to add that he "draws only with light."[2] No doubt, with palette on thumb, he is quite right to make paint do all it can. But if his character

PEN DRAWING.
(Seymour Haden Collection.)

[1] *Les Maîtres d'autrefois*, p. 359.

[2] *Of course. For what is his etching but draughtsmanship, and where indeed in draughtsmanship is line more expressive than there?—F. W.*

as a draughtsman is less solidly established than his rank as painter, his knowledge and originality in that direction are quite as incontestable. At a very early period in his career he was able to express himself with pen or pencil alone. He studied movements and attitudes both from himself and from models, and he never ceased to perfect his skill, to exercise his memory and his observation on the effects of varied emotions on the human countenance. He trained himself until the

PEN SKETCH OF A LANDSCAPE.
(Heseltine Collection.)

reproduction on paper of the children of his own fancy offered no sort of difficulty, until he could set them down in a few vital lines, and with as much vivacity as if he had seen them with his outward eyes. Sometimes, to pass the time, he would allow his pen to wander aimlessly over the page, and then, suddenly, his thought would condense itself, his will awake, and in a few minutes a figure palpitating with life would share the sheet with tentative and unmeaning scribbles.

And feats like this were neither accidental nor involuntary; with Rembrandt vitality and truth were the rewards of sincere and unflagging labour. He never hesitated to correct, with the most ruthless strokes, a drawing that any one else would have thought perfect as it stood. Until his idea was expressed, until a figure had exactly the turn, and an eye the look he wanted, his hand was pitiless. In all such matters he was as exacting as Leonardo, or Poussin, or any other among those acknowledged masters of form who knew no weariness in their search for the line—the attitude or the gesture—which said what they wished to say with the greatest precision. Other draughtsmen may have given more correctness, more taste, beauty, and grace, to their designs, but none have expressed their ideas with a fuller measure of clarity and force.

Miscellaneous beyond precedent in the methods employed, Rembrandt's drawings are quite as various in their degrees of finish. Side by side with mere thumbnail notes, we find designs in which every detail is carefully elaborated. Some are restrained, deliberate, and traced with extreme certainty and exactness; others are vehement, tumultuous, irresponsible. Among the latter we often find the whole history of an idea, from its first inception to its complete definite expression. Some compositions which seemed final, Rembrandt has a habit of remodelling in parts, or even of entirely recasting. Houbraken says that no other master has given so many different treatments to a single theme. The progress of his talent and the gradual expansion of his intellect may be traced in drawings of this class. At the beginning he thinks only of the picturesque. Later on this preoccupation yields to a desire to give human sentiment its fullest possible expression. For some of his best pictures, the *Syndics* for example, he has, so far as we know, left no preparatory designs. On the other hand, whole series of drawings exist which seem to lead up to some picture never painted, or to some plate never etched. Careful in all that concerned the material conditions of his art, untiring in his search for the best panels, the best colours, and the

finest kinds of paper, Rembrandt was not particular what he used when fired by an inspiration. He took the first rag of paper that came to hand to jot down his idea. The Print Room at Munich has a *Christ disputing with the Doctors* and a sketch for the Stockholm *Claudius Civilis* on the back of a torn invitation to a funeral. Again in the Teyler Museum at Haarlem we find a drawing, dated 1634, for a *Jesus among his Disciples*, in which the work has been corrected so often that the paper would not hang together, and the master has pasted another sheet upon it, cutting out the latter so as to preserve those parts of the first sketch which he was unwilling to lose. But this is an exception; when in full career his passion for production did not lend itself to such a slow contrivance. Under the stress of inspiration he addresses his world without reserve, and admits it to his confidence with a most absolute sincerity.

Similar qualities exist in the master's etchings, which indeed have a very strong analogy with his drawings. Among them also we find both simple sketches, hot from nature, and elaborate compositions, prepared with care and carried to the extreme limits of finish.

Many others had been tempted before the time of Rembrandt by the advantages of engraving, by its directness of expression as well as its power of bringing a master's work before a large number of people at once. Speaking generally, there is always a great difference between the work of the professional engraver, translating the ideas of other men, and that of an original master interpreting his own. But before the time of Rembrandt the difference was even greater still. Remarkable as are the plates of a Mantegna or a Dürer for their concise and nervous eloquence, they deal rather with contour and character than with colour and chiaroscuro. Lucas van Leyden was almost alone in attempting to treat "values" and aerial perspective with the burin. He was followed by the Count Palatine Goudt, and by Jan van de Velde, who set themselves to obtain a greater force of contrast, but did so by processes in which

the sense of spontaneity disappears more or less in that of difficulty vanquished.

Rembrandt, who lived among the finest creations of his predecessors, laid his hand on all their methods. He thoroughly understood his *métier*. It was in no spirit of idle parade that he used every process in turn. "His aim," as Bartsch very justly remarks, "was not so much to engrave as to paint on copper." Some of his etchings are standing puzzles for the most experienced specialists. They even talk of trade secrets which he carefully kept to himself. Descamps, with his mania for apocryphal tales, goes so far as to say that "jealous of his secret, he would never engrave before any one." The truth is, of course, that Rembrandt's only secret was his wonderful talent. Bartsch, who studied him deeply, was the first to recognise the truth of this, and since his time both etchers and critics who understand the process of etching have been compelled to allow that Bartsch was right. The subtle art which knew how to bend everything to its will, which understood when to make use of this process, when of that, and when to combine the two, had its foundation simply in Rembrandt's complete mastery of his tools, and of himself. His variety equals his grandeur. Here, in the light, the delicate, long-drawn line seems absorbed

THE GEOGRAPHER.
Pen drawing, heightened with Sepia (Dresden Print Room).

by the light itself; close by, half tones of an infinite softness and subtlety are heightened by a few firmly placed strokes of the

REMBRANDT LEANING ON A STONE SILL.

1639 (B. 21).

burin or the dry point, which no one could use like Rembrandt. In his most successful plates the intensest darks are never opaque.

We can look into them, and in their mysterious velvety depths we shall still find modelling. And as if the various capacities of point and acid were not enough, Rembrandt supplements them with all the resources of the printer. It is well known that he printed his own etchings, and that he modified his proceedings according to changes in the plate or in the paper he was using. He would ink and wipe as he pleased, insisting on this and gently passing over that, so that each impression became a living thing, animated by his immediate will, and burning with that passion for perfection which he brought into all that he did.

No doubt his desire for variety led him now and then to make dangerous experiments, and his etchings, as we have seen, do not always gain by their successive modifications. In some the first state is the best; others are improved up to a certain "state," while afterwards every change is rather for the worse; others again, which begin by being insignificant enough, are gradually built up into something better and more important. In any case, before the monument of artistic wealth which makes up the engraved work of Rembrandt, the intelligent amateur cannot avoid being captured by the passion with which so many generations of artists and collectors have burned. "His manner," as Mons. Delaborde says, "is, so to speak, immaterial. Sometimes he appears to attack the copper anyhow; sometimes he caresses it with the most exquisite delicacy, with the most magical dexterity. . . . . He makes use of the tools and processes of the ordinary engraver, but he adapts them to his own thought, to the expression of his own ideas. Without troubling himself over much about finish or super-refinement, he elaborates a style that is always expressive, from the most varied elements, from elements in which the familiar and the stately, the common and the heroic, all play their part; and yet, from the mixture of such diverse ingredients, he educes a whole quite admirable in its harmony."

Photography has enabled a considerable public to become familiar

An Old Man Seated in an Arm Chair.

Pen and Sepia.

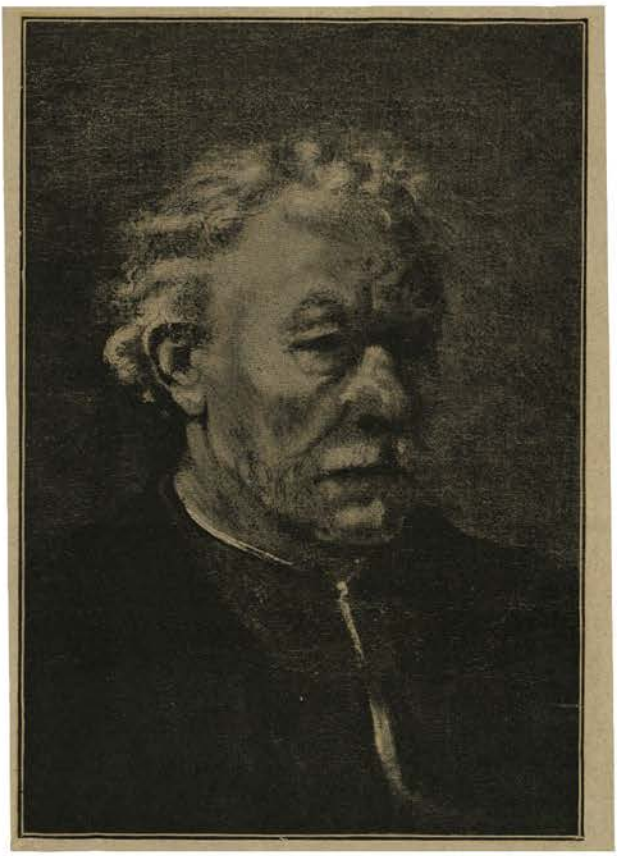
(BRITISH MUSEUM.)

Printed by Draeger & Lesieur Paris

with Rembrandt's etchings. What used to be the delight of the cultivated few has gradually taken its place among the pleasures of the crowd. Little by little, thanks to the excellence and the cheapness of the reproductions, the world at large will become familiar with the grasp and fertility of the great Dutch master. It will appreciate landscapes like the *Six's Bridge*, the *Omval*, and the *Three Trees*, or simple studies, like the *Hog* and the *Shell;* or scenes from everyday life, like the *Beggars at the Door of a House;* or portraits like those of Clement de Jonghe, Jan Lutma, Jan Uytenbogaerd, and Old Haaring; or compositions like the *Tobit*, and the *Death of the Virgin*, the *Christ teaching*, and the great *Hundred Guilder Print*. The original impressions themselves must be studied in the great collections, in the British Museum, the Louvre, or the Ryksmuseum at Amsterdam. In these we find the choicest proofs, often with the master's own writing or corrections still upon them. Every such sheet has its own history, its own peculiar charm, and, as it were, its own titledeeds to existence. While looking into it we gradually penetrate the mind of its creator, and enroll ourselves among the intimates of the unsurpassable master.

But immense though our interest may be in the drawings and etchings of Rembrandt, it is after all, we think, in his paintings that his originality declares itself most completely. Just as Beethoven (with whom Rembrandt had not a few points in common), while he contrived to display his genius in simple Sonatas, cannot be entirely appreciated until we know his Symphonies, so Rembrandt only gives the full stature of his genius in his pictures. The painter took the same path to perfection as the draughtsman and the etcher; his development, his progress towards artistic simplicity, was the same as theirs. From the extreme precision and finish of his youth to the breadth and largeness of his maturity it was a steady march. He advanced from the particular to the general, and so, when he wished to summarise, he had the right to. He had learnt things in detail, and so he knew what was essential and what was not. In his first

productions—his studies, of course, excepted—his touch is fused, delicate and subtle; in his later works it is broader, freer, more decisive; and it ends with the somewhat forbidding abruptness of his old age. In this connection some of his own remarks are significant—"Hang these pictures in a very strong light," he says, in his youth, when speaking of his *Passion* series. So far from being nervous as to the result, he feels sure his work will only profit by being severely seen. It might, in fact, have been put beside that of the most famous finishers, even beside the pictures of his pupil, Gerard Dou. As age came upon him he kept the critics more at arm's length. "The smell of paint is not good for the health," we hear him saying to some one who came too close to his easel. At the same time as a broader treatment led him to enlarge his figures, it also caused him to diminish their number, for he felt that to multiply the points of interest, as he used to do, was hurtful to the unity of the final result. His aim was to deepen and clarify the effects. Among all possible movements and gestures he sought for those which best agreed with the character of his subject, and established the closest and most definite relations between the various figures. So too, in his portraits, he attached gradually



STUDY OF A HEAD (REMBRANDT'S BROTHER ?).
1650 (The Hague Museum).

less and less importance to costume and to various colour. He suppressed strong contrasts and so led the eye more surely to the true centre of interest, the head. He recognised that all the features are not of equal moment. He insists upon those which give individuality to a countenance, upon the mouth and, still more, upon the eyes, which he endows with a singular vivacity. As for colour,

PEN SKETCHES OF A BEGGAR.
(British Museum.)

after having first experimented with a sort of monochrome made up of reddish tones, and afterwards with a richer and more varied palette, he came to see that harmony, as he understood it, was to be obtained by the utmost possible enforcement of certain dominant tones—golden and tawny browns, and especially reds—and by their juxtaposition to broken tints of iron-gray and neutral brown. His chiaroscuro, too, was modified as his powers grew. The sharp transitions of his

early work disappeared to make way for quieter contrasts, with which he obtained effects quite as powerful and more subtle and various.

His originality of interpretation was always controlled by study of nature. Nature made him what he was, and to her he turned unceasingly. One of his principles was that "Nature alone should be followed." Tradition had little power over him, and yet he never deliberately threw off its yoke. On the contrary he was always keen to know what men had done before his time, and to profit by their teaching. But when a subject had to be treated, he did not trouble himself too much about what others had said. He thought about it for himself; he entered into it; he, as it were, lived it over again, and then set himself to reproduce it in his own way, giving special force to those aspects which had stirred his own emotions.

Rembrandt developed the rich gifts which nature had showered upon him by a patient scheme of culture, thoroughly reasoned out. The facile successes to be won by saying again what had already been well said, had no attraction for him. He preferred the slower process of research, and its demands upon the individual. He never ceased to learn, to renew his own powers, and to give to each work all the perfection of which it was capable. If, at the close of his life, he gave rein to his genius, he had earned the right to do so, by continuous study. If he then let rules go by the board, he had justified the proceeding by his long previous submission. Here we have a lesson which should be taken to heart: namely, that even over the genius of a Rembrandt, logic has its rights.

But logic cannot explain genius, more especially such a genius as that of Rembrandt, perhaps the most personal that has ever existed. He will prove a dangerous guide to rash imitators of his manner; we should not even venture to assert that he was a good master for his pupils, or that his influence over them was wholly beneficial. A temperament so strong as his was sure to dominate theirs, and in spite of the material precautions he took to isolate them and to preserve their mutual independence, they nearly all

so far submitted to his ascendency as to lose their individuality in his. Protected against the effect they might have had on each other, they had no defence against their master. The best of them, in their best works, came near to his level, and near to his style; and their highest honour is to be sometimes confused with Rembrandt himself. But as a rule they only succeed in imitating his habits of composition and the more fantastic elements in his work. The resemblance is all on the outside. They borrow his subjects, his costumes, his methods of getting effect; but the grand originality of the master only serves to enhance the docility of their submission.

Rembrandt, in fact, belongs to the breed of artists which can have no posterity. His place is with the Michelangelos, the Shakespeares, and the Beethovens. An artistic Prometheus, he stole the celestial fire and with it put life into what was inert, and expressed the immaterial and evasive sides of nature in his breathing forms. Bold spirits are attracted by the infinite. The ideal they pursue flies continually before them. They give themselves over body and soul to the sublime pursuit, and as the sentiment by which they are spurred exists in embryo in every human soul, they call up in every one of us some echo of the thoughts which agitate themselves. It is scarcely necessary to say that their works are unequal, extravagant sometimes, often contemptuous of tradition. But they atone for this by their grandeur of expression. They indulge in no empty formulæ. The purest side of their being appears in their work. They understand all human sentiments, but they rarely taste the joys of earth. They live apart, enamoured rather of independence than of honours or applause. Their thoughts are given to solitary labour, to the noble torment of limitless aspirations, to the perplexities and disappointments which attend the seeking after perfection. They are pathetic even in their moments of discouragement; even their despair has dignity. They lament the inability of art to express the thoughts which haunt them, and yet, happily for us with our relish for masterpieces, their art is their world. In it they discover beauties undreamt of before, and in the very act of

appropriating the inventions of their forerunners, they invent in their turn. Even when their talent has raised them high above their contemporaries, they seem to contemn their own powers and their own knowledge. They cannot stop, and a superiority painfully won becomes merely a stepping-stone to greater heights. The roads which have led to perfection fail to satisfy their ambitions; they cannot traverse them more than once, and so they are tempted to adventures which attract mainly by their temerity. They have to their hands an instrument of their own creation, they are intimately acquainted with its powers, and from it they burn to draw sounds never heard before. The consequence is that chords of the most confused, disorganised, and wildest kind interrupt the sublimest melodies. Who is to understand them? As to that, however, they have little concern, and in the absence of a fit audience, they produce only for themselves, seeking that self-approbation which they never reach. In their decline we find them still more self-contained; we see them drunk with their own thoughts, which are not always comprehensible; we see them despising correctness and doing violence to those forms of their own creating which no longer lend themselves to the desired end. Is this madness, or sublimity? They become more and more foreign to their own time; but enlightened by that flame of genius which, before it expires, blazes up to throw a last dazzling ray upon their talent, they go steadily

PEN DRAWING.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

on, leaving to those who come after them the task of recognising beauties which may break accepted rules, but which nevertheless will be a law to the future.

Without any wish to renew somewhat empty comparisons, it is difficult to speak of Rembrandt and not contrast his life with that of Rubens, his neighbour and almost his contemporary. Side by side with certain points of likeness—in their domesticity, for instance, and their extraordinary activity—what a divergence there was between the des-

CHRIST IN THE GARDEN OF OLIVES.
(Pen drawing, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.)

tinies and the genius of the two men! Think of the ever-increasing obscurity of Rembrandt, of his deepening self-concentration, of his solitary habits, of his absolute ignorance of business, of his incurable prodigality, of his constant efforts at improvement, and of his miserable end; and then turn to the master of Antwerp, to his European fame, his well-balanced nature, his serenity, his gift for being happy himself and for communicating happiness to others, to the versatility which enabled him, as occasion arose, to become now a diplomat and now a man of business, to his patronage of all the painters of his country, and to his confident exercise of a gift which satisfied himself, to the

princely fortune gained by honest work, and finally to his death in the full tide of prosperity, and his passage to the grave through all that was honourable in his native city. What a contrast it is, and what a vivid light it throws upon the natures of these two great masters!

Rembrandt was content to be an artist and to give up all his life to his art. He does not, as we have seen, reveal himself all at once, and in attempting one of those summary descriptions so popular with the multitude, we should run the risk of doing him less than justice. His devotees have thought to do him honour by endowing him with the whole credit of the invention of what is called chiaro-scuro, but others were chiaroscurists before him; Leonardo and Correggio, in Italy, to name only the most illustrious; and Pieter Lastman, his own master, among the painters of his own time and country. But none of these had gone below the surface. It was reserved for Rembrandt to give their full value to light and shade as vehicles of expression. We have already described how he reached the desired end by a renovation of his method, and we need not repeat it. But we may point out how he surpassed all his countrymen by the universality of his aptitudes, by the force of his genius, by the nobility of his aims. No doubt such names as Frans Hals and Thomas de Keyser, Terborch and Metsu, Jan Steen and Johannes Vermeer, Adrian van de Velde and Paul Potter, Van Goyen, Van de Cappelle, Cuyp, Jakob Ruysdael, and many more, would have sufficed to render the School of Holland illustrious, but without Rembrandt it would have been truncated, it would have lost its poetry, and the apex of its glory. With him, on the other hand, with his etchings and drawings, with portraits such as the

THE BLIND FIDDLER.
1631 (B. 138).

Elizabeth Bas and the *Lady with the Fan*, *Dr. Tholinx* and the *Burgomaster Six*, with the *Saskia* of Cassel and the *Hendrickje* of the Louvre, with the *Bathsheba* of the Lacaze Collection and the *Danäe* of the Hermitage, with most of the renderings of his own features, with his versions of Scripture, such as the *Jacob's Blessing*, at Cassel, the *Magdalene*, at Brunswick, the *Adulteress*, of the National Gallery, the *Manoah*, of Dresden, the *Good Samaritan*, the *Tobit*, and the *Pilgrims at Emmäus*, of the Louvre, with the *Lesson in Anatomy*, with the *Night Watch*, with the *Syndics* and the *Jewish Bride*, and with a host of fine things too numerous to be named in this list, the Dutch School may take its place fearlessly in the first rank, and may brave all comparisons.

ISAAC BLESSING JACOB.
(Duke of Devonshire's Collection.)

While at many points Rembrandt belongs thoroughly to his own time and country, he is marked off sharply by his peculiar originality. The fashions of the day had some influence upon him, as upon every artist, but, thanks to his personal method of work and to his complete self-mastery, he was enabled to stand up against them with success. Member of a race distinguished by positive and practical gifts, he alone, until Spinosa appeared, was a poet and a seer, he alone spread his wings freely, and when he set foot on earth, did so merely to get a purchase for a wider flight.

Rembrandt excels in the expression of sentiments at once august and intimate. Mystery attracts him, and he loves to tell us what ear has never heard, to show us what eye has never seen.

Standing at the junction of the visible and the invisible, he passes continually from the one to the other and summons us to follow. Dreams with their confused lights, the agonies of approaching death, the formidable problems of life and mortality which none can escape, the fervour of prayer, the tenderness of a father who finds a son he had believed to be lost, or that of a God who reveals Himself to His

THE STORM.
About 1640 (Brunswick Museum).

disciples, the vague looks and hesitating gestures of a body which has just ceased to be a corpse, the revelations which a Lazarus might bring back from the grave or a Christ let fall from the Cross, all these indescribable things he reveals discreetly, with just the right frankness and the right obscurity. All the energies and all the reserves of human sentiment find their utterance in the work of this strange and powerful master, who, even in his subtlest intricacy, never omits to be profoundly human and to give

in his pictures some echo of the movements and hesitations of human thought.

In the extended field over which his art was spread, Rembrandt embraced all realities and all visions. The mysterious element of which we are continually conscious in our passage through life

JACOB BLESSING THE CHILDREN OF JOSEPH.
1656 (Cassel Museum).

informs his pictures, and explains their influence over the most divergent natures. Supple and vigorous, he understands exactly how to be at once precise and suggestive, how to satisfy, and how to stimulate by the merest hint of meaning. We do not choose to be dragooned into our admirations, and even in presence of a masterpiece we like to keep our liberty, to have some scope left for fancy. Rembrandt comprehends this to perfection, and while he conveys his

own idea with all required completeness, he takes care to evoke that collaboration on the part of his audience with which the painter can no more dispense than can the writer. When he has caught our attention and produced his argument he leaves us to make of it what we may. Were he more insistent he would run the risk of breaking the charm and of arousing hostility. But we have no defence against an artist whose powers leave mere talent behind, and who yet confesses that, deeply moved as he is, he can go no further, but must leave to each one of us the task of completing his thought.

A BEGGAR WOMAN ASKING ALMS.
1646 (B. 170).

It is easy to see how his own people failed to appreciate Rembrandt; with the passage of time he has gathered a following in every country. In many ways he deserves to be the favourite painter of our epoch, for of all the masters he is the most modern. Through those fluctuations of taste which have been fatal to so many, his fame has steadily grown. The sobriety with which it began makes its present *éclat* the more startling, yet the unanimous applause with which the master is now hailed is no more than a legitimate tribute. In these latter years Rembrandt has afforded a *raison d'être* for numerous publications. The prices paid for his works increase day by day; almost alone among the old masters he has won favour in the sight of a youthful generation, whose impatience of rule is unbounded, and whose admiration is far from catholic. This great position he owes to his sincerity, and to an independence so absolute that theorists on art find it impossible to classify him. As M. Victor Cherbuliez says very truly,[1] "Rembrandt belongs to no school. He has a profound sense of life and of reality. By his way of treating light he gives a certain

[1] *L'Art et la Nature.* 1 vol. 12 mo. Paris, 1892. P. 294.

magical and supernatural quality to the most common realities, so that his works are at once passages from nature and fantastic tales, the fairy vision of a great soul."

The moment, then, had arrived, in our belief at least, to put before the public a complete picture of the life and artistic career of Rembrandt, accompanied for the first time by numerous reproductions chosen from all the three classes of his works. Unless we are much mistaken, no artist has displayed himself with less reserve, has been franker in confiding his thoughts, his loves, his joys and sorrows, to the paper than he. He

A JEWS' SYNAGOGUE.
1648 (B. 126).

has discovered himself absolutely, with his virtues and faults, and with the painful contrast between artist and man, between the painter who had care for nothing but his work, whose love was there concentrated, and who cherished that love to the end, and the man whose later years were a series of misfortunes cruel always, and not always undeserved.

It has been our endeavour throughout to approach the study of this great personality with an open mind, profiting as far as possible by the resources offered us by former workers in the same field. We have neither sought to extenuate the moral deficiencies of the man, and the inequalities of the artist, nor to conceal our predilection for a master so absolutely devoted to his

art, so profoundly human, so expressive and so touching in the familiar simplicity of his eloquence. The work we dedicate to his genius is certainly not all we could have wished. But at least we have grudged neither time nor labour to the task.

LIFE STUDY OF A YOUNG MAN.

1646 (B. 196).

CATALOGUE

OF

REMBRANDT'S WORKS

I

PICTURES

AN OLD MAN WITH A LONG BEARD.
About 1630 (B. 291).

DURING the fifty-seven years which have elapsed since Smith compiled his *Catalogue Raisonné*, two art critics have set themselves the task of making a complete and methodical list of Rembrandt's works. Vosmaer, the earlier of the pair, attempted to include in his list the whole production of the master, assigning each drawing, etching, and painting to the year to which it belonged. Unfortunately, only a comparatively small number of the pictures had been seen by him, and even for those he knew, his appreciation was often at fault. Taking up the same task with more method and a wider knowledge, Dr. Bode brought it to a more satisfactory conclusion. His exhaustive studies of Rembrandt's development enabled him to distinguish the phases through which the evolution of the master's talent passed. It is to him we owe the identification of many youthful works previously ignored. Differing in execution from Rembrandt's later productions, and signed only with a monogram, they had escaped less thorough students. Moreover, in his repeated journeys across the length and breadth of Europe, Dr. Bode found opportunities for a repeated comparison of all the pictures distributed in public and private collections. The list given in his *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei* is consequently the most accurate and trustworthy we possess. But since 1883, when the *Studien* were first published, the constantly growing *vogue* of Rembrandt, and the increase in the value of his works, has necessarily led to many changes in their distribution. In a Munich

journal (the *Münchener neueste Nachrichten* of July 9, 1890), Dr. Bode has therefore added to his catalogue and rectified it in many points, noting the changes in ownership which took place between 1883 and 1890. Recent though this publication is, many important changes have since occurred, especially in English collections, and show once more how difficult, how impossible in fact, it is, to keep such a catalogue up to date. What is now going on in England is enough by itself to prove this. Not only have many famous collections, like that of Blenheim, been dispersed at public auction; changes of proprietorship have taken place, as it were, *sub rosâ*, secrecy being one of the conditions of many sales to which owners have been now forced by pecuniary embarrassment, now tempted by the offer of some enormous price. In my list some forty pictures will be found, which, during the last few years, have passed through the hands of M. Sedelmeyer alone, mostly from England, some to find new homes on the Continent, others to enrich the numerous galleries now being formed in the United States of America. Thanks to the courtesy of M. Sedelmeyer, I have been able not only to examine, but to photograph some of these pictures during their brief stay in Paris.

In spite of all the efforts I have made and the many letters I have written, I can only put before my readers an approximate account of the present whereabouts of Rembrandt's pictures. As I have had occasion, in the course of the foregoing pages, to refer to most of them in their order of production, I thought it would facilitate research to make their geographical distribution govern the arrangement of this formal list. And as I had to economise space, I have been content to give only the most indispensable details: the title, the date, the form of signature, the *provenance*, and the size of each picture, together with the material on which it is executed. For such collections, public or private, as possess catalogues, I have given the number according to the latest edition, the date of which, where possible, is also given.

The collections richest in the work of Rembrandt are the Hermitage (35), the Louvre (20), the Galleries of Cassel (20), Berlin (17), and Dresden (16), the National Gallery (12), and the Gallery of Munich (10). Taking the total number of pictures at 450, an approximate figure according to Dr. Bode, Holland only possesses one eighteenth, or 25. It is true, however, that this small total comprises several works of the first order, both in importance and merit, such as the *Lesson in Anatomy*, the *Night Watch*, the *Jewish Bride*, the *Elizabeth Bas*, the *Burgomaster Six*, and the *Syndics*.

We have spoken of the discredit into which Rembrandt's work had fallen towards the end of his life, and have quoted his grand-nephew, Wybrandt de Geest, on the point. Towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, the prices of his pictures, still very low, began gradually to rise. It was not, however, a steady improvement. At the sale of the W. Six collection, one of the most important of those days, the prices varied between the 50 florins (£8 3*s.* 4*d.*) for the two *Philosophers Meditating*, now in the Louvre, and the 2,510 florins (£209 3*s.* 4*d.*) for the *Woman taken in Adultery*, of the National Gallery. French amateurs were the first to look for Rembrandt's pictures. Among the best-known collectors who owned them were Crozat, the Comte de Vence, M. de Julienne, who had ten, the Comte de Choiseul, who had six or seven, the Prince de Conti, and the Duc d'Orléans, whose sale took place in 1792. In the present century the Erard sale (August 7, 1832), and that of Cardinal Fesch (March 17, 1845), should especially be mentioned. In England, where the genius of Rembrandt also grew steadily into favour, his pictures found their way into the princely homes of the great nobles, and it is in

England still, in spite of the frequent sales, that the most important private collections are to be found, such as those of Her Majesty the Queen, of Lady Wallace, of the Duke of Westminster, of Lord Ashburton, of Lord Ellesmere, &c. It is in England, too, that we may hope to find some of the lost works of the master, as well as some which have never yet been recognised.

The market value of Rembrandt's pictures has been rising ever since the middle of the eighteenth century. The sale careers of the two little pictures in the Louvre, the *Philosophers Meditating*, can be followed, and will give some idea of how prices have advanced. They were sold :—

In the W. Six sale (1734) for	50 florins	(£8 3*s.* 4*d.*).
,, Comte de Vence (1750) for	3,000 livres	(£120).
,, Duc de Choiseul (1772) for	14,000 ,,	(£560).
,, Randon de Boisset (1777) for . . .	10,900 ,,	(£436).
,, Comte de Vaudreuil (1784) for . . .	13,000 ,,	(£520).

when they were bought for Louis XVI.

At the Orleans sale, in 1792, the composition known as *The Cradle*, now in the possession of Mr. Boughton-Knight at Downton Castle, was sold for £1,050 (26,250 francs); while the admirable *Windmill*, now in Lord Lansdowne's collection, was sold for £484 (12,120 francs). A *Holy Family* (the *Ménage du Menuisier* in the Louvre), which had formed part of the Choiseul collection, was sold for £684 16*s.* (17,120 francs) on February 16, 1793, although the Terror was at its height. In our own time Rembrandt's pictures have kept their upward movement. He is now one of the most sought after of all painters, and of all the old masters he is the most popular in America. The male portrait known as *Le Doreur*, signed and dated 1640, was sold for £200 (5,000 francs) in Paris in 1802. In 1836 it fetched £600 (15,000 francs) at auction. It was sold for £1,000 (25,000 francs) at the Gentil de Cavagnac sale in 1854, and for £6,200 (155,000 francs) at that of the Duc de Morny in 1865. Bought in 1884 by Mr. Schaus, of New York, for £9,000 (225,000 francs), it is said to have been sold by him to Mr. Havemeyer for £16,000 (400,000 francs), and is now on loan in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Another portrait, known as the *Admiral*, was bought by Mr. Schaus for £4,260 (106,500 francs) at the sale of the Crabbe collection, June 12, 1890. The two fine full-length portraits of Martin Daey and his wife, bought in August, 1877, with the rest of the Van Loon collection, by the Rothschild family, were taken by the Baron Gustave de Rothschild at a valuation of more than a million of francs (£40,000). Two other portraits, one of Rembrandt himself and another of a young woman, were sold by the Marquis of Lansdowne to Lord Iveagh for over £16,000. In 1883, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* was bought by the Berlin Museum from Sir John Neeld for £8,000. In 1891 the *Pilgrim at Prayer* was bought by Mr. Weber, of Hamburg, for £4,000; an *Old Woman with a Bible* by M. Porgès, of Paris, for £6,000 (150,000 francs); and *The Accountant* by Mr. Handford, of Chicago, for £5,600 (140,000 francs).

The strong contrasts and the breadth of effect in Rembrandt's pictures were of a nature to tempt engravers, and they have been often reproduced; in the last century by Schmidt and De Frey, and in our time by such skilful etchers as Massalof, Unger, Courtry, Köping, Waltner, and Rajon. It is only fair to mention also Mouilleron's fine

lithograph after the *Night Watch*. Finally the photographs of Braun of Dornach; of Hanfstaengl of Munich; and of Baer of Rotterdam, have effectually helped to extend the knowledge of Rembrandt's work.

In the following list the countries are arranged in alphabetical order. Under each town the pictures in public museums precede those in private collections. In the case of pictures which I have not seen, or as to which I have been unable to procure special information, I have, as a rule, accepted the information given in Dr. Bode's catalogues. As for the signatures, I have only described such as differed, either in form or spelling, from those habitually used by the master. The figures which follow the letters C and W (canvas or wood) give the size in inches and sixteenths of an inch, the height being always given first.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

BUDA-PESTH.—Academy.

Old Man with a white Beard, full length medium size. Signed and dated 1642. W.—28 × 21$\frac{9}{16}$ inches. No. 235.

The Repose of the Holy Family, painted about 1655.

Count J. Andrassy.

Portrait of Rembrandt. Signed and dated 1630. W.—19$\frac{5}{16}$ × 15 inches.—Georges Rath Collection.

Female Portrait (unfinished), perhaps Hendrickje Stoffels. W.—28$\frac{15}{16}$ × 20$\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Landscape. Signed and dated 1638.—21$\frac{11}{16}$ × 28$\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Study of a Bullock's Carcase. Signed R. 1639. W.—20$\frac{5}{16}$ × 17 inches.

CRACOW.—Czartorisky Gallery.

Large Landscape, dated 1638.

INNSPRÜCK.—Ferdinandeum.

The Head of an old Man (*Rembrandt's Father*), commonly known as *Philo the Jew*. Signed with the monogram and dated 1630. W.—8$\frac{11}{16}$ × 6$\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Hoppe and Tschager Collections.

PRAGUE.—Count Nostitz.

Portrait of an old Man, seated at a table, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed. Painted about 1635.

TARNOWITZ.—Prince Tarnowsky.

Equestrian Portrait of a young Pole.

VIENNA.—Imperial Museum.—(Catalogue of 1884.)

Portrait of a Man, half-length, life-size, painted about 1632. W.—35$\frac{3}{4}$ × 27$\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—(Catalogue of 1783.) No. 1139.

Portrait of a Woman, pendant to above. No. 1140.

Rembrandt's Mother, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1639. W.—31$\frac{1}{2}$ × 24$\frac{7}{16}$ inches. (Catalogue of 1783. No. 1139.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, half-length, life-size, painted about 1658. C.—44$\frac{1}{2}$ × 31$\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Charles VI.'s Collection. No. 1142.

Bust Portrait of Rembrandt, life-size. Signed, painted about 1666-1668. W.—19$\frac{11}{16}$ × 16$\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

A young Man singing (Titus ?), half-length, life-size, painted about 1658. C.—28 × 28$\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—(Catalogue of 1783. No. 1144.)

St. Paul, half-length, life-size, painted about 1636. C.—49$\frac{5}{8}$ × 43$\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Inventory of 1718.

Academy of Fine Arts.

Portrait of a young Lady, half-length. Signed with the monogram, and dated 1632. C.—38$\frac{9}{16}$ × 28$\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Liechtenstein Collection. (Catalogue of 1873.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1635. C.—36$\frac{3}{16}$ × 28$\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Portrait of Saskia, an oval; bust, full-face, life-size. Signed with the monogram and dated 1632. W.—23$\frac{1}{4}$ × 17$\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Valpinçon and Secrétan Collections.

The Jewish Bride, full length, half life-size. Signed and dated 1632. C.—42$\frac{1}{2}$ × 36$\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—De Bandeville, Rendlesham, Mulgrave and Sir Charles Robinson Collections.

Bust Portrait of a Man, life-size. Signed and dated 1636.—Kuscheleff, Besborodko, and Incontri Collections.

Portrait of a Woman, pendant to above. Same collections.

Baron von Königswarter.

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, full-face, life-size. Painted about 1640. W.—22½ × 19$\frac{11}{16}$ inches.—Mount-Temple and Caledon Collections.

Count Schönborn.

Samson overcome by the Philistines, whole-length figures, nearly life-size. Signed and dated 1636. C.—76¾ × 102¾ inches.

BELGIUM

ANTWERP.—Museum.

Portrait of the Minister Swalmius, seated, life-size, three-quarters length. Signed and dated 1637. C.—57½ × 44⅛ inches.—Orleans, Stowe, and Dudley Collections.

BRUSSELS.—Royal Museum. (Catalogue of 1889.)

Portrait of a Man, half-length, life-size. Pendant to the *Lady with the Fan* at Buckingham Palace. Signed and dated 1641. C.—41⅜ × 32$\frac{11}{16}$ inches. — Dansaert Collection. (No. 397.)

Portrait of an old Woman, three-quarters length, life-size. The signature : Rembrandt, 1654, apparently a forgery. C.—Acquired in 1886. (No. 397A.)

Arenberg Gallery.

Tobias restoring his Father's Sight, small figures. Signed and dated 1634 or 1636. W.—18⅞ × 15$\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Hibbert, Carignan, and Gildemeester Collections.

DENMARK

COPENHAGEN.—Royal Gallery. (Catalogue of 1885.)

Christ at Emmäus, figures of medium size, Signed and dated 1648. C.—(No. 292.)

Bust Portrait of a young Man, life-size. Signed, but not dated. Painted in 1656. C.—(No. 273.)

Portrait of a young Woman, pendant to the above. Signed and dated 1656. C.—(No. 274.)

Count Moltke.

Portrait of an old Woman. The model the same as in the picture in the Épinal Museum and the three studies in the Hermitage. Half-length, life-size, painted about 1654. (Catalogue of the collection, No. 32.)

ENGLAND

H.M. the Queen.—Buckingham Palace.

The Shipbuilder and his Wife, three-quarters length figures, life-size. Signed and dated 1633. C.—41⅜ × 64¾ inches.—Smeth van Alphen Collection.

The Adoration of the Magi, figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1657. W.—51$\frac{3}{16}$ × 38 inches.

Rembrandt and Saskia, commonly called *The Burgomaster Pancras and his Wife.* Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1635-1636. C.—61$\frac{1}{16}$ × 77 inches. H. Hope Collection.

Christ and Mary Magdalene at the Tomb, full-length figures, of medium size. Signed and dated 1638. W.—23½ × 19½ inches.—De Reuver, Elector of Cassel, and Malmaison Collections.

The Lady with the Fan, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1641. C.—41$\frac{5}{16}$ × 31$\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Townshend Collection.

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 164 (about 1645). W.—27 × 24$\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Baring Collection.

H.M. the Queen.—Hampton Court Palace.

A Jewish Rabbi, bust, life-size, arched at the top. Signed and dated 1635. W. arched at the top.

H.M. the Queen.—Windsor Castle.

Portrait of a young Man (Gerard Dou?), bust. Signed with a monogram, and dated 1631.

Portrait of Rembrandt's Mother, bust. Painted about 1630-1632.

CAMBRIDGE. — Fitzwilliam Museum.—(Catalogue of 1861.)

Portrait of Rembrandt in military Costume, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1650. C.—53$\frac{1}{16}$ × 45$\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

DUBLIN.—National Gallery of Ireland. (Catalogue of 1890.)

The Rest in Egypt, small figures. (More probably a Bivouac of Shepherds.) Signed and dated 1647. W.—15 1/16 × 12 1/2 inches.—Sir Henry Hoare Collection. (No. 115.)

Portrait of a Young Man (*Louis van der Linden*), bust. An oval. Painted about 1630–1631. Not catalogued. Bought from Mr. A. Dansaert, of Brussels.

DULWICH GALLERY.—(Catalogue of 1880.)

Bust Portrait of a young Man, rather less than life-size. Signed with the monogram, R. H. L. van Ryn, f. 1632. W.—11 × 9 1/16 inches.—(No. 189.)

Girl at a Window, an oval, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1645. C.—31 1/2 × 24 1/16 inches.—R. Hibbert Collection.

EDINBURGH.—Scottish National Gallery.

A young Woman in Bed (*Hendrickje Stoffels*), bust, life-size, arched at the top. Signed and dated 1650. Carignan, Maynard, and Mildmay Collections. Bought from Mr. Charles Wertheimer in 1892.

GLASGOW.—Corporation Gallery.

Small Female Portrait, a youthful work.

A Man in Armour, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1655. C.—53 1/2 × 40 1/2 inches.

Tobias and the Angel. Landscape with figures. W.—29 1/2 × 26 inches.

Study of a Bullock's Carcase, similar to that in the Louvre.

LONDON.—National Gallery.—(Catalogue of 1892.)

The Descent from the Cross, a sketch in *grisaille* for the etching of 1642 (B. 82), numerous small figures. W.—13 × 11 inches.—J. de Barry, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Sir George Beaumont Collections. (No. 43.)

The Woman taken in Adultery, small figures. Signed and dated 1644. W.—32 1/2 × 25 1/2 inches.—Six and Angerstein Collections. (No. 45.)

The Adoration of the Shepherds, small figures. Signed and dated 1646. C.—25 × 22 inches.—De Noailles, De Bandeville, Tolosan and Angerstein Collections. (No. 47.)

A Woman bathing, a figure of medium size. Signed and dated 1654. W.—24 × 18 1/4 inches.—Lord Gwydyr and Rev. W. Holwell-Carr Collections. (No. 54.)

Portrait of a Capuchin Friar, bust, life-size, painted about 1660. C.—34 1/2 × 25 1/2 inches.—Duke of Northumberland's Collection. (No. 166.)

A Jewish Rabbi, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1657. C.—30 × 26 inches.—Duke of Argyll, Harman, and Farrer Collections.

Landscape, with Tobias and the Angel, W.—22 × 34 inches.—Bequeathed by the Rev. W. Holwell-Carr. (No. 72.)

Portrait of a Jew Merchant, half-length, life-size. C.—53 × 41 inches.—Sir George Beaumont's Collection. (No. 51.)

The Painter's own Portrait at an advanced Age, bust, life-size, painted about 1664. C.—33 × 27 1/2 inches.—Middleton Collection. (No. 221.)

Portrait of a Woman, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1666. C.—26 1/4 × 23 1/4 inches.—Lord Colborne's Collection. (No. 237.)

Portrait of an old Man, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1659. C.—39 × 32 3/4 inches.—Lord Colborne's Collection. (No. 243.)

His own Portrait when aged about 32, half-length, life-size. Signed Rembrandt f. conterfeyt. 1640. C.—39 × 31 1/8 inches.—Dupont de Richemont Collection. (No. 672.)

Portrait of an old Lady, an oval, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1634. AE. SUAE. 83. W.—27 × 21 inches.—Roos, Erard, Wells of Redleaf, and Sir C. Eastlake Collections. (No. 775.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, an oval, bust, life-size (called in the catalogue *A Man's Portrait*). Signed and dated 1635. C.—30 1/8 × 22 1/2 inches.—Peel Collection. (No. 850.)

Lady Ashburnham.

The Minister Anslo Exhorting a young Widow, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1641. C.—72 1/2 × 88 1/4 inches.—Sir Thomas Dundas Collection.

Lord Ashburton.

Bust Portrait of a Man, an oval, life-size. Painted about 1635. W.—29 15/16 × 25 inches.

Bust Portrait of Rembrandt, life-size. Painted about 1658. C.—30 × 25 inches.—Duc de Valentinois Collection.

Portrait of a Man, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1637.—48 1/16 × 37 inches.

Supposed *Portrait of Jansenius*, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1661. W.—31 1/8 × 26 inches.—Séréville and Talleyrand Collections.

Portrait of the Writing-master Coppenol, half-length, small figure. Signed. Painted about 1658. W.—13 15/16 × 10 13/16 inches.—Saint Julien and L. Bonaparte Collections.

Mr. Beaumont.

The Tribute Money, small figures. Signed and dated 1655. C.—25¼ × 33$\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—R. Clarke and Wynn Ellis Collections.

Duke of Bedford.—Woburn Abbey.

Portrait of an old Man, bust, life-size. Painted about 1632.

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size. Painted about 1635. C.—34¾ × 30⅜ inches.

Mr. Beresford-Hope.

Rembrandt's Father in military Costume, bust, life-size. Painted about 1631.

Lord Brownlow.—Ashridge Park.

Portrait of a Man, erroneously called a *Portrait of Hooft*, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1653. C.—61⅜ × 59 inches.

Portrait of a Man in a Fancy Dress. Signed and dated 1653.

Duke of Buccleuch.—Montague House.

Portrait of Rembrandt, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1659. C.—33$\frac{1}{16}$ × 27$\frac{3}{16}$.

Portrait of an old Woman, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1657.

Mr. A. Buckley.

Portrait of a Man, bust, small size, painted about 1655–1657.

Lord Carlisle.—Castle Howard.

Portrait of a young Artist, seated and drawing, bust, life-size. Signed. Painted about 1648.

Mr. W. C. Cartwright.

Dead Peacock and Peahen. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1640.

Mr. W. Chamberlain. (Brighton.)

Portrait of a Man in military Costume (Rembrandt's father), bust, life-size. Signed, but not dated. W.—26 × 19$\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

Sir Francis Cook, Doughty House, Richmond.

Portrait of Rembrandt's Sister, bust. Signed R. H. L. van Ryn, 1632.

Study of an old Man seated, half life-size, half-length, painted about 1654.—21⅜ × 14$\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Comte de Vence Collection.

Tobit and his Wife, small figures. Signed and dated 1650. W.—12⅝ × 17¾ inches.

Lord Cowper.—Panshanger.

Supposed equestrian Portrait of Turenne, life-size, painted in 1649. C.—124$\frac{1}{16}$ × 76⅞ inches.—De Plettemberg and Van Zwietene Collections.

Portrait of a young Man, three-quarters-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1644. C.—44$\frac{3}{16}$ × 39⅜ inches.

Mr. Davis.

Portrait of an old Lady, seated, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1635. C.

Lord Derby.—Knowsley House.

Belshazzar's Feast, half-length figures, life-size. Painted about 1636. C.—Tulwood Collection.

Portrait of a Rabbi, full face, bust. Signed and dated 163 (about 1635).

Joseph's Brethren showing his Coat to Jacob, numerous figures, three-quarters of life-size. Painted about 1657-1659. C.—51$\frac{1}{16}$ × 59$\frac{1}{16}$.

Duke of Devonshire.—Chatsworth.

Portrait of a Rabbi, seated, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1635.

Portrait of an old Man, seated, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 165 (about 1656).

Portrait of an old Man, full-face, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1663–1665.

Lady Eastlake.

Ecce Homo. Grisaille. Study for the etching of 1636 (B. 77), small figures.—21$\frac{11}{16}$ × 19$\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—W. Six, Goll and Brondgeest Collections.

Lord Ellesmere.—Bridgewater House.

Portrait of a young Girl of Eighteen, an oval, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1634, AE. SVAE. W.—29½ × 22⅞ inches. De Merle, Destouches, and Bridgewater Collections.

Portrait of a young Lady, an oval, bust, life-size, painted about 1635.

Portrait of an old Man, life-size, three-quarters length. Signed and dated 1637. C.—57⅛ × 41⅜ inches.—Gildemeester Collection.

Small Study of an old Man, a bust, painted about 1655.

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size Signed and dated 165 (about 1659). C.—22$\frac{1}{16}$ × 17¾ inches.—Holderness Collection.

Hannah and the Child Samuel, small figures Signed and dated 1648. W.—17¾ × 13⅜ inches.—De Flines, De Roore, Julienne, Egerton Collections.

Lord Feversham.—Duncombe Park.

Portrait of a Merchant, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1659.

Mr. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam.

Bust of an old Man. (The same model as in the studies of the Metz and Cassel Museums), the signature illegible. Painted about 1632. W.—21⅞ × 17$\frac{15}{16}$

Mr. A. P. Heywood Lonsdale.

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size. Painted about 1635. W.—25$\frac{1}{16}$ × 19⅞ inches.

Captain Holford (Dorchester House).

Portrait of Marten Looten, half length, life-size. Signed R. H. L. January, 1632. C.—37 × 30⅜ inches. Cardinal Fesch Collection.

Portrait of Titus van Ryn, about 1660.

Portrait of an old Lady (the wife of Sylvius?), 1644. C.—75½ × 45⅝ inches.—Fesch Collection.

Portrait of Rembrandt, 1644.

Mr. Adrian Hope.

Portrait of Nicholas Ruts, three-quarters length, one-third of life-size. Signed and dated 1631. W.—16 11/16 × 12⅝ inches.—Romswinckel and William II. Collections.

Portrait of a young Woman, an oval, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1635.

Lord Francis Pelham-Clinton-Hope.

St. Peter's Boat, figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1633. C.—68⅞ × 54¾ inches.—J. J. Hinloopen, King of Poland, and G. Braamcamp Collections.

Portrait of a young Couple, whole length figures, rather over one-third of life-size. Signed and dated 1633.

Lord Ilchester.

Portrait of Rembrandt, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1658. C.—51 × 40 inches.

Mr. Constantine Ionides.

The Dismissal of Hagar, small figures. Signed and dated 1640. W.—12⅝ × 18 15/16 inches.

Lord Iveagh.

Portrait of a young Lady, life-size, three quarters length. Signed and dated 1642. C.—45⅝ × 39⅜ inches.—La Live de Jully, Trouart, De Gévigney and Lord Lansdowne Collections.

Portrait of Rembrandt, full face, life-size, three-quarters length, painted about 1662-1664. C.—49⅝ × 45⅝ inches.—De Vence, Hennessy, Dannoot, Nieuwenhuys, and Lord Lansdowne Collections.

Mr. Samuel Joseph.

Portrait of Saskia, bust. Signed Rembrandt. About 1636-1637. C.—26 3/16 × 20 5/16 inches.

Lord Kinnaird, Rossie Priory.

Portrait of a young Woman, bust. Signed and dated 1636, octagon.

Portrait of Rembrandt, half-length. Signed and dated 1661.

Mr. A. R. Boughton Knight.—Downton Castle.

The Holy Family, known as *The Cradle*, small figures, painted about 1643-1645. W.—24½ × 30¾ inches.—Orleans Collection.

Portrait of a Man, called *Rembrandt's Cook*, full-face, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1661. C.—29½ × 24⅞ inches.—J. Blackwood and Lapeyrière Collections.

Lord Landsowne.—Bowood.

The Mill. Signed. Painted about 1654. Orleans and W. Smith Collections.

Sir E. Lechmere.

The Jewish Bride (Portrait of Saskia). A replica, with slight modifications, of the Hermitage picture. Three-quarters length, life-size, painted about 1634. C.—60 3/16 × 50⅛ inches. Sir Joshua Reynolds and Duke of Buccleuch Collections.

Lord Leconfield.—Petworth.

Bust Portrait of Rembrandt, full face, an oval. Signed R. H. L. van Ryn, 1632.

Portrait of Rembrandt's Sister, pendant to the above. Not dated.

Portrait of a young Woman, seated, full face, three-quarters length, life-size, painted about 1640.

Portrait of a Youth, bust, painted about 1665.

Mr. Alfred Morrison.

Portrait of a Man, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 164 (about 1642). W.—40 × 29 5/16 inches.

Mr. Charles Morrison.—Basildon Park.

Portrait of a young Lady, seated, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 166 (about 1665). C.—49⅝ × 36¼ inches.—Gray Collection.

Sir John Neeld.—Grittleton House.

Bust Portrait of Rembrandt, an oval. Painted about 1660-1662.

Lord Northbrook.

Portrait of an old Man, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1667.

Small Landscape with a Stream, painted about 1640-1645.

Lord Paulet.—Hinton House.

Bust Portrait of a young Man. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. Painted about 1628-1629.

Sir Robert Peel.—Drayton Manor.

Moses found by Pharaoh's Daughter, small figures. Painted about 1640. C.—An oval.—19 × 24½ inches.—Crozat, De Choiseul, De Conti, Boileau, and De Saint-Victor Collections.

Lord Pembroke.—Wilton House.

Rembrandt's Mother reading the Bible. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1630. C.—28⅜ × 18 5/16 inches.

Lord Penrhyn.

Portrait of Catherine Hoogh, at fifty years of age, life-size, to the knees. Signed and dated 1657. C.—54⅜ × 41¾ inches.—Peacock and E. Higginson Collections.

Lady (Anthony) Rothschild.

Portrait of Rembrandt, half-length, painted about 1656. C.

Duke of Rutland.—Belvoir Castle.

Portrait of a young Man, three-quarters length, nearly life-size. Signed and dated 165. C. arched at the top.—30$\frac{5}{16}$ × 24½ inches.

Lord Scarsdale.—Kedleston Hall.

Portrait of an old Man, seated, half-length. Signed. Painted about 1645.

Lord Spencer.—Althorp.

The Circumcision, a sketchy composition, with small figures. Signed, and, according to Smith, dated 1661.—24½ × 30¾ inches.

Portrait of a Child, called William, Prince of Orange, bust, painted about 1658–1660.

Lady Wallace (Hertford House).

Portrait of Jan Pellicorne and his Son, sitting, full length, life-size. Signed Rembrandt, painted about 1632-1633. C.—60¼ × 47⅝ inches.—William II.'s Collection.

Portraits of Susanna van Collen and her Daughter (pendant of the preceding). Signed Rembrandt f. 16 (about 1633). Same size and *provenance* as the last.

The Good Samaritan, small figures, a reversed reproduction of the etching of 1633, (B. 90). W.—10$\frac{13}{16}$ × 8¼.—Choiseul and Coxe Collections.

The Workers in the Vineyard, life-size figures, to the knees, painted about 1664. C.—53$\frac{9}{16}$ × 72½ inches.—Stowe Collection. (The subject of this picture is more probably *The Unmerciful Servant.*)

Study of a Young Negro, bust, life-size, painted about 1640.—Stowe Collection.

Rembrandt in a Cuirass, bust, life-size. Signed Remb. f., painted about 1634.

Portrait of an old Man, bust, small, painted about 1655–1657.

Mountainous Landscape, painted about 1640. W.—17¾ × 27$\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—W. Taylor Collection.

Lord Wantage.

Portrait of an old Lady, an oval, bust, life-size. C.—29$\frac{9}{16}$ × 25 inches.—Townshend, Verstolk van Soelen, and Baring Collections.

Lord Warwick.—Warwick Castle.

The Standard Bearer, front face, life-size, to the knees. Painted about 1660–1662. C.—55⅜ × 45⅛ inches.

Duke of Westminster.—Grosvenor House.

Salutation of the Virgin and St. Elizabeth, small figures. Signed and dated 1640. B. Arched top.—23⅝ × 19$\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

Portrait of Claes Berchem, bust, life-size Signed and dated 1647. W.—35$\frac{1}{16}$ × 28⅜ inches.

Portrait of Berchem's Wife, pendant to the above. (Same signature and dimensions.)

Lord Wemyss.—Gosford Park.

A Monk seated, and reading. Signed and dated 1660.

Lord Wimborne.—Canford Manor.

St. Paul, seated. Signed. Painted about 1658.

Portrait of a Man, three-quarters length, life-size. Painted about 1660.

Lord Yarborough.

Portrait of an old Woman, half-length, rather less than life-size, painted about 1636-1637. W.—39½ × 35½ inches.

FRANCE

ÉPINAL.—Museum. (Catalogue of 1880.)

Portrait of an old Woman, half-length, life-size. (The same model as in the Hermitage pictures, and that belonging to Count Moltke at Copenhagen.) Signed and dated 1661. C.—44⅞ × 31½ inches.—Salm Collection. (No. 101.)

NANTES.—Museum. (Catalogue of 1876.)

Portrait of Rembrandt's Father, bust, one-quarter of life-size. About 1628. W.—6¾ × 5$\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—No. 522. (Catalogued as by Van Vliet.) Duc de Feltre's Collection.

PARIS.—Louvre. (Catalogue of 1890.)

The Angel Raphael leaving Tobias. Signed and dated 1637. W.—26$\frac{13}{16}$ × 20½ inches.—In the collection in 1754. (No. 404.)

The Good Samaritan, figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1648. C.—44⅞ × 53$\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Van Slingelandt and Louis XVI. Collections. (No. 405.)

Saint Matthew, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1661. C.—37¾ × 31⅞ inches.—Collot Collection. (No. 406.)

Christ with the Disciples at Emmäus, figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1648. W.—26$\frac{13}{16}$ × 25⅝ inches.—Six, De Lassay, Randon de Boisset Collections. (No. 407.)

A Philosopher absorbed in Meditation; small figure. Signed with the monogram R.

H. van Ryn, 1633. W.—11 7/16 × 13 inches. —Louis XVI. Collection. (No. 408.)

A Philosopher absorbed in Meditation; small figure. Painted in 1633. W.—11 1/16 × 13 inches.—Louis XVI. Collection. (No. 409.)

The Carpenter's Household; small figures. Signed and dated 1640. W.—16 1/8 × 13 3/8 inches.—Is. van Thye, Gaignat, Choiseul-Praslin Collections. (No. 410.)

Venus and Cupid, half-length, life-size. C. —43 5/16 × 31 1/2 inches.—Pieter Six Collection (?). (No. 411.)

Bust Portrait of Rembrandt, an oval, life-size. Signed and dated 1633. W.—22 7/8 × 17 3/4 inches.—*Musée Napoléon.* (No. 412.)

Bust Portrait of Rembrandt, an oval, life-size. Signed and dated 1634. W.—26 13/16 × 20 7/8 inches.—De Choiseul Collection. (No. 413.)

Bust Portrait of Rembrandt, an oval, life-size. Signed and dated 1637. W.—31 1/2 × 24 7/16 inches.—Louis XVI. Collection. (No. 414.)

Portrait of Rembrandt at an advanced Age. Half-length, life-size. Signed Remb. . . f. 1660. C.—43 3/4 × 33 1/2 inches.—Louis XVI. Collection. (No. 415.)

Bust Portrait of an old Man, an oval, life-size. Signed Rembrandt, 1638. W.—27 9/16 × 22 1/16 inches.—In the early collection. (No. 416.)

Bust Portrait of a young Man, life-size. C.—28 3/4 × 24 1/16 inches.—Signed and dated 1658. *Musée Napoléon.* (No. 417.)

Bust Portrait of a Man, small size. A replica of rather better quality in the Cassel Museum. Painted about 1655-1657. W.—10 1/4 × 7 1/2 inches.—Early collection. (No. 418.)

Portrait of a young Woman (*Hendrickje Stoffels*), bust, life-size. Painted about 1652-1654. C.—28 3/8 × 23 5/8 inches. Early collection. (No. 419.)

The Carcase of a Bullock hanging in a Butcher's Stall. Signed and dated 1655. W. —37 × 26 7/16 inches. (No. 690.)

Lacaze Collection.

Bathsheba, full-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1654. C.—55 15/16 × 55 15/16 inches.—Young Ottley, Peacock, Maison, P. Perrier Collections. (No. 96.)

A Woman Bathing, full-length figure, small size. Study for the *Susanna* in the Berlin Museum. Painted in 1647.—24 7/16 × 18 15/16 inches. (No. 97.)

Portrait of a Man, full face, life-size. Signed; the date illegible. C.—32 1/16 × 26 inches. (No. 98.)

M. Édouard André.

Portrait of Arnold Tholinx, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1656. C.—29 15/16 × 24 7/8 inches.—Van Brienen Collection.

Christ at Emmäus, small figures. Signed with the monogram R.H. Painted about 1632-1633. W.—15 3/8 × 16 9/16 inches.—Leroy d'Étiolles Collection.

Portrait of Saskia, bust, profile, life-size. Signed Rembrandt van Ryn, 1632. C.—27 × 21 7/8 inches.—De Reiset and Haro Collections.

M. Léon Bonnat.

Susanna, an oval, bust, small size. Study for the picture in the Berlin Museum. Painted about 1647. W.—8 1/16 × 7 1/8 inches.—His de la Salle Collection.

Head of a Rabbi, bust, small size. Painted about 1655. W.—8 3/16 × 9 9/16 inches.

The Burgomaster Six, study for the etching (B. 285), small size. 1647. W.

M. Steph. Bourgeois.

Bust Portrait of a Woman, three-quarters to the front, small size. About 1640. W.— 7/8 × 6 1/2 inches.

Prince de Chalais.

Bust Portrait of a Man, erroneously called a *Portrait of Rembrandt.*

M. Dutuit.

Full-length Portrait of Rembrandt, medium size. Signed and dated 1631. W.—31 7/8 × 21 1/16 inches.—Schamp d'Averschoot Collection.

M. Léon Gauchez.

The Death of Lucretia, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1664. C.—45 11/16 × 38 5/8 inches.—Demidoff Collection.

M. Leopold Goldschmidt.

Study of an old Man, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1635. C.—25 5/8 × 21 5/16 inches.—Auguiot and Demidoff Collections.

Study of a Woman, known as *Rembrandt's Cook*, bust, life-size. Painted about 1656. C. —28 3/4 × 23 1/4 inches.—Nieuwenhuys Collection.

M. Haro.

Judas bringing back the thirty Pieces of Silver to the High Priest, figures of medium size. Painted about 1628-1630. C.—31 1/2 × 40 9/16 inches.—Fanshawe, Terrour, and Lord Northwick Collections.

M. Harjes.

An Old Man with a white Beard, reading, bust, life-size. C.—24 7/16 × 22 7/8 inches —De Beurnonville Collections.

Baron Hirsch de Gereuth.

Portrait of Saskia, an oval, bust, full face, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. f. 1633. W.—22⅞ × 21 5/16 inches.—Roehn and Brooks Collections.

M. Maurice Kann.

Portrait of a Man, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1662-1665. C.—35⅞ × 29⅜ inches.—D'Oultremont Collection.

Head of Christ, life-size. Painted about 1656. C.—18⅜ × 14 9/16 inches.

Bust Portrait of a Man, half the size of life. Signed and dated 1659. W.—13⅝ × 11 7/16 inches.—From the Weber Collection at Hamburg.

M. Rodolphe Kann.

Portrait of an old Woman cutting her Nails, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1658. C.—49 1/16 × 41 inches.—Ingham, Foster, Bibikoff, and Massaloff Collections.

Portrait of Titus van Ryn, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1655. C.—30 5/16 × 22½ inches.

Portrait of a Woman, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1662-1665. C.—36⅝ × 28¾ inches. (Pendant to M. Maurice Kann's male portrait.)—D'Oultremont Collection.

Head of Christ, half life-size. Painted about 1652. W.—10 5/16 × 7 15/16 inches.

Head of a Rabbi, the same model as in M. Bonnat's *Rabbi*, bust, small size, about 1655. W.—9⅞ × 7 11/16 inches.

Madame Lacroix.

Landscape with Swans, painted about 1645. C.—25¼ × 17 inches.—W. Bürger Collection.

M. Paul Mathey.

Head of an old Man with a grey Beard, full-face. W.—19 11/16 × 23 11/16 inches.

M. Henry Pereire.

Portrait of a Man, an oval; bust, life-size. Signed Rembrandt f. 1632. C.—23 11/16 × 18½ inches.

Portrait of a Woman (pendant to the above), an oval; bust, life-size. Signed Rembrandt f. 1633. Same dimensions as above.—De Beurnonville Collection.

M. Jules Porgès.

Study of an old Woman, life-size, three-quarters length, painted about 1649. C.—37⅞ × 29 9/16 inches.

A Rabbi, full-face, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1642. W.—29 9/16 × 24 1/16 inches.

Count Edmond de Pourtalès.

Portrait of a young Man, three-quarters length, life-size, painted about 1633. C.—49⅛ × 39⅜ inches.—Ashburnham and Farrer Collections.

Baron Alphonse de Rothschild.

Portrait of an old Lady, an oval; bust, nearly life-size. Signed R. van Ryn, 1632. W.—30⅛ × 22 1/16 inches.

Baron Gustave de Rothschild.

The Standard Bearer, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 163 (about 1636). C.—49¼ × 41⅜ inches.—Verhulst, Lebœuf, and Clarke Collections.

Portrait of Marten Daey, full-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1634.—81 9/16 × 52 inches.—Daey van Winter and Van Loon Collections.

Portrait of Marten Daey's Wife (pendant to above). Same date, dimensions, and collections.

Baroness Nathaniel de Rothschild.

Portrait of a Youth, an oval; bust, life-size. Signed, and dated 1633. C.—17 5/16 × 13 inches.

M. Henri Schneider.

Portrait of the Minister Alenson, full-length, life-size. Signed, and dated 1634. C.—70⅛ × 52 inches.—S. Colby and Fisher Collections.

Portrait of Alenson's Wife (pendant to the above). Same signature, size, and collections.

M. Charles Sedelmeyer.

The Good Samaritan, full-length figures of medium size. Signature and date 1639, probably forged. C.—38¼ × 49¼ inches.

Pilate Washing his Hands, half-length figures, life-size. C.—50 7/16 × 65 inches.—Palmerston and Mount-Temple Collections.

The Woman taken in Adultery (?), life-size figures, full-length. Forged date (1644) and signature. C.—44 3/16 × 53 3/16 inches.—Blenheim Collection.

The Resurrection of Lazarus, small full-length figures. W.—16 9/16 × 13 1/16 inches.

The Crucifixion, small full-length figures.—13 7/16 × 9⅞ inches.—King of Poland and Wilson Collections.

M. A. Waltner.

An Old Rabbi, half-length, life-size. About 1654-1656. C.—32 5/16 × 25⅝ inches.

M. E. Warneck.

Rembrandt with a beardless face, laughing, bust, small size. Signed and dated 1633. W.—$8\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

Study of a Rabbi, bust, small size, about 1650–1655. W.—$8\frac{11}{16} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Study of a Youth, bust, small size, abou 1654. W.—$9\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

Diana at the Bath, small full-length figure. A reproduction of the etching (B. 201), about 1631. W.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—Hulot Collection.

GERMANY

ASCHAFFENBURG.—Museum of the Royal Palace. (Catalogue of 1883.)

Ecce Homo, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1661. C. arched at the top. (Dimensions not given in catalogue.)

BERLIN.—Museum. (Catalogue of 1891.)

Samson threatening his Father-in-Law, life-size figures, three-quarters length. Signed and dated 1635. C.—$61\frac{1}{2} \times 50\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—Royal Collections. (No. 802.)

Tobit's Wife with the Kid, small figures. Signed and dated 1645. W.—$7\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Royal Collections. (No. 805.)

Joseph's Dream, pendant to the above. Same signature, date, and dimensions. (No. 806.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size. About 1634–1635. W.—$21\frac{11}{16} \times 18\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Royal Collections. (No. 808.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1634. W.—$22\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Royal Collections. (No. 810.)

Moses breaking the Tables of the Law, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1659. C.—$65\frac{13}{16} \times 53\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Royal Collections. (No. 811.)

Rembrandt's Wife, Saskia, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1643. W.—$28\frac{3}{8} \times 22\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Royal Collections.—(No. 812.)

The Rape of Proserpine, small figures, painted about 1632. W.—$32\frac{6}{8} \times 30\frac{6}{8}$ inches.—Royal Collections. (No. 823.)

Jacob wrestling with the Angel, life-size figures, three-quarters length. Signed and dated 1659. C.—$53\frac{15}{16} \times 45\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Solly Collection. (No. 828.)

Portrait of a Rabbi, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1645. C.—$43\frac{5}{16} \times 32\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—Suermondt Collection. (No. 828A.)

Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1662–1664. C.—$34\frac{5}{16} \times 25\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—(No. 828B.)

A Young Woman in Armour (*Judith* or *Minerva*), small figure. Traces of a signature, R. Painted about 1631–1632. W.—$23\frac{1}{4} \times 18\frac{15}{16}$ inches.—Royal Collections. (No. 828C.)

The Money-Changer, small figure. Signed with the monogram R., 1627. W.—$12\frac{5}{8} \times 16\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—Presented by Sir Charles Robinson. (No. 828D.)

Susanna and the Elders, figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1647. W.—$29\frac{15}{16} \times 35\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Sir E. Lechmere's Collection. (No. 828E.)

The Vision of Daniel, figures of medium size. Painted about 1650. C.—$37\frac{7}{8} \times 45\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Sir E. Lechmere's Collection. (No. 828F.)

Joseph accused by the Wife of Potiphar, figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1655. C.—$43\frac{5}{16} \times 30\frac{6}{8}$.—Sir John Neeld's Collection. (No. 828H.)

Study of an old Man, bust, life-size. Painted about 1655. C.—$20\frac{3}{16} \times 14\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—(No. 828J.)

The Preaching of John the Baptist. Grisaille, small figures. Signed and dated 1656. C.—$25\frac{4}{8} \times 32\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—J. Six, Cardinal Fesch, and Dudley Collections.

Royal Palace.

Samson and Delilah, small figures, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L., 1628. W.—$24\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{11}{16}$ inches.—From the Collection of the Princes of Orange.

BRUNSWICK.—Grand Ducal Museum. (Catalogue of 1887.)

Portrait of a Man, erroneously called *Portrait of Hugo Grotius*, oval, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1632. W.—$25\frac{1}{16} \times 18\frac{15}{16}$ inches. (No. 232.)

Portrait of a Woman, (pendant to above). Signed and dated 1633. Same dimensions. (No. 233.)

A Philosopher, figure of medium size. (Perhaps a copy.) Signature probably a forgery. W.—$20\frac{1}{8} \times 17\frac{5}{16}$. (No. 234.)

Noli me tangere, figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1651. C.—$25\frac{5}{8} \times 31\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—(No. 235.)

The Storm. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1640. W.—$20\frac{9}{16} \times 28\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—(No. 236.)

A Warrior in a Helmet, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1638. W.—32⅜ × 26⅝ inches.—(No. 237.)

Family Group, three-quarters length figures, life-size. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1668–1669. C.—49⅝ × 65$\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—(No. 238.)

CARLSRUHE.—Grand Ducal Museum. (Catalogue of 1881.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1645. W.—29$\frac{3}{16}$ × 23¼ inches. (No. 238.)

CASSEL.—Museum. (Catalogue of 1888.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, half life-size. About 1627. 7⅞ × 6¼ inches.—Inventory of 1749.—(No. 208.)

Portrait of an old Man, bust, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L., 1630. W.—An octagon.—26 × 22$\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 209.)

Study of a bald old Man, bust, nearly life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L., 1632. W.—19$\frac{11}{16}$ × 15⅝ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 210.)

Study of an old Man, bust, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. van Ryn, 1632. W.—23¼ × 19$\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—De Reuver Collection.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 211.)

Supposed Portrait of the Writing-master, Coppenol, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. van Ryn. Painted about 1632–1633. C.—39⅜ × 30¾ inches.—De Reuver collection.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 212.)

Portrait of the Poet, Jan Herman Krul, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1633. C.—48$\frac{7}{16}$ × 37$\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 213.)

Portrait of Saskia, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1633–1634. W.—38$\frac{11}{16}$ × 30⅜ inches.—Six and De Reuver collections. Inventory of 1749. (No. 214.)

Portrait of Rembrandt in a Helmet, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1634. W.—An octagon—31⅛ × 25¼ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 215.)

Portrait of a young Woman, bust, life-size. About 1635–1636. W.—28⅜ × 23¼ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 216.)

Portrait of a Man, erroneously called a *Portrait of the Burgomaster Six*, or of *Rembrandt*, full-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1639. C.—78$\frac{1}{16}$ × 47⅝ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 217.)

The Holy Family, small figures. Signed and dated 1646. W.—17¾ × 26$\frac{7}{16}$ inches.—Lormier Collection. (No. 218.)

A Winter Scene. Signed and dated 1646. W.—6¼ × 8$\frac{11}{16}$ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 219.)

The Ruin. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1650. W.—26 × 33$\frac{15}{16}$ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 220.)

Portrait of Frans Bruyningh, life-size. three-quarters length. Signed and dated 1652 (?). C.—41⅜ × 35½ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 221.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 165 (about 1659). C.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 222.)

A Man in Armour, three-quarters length, life-size. The signature forged, probably to replace an authentic inscription, of which traces are still visible. Painted about 1655. C.—44½ × 35½ inches.—Von Donop Collection. Inventory of 1749. (No. 223.)

Portrait of a Mathematician, three-quarters length, life-size. Forged signature. Painted about 1656. C.—47¼ × 35½ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 224.)

Portrait of an old Man, bust, a quarter of life-size. Painted about 1655-1657. W.—7⅞ × 6¼ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 225.)

Portrait of an old Man, bust, a third of life-size. About 1655. W.—7⅞ × 5⅞ inches.—Inventory of 1749. (No. 226.)

Jacob blessing the Sons of Joseph, figures three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1656. C.—68$\frac{9}{16}$ × 78¾ inches.—Acquired about 1752. (No. 227.)

Habich Collection. (Exhibited in the Cassel Museum till 1892. Sold May 9, 1892.)

Portrait of Rembrandt's Father, bust, life-size. Painted about 1632. W.—18$\frac{15}{16}$ × 14$\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—(No. 122 in the sale catalogue.)

DARMSTADT.—Grand Ducal Gallery. (Catalogue of 1875.)

The Flagellation, figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1668. C.—37$\frac{1}{16}$ × 28¾ inches.—(No. 347.)

DRESDEN.—Royal Picture Gallery. (Catalogue of 1887.)

Portrait of Saskia, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1633. W.—20$\frac{1}{16}$ × 17$\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Inventory of 1817. (No. 1556.)

Portrait of Willem Burchgraeff (the pendant in the Städel Institute, Frankfort). Bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1633. W.—26⅝ × 51$\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Van Mierop Collection. Inventory of 1722. (No. 1557.)

The Rape of Ganymede, full length, life-size. Signed and dated 1635. W.—67$\frac{9}{16}$ × 51$\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Acquired at Hamburg in 1751. (No. 1558.)

Rembrandt and Saskia, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed Rembrant. Painted about 1635-1636. C.—63 7/16 × 51 5/8 inches.—Bought from Le Leu in Paris, 1749. (No. 1559.)

The Marriage of Samson, figures about half life-size. Signed and dated 1638. C.—49 13/16 × 69 3/16 inches.—Inventory of 1722. (No. 1560.)

Sportsman with a Bittern, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1639. W.—47 1/8 × 35 1/16 inches.—Inventory of earlier date than 1753. (No. 1561.)

Portrait of Saskia holding a Flower in her Hand, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1641. W.—38 3/8 × 32 9/16 inches.—Araignon Collection. (No. 1562.)

Manoah's Sacrifice, figures, full length, life-size. Signed and dated 1641. C.—95 5/16 × 111 1/2 inches.—Inventory of earlier date than 1753. (No. 1563.)

An old Woman weighing Money, three-quarters length, life-size. The signature, Rembrandt 1643, seems to be a forgery. C.—44 1/2 × 39 5/16 inches.—Inventory of 1754. (No. 1564.)

Portrait of a young Man in military Costume, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1643. C.—30 1/8 × 26 7/16 inches.—Inventory of earlier date than 1753. (No. 1565.)

The Entombment, figures of medium size. Copy of the Munich picture, worked upon by Rembrandt. Signed and dated 1653. C.—38 7/16 × 27 inches.—Lormier Collection. (No. 1566.)

Portrait of an old Man, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1654. W.—40 3/16 × 30 3/4 inches.—Inventory of 1722. (No. 1567.)

Portrait of an old Man, half-length, life-size, painted about 1656. C.—35 1/8 × 27 inches.—Inventory of 1765. (No. 1568.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, drawing, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1657. C.—33 1/16 × 25 5/8 inches.—Inventory of 1722. (No. 1569.)

Portrait of an old Man, three-quarters length, life-size, painted about 1665-1667. C.—32 3/8 × 28 inches.—Inventory of 1722. (No. 1570.)

Portrait of an old Man, three-quarters length, life-size, painted about 1645. C.—37 5/8 × 31 11/16 inches.—Inventory of earlier date than 1753. (No. 1571.)

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN. — Städel Institute. (Catalogue of 1879.)

Portrait of Margaretha van Bilderbeecq, an oval, bust, life-size (pendant to the portrait of William Burchgraeff in the Dresden Gallery). Signed and dated 1633. W.—26 7/16 × 22 1/16 inches.—Van Mierop Collection. (No. 182.)

David playing the Harp before Saul (ascribed in the catalogue to Salomon Koninck). Whole length figures, about a quarter of life-size. Painted about 1632. W.—24 7/16 × 19 11/16 inches. (No. 183.)

GOTHA.—Grand Ducal Museum. (Catalogue of 1890.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, small size. Signed R. H. L. 1629. W.—7 1/16 × 5 1/2 inches. (No. 181.)

HAMBURG.—Kunsthalle. (Catalogue of 1887.)

Portrait of Maurice Huygens, bust, small size. Signed R. H. L. 1630. Recently acquired by the Museum with the Wesselhoeft Collection.—Vis. Blokhuysen Collection. Mr. Weber.

The Presentation in the Temple, small figures. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1630. W.—21 1/16 × 17 5/16 inches.—From the De Lassay, De la Guiche, Sagan and Hohenzollern Collections. (No. 212 in Dr. K. Woermann's Catalogue.)

A Pilgrim praying, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1661. C.—35 1/2 × 30 3/4 inches.—(No. 213 in Dr. K. Woermann's Catalogue.)

LEIPZIG.—Municipal Museum.—(Catalogue of 1881.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, small size, painted about 1652–1654. W.—10 1/4 × 8 1/4 inches.—Clauss Collection.

METZ.—Municipal Museum.

Portrait of an old Man, an oval; bust, life-size. Signed Rembrandt, 1633. W.—17 3/4 × 16 9/16 inches.—Bequeathed by the Marquis d'Ourches.

MUNICH.—Royal Pinacothek. (Catalogue of 1884.)

The Holy Family, full-length figures, three-quarters of life-size. Signed and dated 1631. C.—76 × 51 1/8 inches.—Mannheim Gallery. (No. 324.)

Portrait of an old Man in Eastern Dress. Signed and dated 1633. W.—33 1/8 × 24 7/8 inches.—Zweibrücken Collection. (No. 325.)

The Descent from the Cross, small figures. Signed Rembrant. Painted in 1633. W arched at the top.—35 1/16 × 25 5/8 inches.—Painted for Prince Frederick Henry of the Netherlands. (No. 326.)

The Elevation of the Cross, small figures. Signed. Painted in 1633. W.—37 1/8 × 28 3/8 inches.—Prince Frederick Henry's Collection. (No. 327.)

The Ascension, small figures. Signed and dated 1636. W. arched at the top.—36¼ × 26 1/16 inches.—Prince Frederick Henry's Collection. (No. 328.)

The Resurrection, small figures. Signed and dated 1639. C. arched at the top.—37 1/16 × 27⅝ inches.—Prince Frederick Henry's Collection. (No. 329.)

The Entombment, small figures. Painted about 1636-1638. C. arched at the top.—36⅝ × 27 3/16 inches.

The Adoration of the Shepherds, small figures. Signed . . . ndt, f. 1646. C. arched at the top.—38¼ × 28⅜ inches.—Prince Frederick Henry's Collection. (No. 331.)

Abraham's Sacrifice, life-size figures. Signed Rembrandt verandert en overgeschildert, 1636. C.—76 7/16 × 51⅛ inches.—Mannheim Gallery. (No. 332.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size. The signature, Rembrandt f. 1654, is probably a forgery, and the picture an early copy. Düsseldorf Gallery.

NUREMBERG.—Germanic Museum. (Catalogue of 1886.)

Portrait of Rembrandt in military Costume, bust, life-size. Signed with the monogram. Painted about 1629. W.—15⅜ × 12⅝.—(No. 298.)

St. Paul, small figure. Painted about 1629-1630. Baron von Bodeck's Collection.

OLDENBURG.—Grand Ducal Museum. (Catalogue of 1881.)

The Prophetess Anna. (Portrait of Rembrandt's mother.) Half-length, life-size. Signed R. H. L. 1631. C.—23⅜ × 18 5/16 inches.—Schönborn von Pommersfelden Collection. (No. 166.)

Bust of an old Man, life-size, signed R. H. L. Van Ryn. 1632. C.—26 3/16 × 20⅛ inches.—(No. 167.)

Landscape with two Water-courses. Painted about 1645. W.—11 7/16 × 15¾ inches.—(No. 169.)

SCHWERIN.—Grand Ducal Museum. (Catalogue of 1890.)

Portrait of an old Man, bust, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. Painted about 1630. W.—26 3/16 × 20½ inches.—(No. 854.)

Portrait of an old Man, bust, life-size. Painted about 1656. C.—22½ × 18½ inches.—(No. 855.)

STUTTGART.—Royal Museum. (Catalogue of 1876.)

St. Paul in Prison, small figure. Signed R. F. 1627 and Rembrandt fecit. W.—27 9/16 × 22⅞ inches.—Schönborn Collection. (No. 225.)

Mr. von Carstanjen.

Portrait of J. C. Sylvius, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1645. C.—51 3/16 × 43 5/16 inches.—Cardinal Fesch and E. Pereire Collections.

The Flagellation, small figures. Painted about 1645. W.—13⅜ × 11 1/16 inches.—De Beurnonville Collection.

Portrait of Rembrandt in old Age, half-length, life-size. Signed, but not dated (about 1665-1667). C.—32⅜ × 24⅞.—L. Double Collection.

Count Esterhazy.—Nordkirchen.

Young Man laughing, full-face, bust, nearly life-size. Signed with the monogram. Painted about 1629-1630.

Mr. K. von der Heydt.—Elberfeld.

Portrait of a young Woman, an oval, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1635. W.—30¾ × 25⅝ inches.—From the Städel Institute at Frankfort.

The Denial of St. Peter, very small figures. Signed R. H. L., 1628. Copper.—8 11/16 × 6 1/16 inches.—Otto Pein Collection.

Mr. Carl Hollitscher.

St. Paul, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1635. C.—46½ × 37⅜ inches.—Somerset Collection.

The Crucifixion, small figures. Painted about 1648. W.—13 13/16 × 9½ inches.

Count Luckner.—Altfranken.

Portrait of Saskia, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1635.

Count Salm-Salm.—Anhalt.

Diana discovering the Pregnancy of Callisto, small figures. Signed and dated 1635. C.—28⅜ × 37⅜ inches.

Mr. James Simon.

Portrait of a young Lady, full-length, small size. About 1634. W.—17 5/16 × 14 3/16 inches.—Leroy d'Étiolles Collection.

Mr. A. Thieme.

Supposed Portrait of the Connétable de Bourbon, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1644. C.—35⅞ × 29 3/16 inches.—Secrétan Collection.

The Good Samaritan, sketch in *grisaille*; small figures.—11⅛ × 14 3/16 inches.—Henry Willett Collection.

HOLLAND

AMSTERDAM. — Ryksmuseum. (Dr. Bredius' Catalogue of 1891. French edition.)

The March-out of a Company of the Amsterdam Musketeers, commonly called *The Night Watch*. Painted for the Hall of the Musketeers' Guild. Life-size figures. Signed and dated 1642. C.—141⅜ × 171 5/16 inches. —(No. 312 in the Catalogue.)

The Syndics of the Cloth Hall. Painted for the Staalhof. Life-size figures, three-quarters length. Signed and dated 1661. C. —72⅞ × 107 15/16 inches.—(No. 313.)

Portrait of Elizabeth Bas, widow of the Admiral J. H. Swartenhout. Seated, life-size, three-quarters length. Painted about 1643. C.—45 11/16 × 34 11/16 inches.—Bequeathed by Mr. Van de Poll, 1880. (No. 314A.)

Dr. J. Deyman's Anatomy Lesson. Fragment of a picture painted for the Surgeons' Guild, and partially destroyed by fire, November 8, 1723. Life-size, three-quarters length. Signed and dated 1656. C.—39⅜ × 52 inches. —(No. 314B.)

A Mythological Composition (Narcissus?), half life-size. Painted about 1648. C.—33 7/16 × 26⅜ inches.—Hamilton Collection. (No. 1251.)

The Jewish Bride (*Boaz and Ruth?*) three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 16. . , (probably about 1665–1668.) C.—46½ × 64⅝ inches.—Van der Hoop Collection. (No. 1252.)

Portrait of Rembrandt's Mother, lent by Mr. Hockwater in 1889, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1627–1628. C.

THE HAGUE.—Mauritshuis. (Dr. Bredius' Catalogue of 1891. French edition.)

Portrait of Rembrandt's Father, bust, life-size. About 1630. C.

Portrait of Rembrandt's Mother. The pendant, *Portrait of Rembrandt's Father*, is in the Nantes Museum. (No. 522.) Bust, small size. Painted about 1628. W.—6⅛ × 5⅛ inches.—Lent by Dr. Bredius. (No. 314.)

Bust Portrait of Rembrandt, rather less than life-size. Painted about 1629–1630. W.—14 11/16 × 11⅜ inches.—William V. Collection. (No. 315.)

The Presentation in the Temple, small figures. Signed with the monogram R. H. L., 1631. W.—28 11/16 (the arched top is an addition) × 18⅞ inches.—William V. Collection.

Dr. Nicolaes Tulp's Anatomy Lesson. Painted for the Surgeons' Guild of Amsterdam. Figures three-quarters length, life-size. Signed Rembrandt f. 1632. C.—65 5/16 × 85⅝ inches.—(No. 317.)

Portrait of Rembrandt in military Costume, bust, life-size. Signed. Painted about 1634. W.—24 9/16 × 18 7/16 inches.—William V. Collection. (No. 318.)

Portrait of a young Woman (Saskia?), bust, life-size. Signed Rem . . . . . Painted about 1635. W.—28⅞ × 24 13/16 inches.—Duclos and Secrétan Collections. Lent by Dr. Bredius. (No. 319.)

Susanna at the Bath, small figure. Signed Rembrandt f. 1637. W.—28⅞ × 24 13/16 inches. —Van Slingelandt and William V. Collections. (No. 320.)

Study of a Head (Rembrandt's brother Adriaen?), bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1650. C.—30⅝ × 26 5/16 inches.—Lebrun and Sir Charles Robinson Collections. (No. 321.)

ROTTERDAM.—Boymans Museum. (Catalogue of 1883.)

The Pacification of Holland, an allegorical composition inspired by the Treaty of Münster. (1648.) Small figures. Signed and dated 1648. W.—28 11/16 × 39⅜ inches. — Samuel Rogers Collection. (No. 241.)

Portrait of Rembrandt's Father, bust, life-size, oval. Traces of a signature and date. Painted about 1630. W.—28 11/16 × 22 inches. (353.)

Baron Harinxma.—Leeuwarden.

Portrait of an old Man, small size. Signed and dated 1647. W.—9 3/16 × 8 1/16 inches.

Prince Henry of the Netherlands.

Bust Portrait of Rembrandt, life-size. Signed and dated 1643. C.—24 × 18⅞ inches.

Mr. Quarles van Ufford.

Supposed Portrait of Captain Joris de Caulery, full face, half-length. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. van Ryn, 1632. (This picture was recently sold to an American purchaser.)

Mr. J. P. Six.

Portrait of Anna Wymer, mother of Jan Six, life-size, three-quarters length. Signed and dated 1641. C.—37⅜ × 31½ inches.

Portrait of the Burgomaster, Jan Six, life-size, three-quarters length. Painted in 1654. W.—42$\frac{15}{16}$ × 38$\frac{9}{16}$ inches.

Portrait of Ephraim Bonus, small figure, three-quarters length. Painted in 1647. W.—7$\frac{1}{2}$ × 6$\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

Joseph interpreting the Dreams, grisaille on paper. Signed and dated 163 . (About 1633.)—21$\frac{5}{8}$ × 13$\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—W. Six and De Vos Collections.

Baron Steengracht van Duivenwoorde.

Bathsheba, small figure. Signed and dated 1643. W.—24$\frac{3}{8}$ × 31$\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—Lebrun, Sir Thomas Lawrence, De la Hante, Emmerson, and De Biré Collections.

Mr. van Weede van Dyckveld.—Utrecht.

Portrait of a young Woman, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1639. C.—41$\frac{3}{4}$ × 31$\frac{13}{16}$ inches.

ITALY

FLORENCE.—Uffizi Gallery. (Catalogue of 1886.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1655-1657.—(No. 451.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, bust, life-size. Painted about 1666-1668.—(No. 452.)

Pitti Palace.

Portrait of an old Man, rather more than three-quarters length. Signed and dated 16. . (about 1658).—(No. 16.)

Portrait of Rembrandt in military Costume, bust. Painted about 1635. Guerini Collection. —(No. 60.)

MILAN.—Brera. (Catalogue of 1887.)

Portrait of a Woman (Rembrandt's Sister?) Signed R. H. L. van Ryn, 1632. W.—21$\frac{5}{8}$ × 18$\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—(No. 449.)

Mr. Fabri.

Study of an old Man, bust, life-size. W.—23$\frac{3}{16}$ × 18$\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

RUSSIA

SAINT PETERSBURG.—Hermitage. (Catalogue of 1891.)

Abraham entertaining the three Angels, life-size figures, three-quarters length. Painted about 1650. C.—47$\frac{1}{16}$ × 63$\frac{15}{16}$ inches. Catherine II. Collection. (No. 791.)

Abraham's Sacrifice, full-length, life-size figures. Signed and dated 1635. C.—75$\frac{15}{16}$ × 52$\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—Walpole Collection. (No. 792.)

Joseph's Brethren shew the bloody Coat to Jacob, half-length figures, life-size. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1650. C.—60$\frac{13}{16}$ × 65$\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Joseph accused by Potiphar's Wife, half-length figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1655. C.—41$\frac{3}{8}$ × 38$\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Gotzkowski and Catherine II. Collections. (No. 794.)

The Fall of Haman, half-length figures, life-size. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1650. C.—49$\frac{7}{8}$ × 46$\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Catherine II. Collection. (No. 795.)

The Holy Family, full-length figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1645. C.—46$\frac{1}{8}$ × 35$\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—Crozat Collection. (No. 796.)

The Return of the Prodigal, full-length, life-size figures. Signed with the monogram R. V. Ryn. Painted about 1668–1669. C.—103$\frac{1}{8}$ × 98$\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—From the Duke of Bavaria (Clement Augustus), D'Amezune, and Catherine II. Collections. (No. 797.)

The Workers in the Vineyard, full-length figures, small size. Signed and dated 1637. W.—12$\frac{3}{16}$ × 16$\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—(No. 798.)

St. Peter's Denial, life-size figures, three-quarters length. Painted about 1656. C.—60$\frac{1}{4}$ × 66$\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Catherine II. Collection. (No. 799.)

The Descent from the Cross, figures of medium size. Signed and dated 1634. C.—62$\frac{1}{4}$ × 46$\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Malmaison Collection. (No. 800.)

The Incredulity of St. Thomas, small figures. Signed and dated 1634. W.—21$\frac{5}{8}$ × 20$\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Ph. van Dyck, Gotzkowski, and Catherine II. Collections. (No. 801.)

Danäe, whole-length, life-size. Signed and dated . 6 . 6 (1636). C.—72$\frac{13}{16}$ × 8 inches.—Crozat Collection. (No. 802.)

Portrait of an old Woman, half-length, life-size. Painted in 1654. C.—52$\frac{3}{8}$ × 42$\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Crozat Collection. (No. 804.)

Portrait of an old Woman (the same model as the above), half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1654. C.—42$\frac{7}{8}$ × 33 inches.—Baudouin and Catherine II. Collections. (No. 805.)

Portrait of an old Woman (the same model as in the two preceding pictures), half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1654. C.—29$\frac{1}{8}$ × 24$\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Brühl Collection. (No. 806.)

Portrait of Rembrandt's Mother, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1643. W.—31 × 24 inches.—Catherine II. Collection. (No. 807.)

Supposed Portrait of Coppenol, half-length, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. 1631. C.—44½ × 36⅛ inches.—Brühl Collection. (No. 808.)

Pallas, half-length, rather more than life-size. Painted about 1650. C.—46⅛ × 35¾ inches.—Baudouin and Catherine II. Collections. (No. 809.)

Study of an old Jew, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1654. C.—42⅞ × 33 inches.—Baudouin and Catherine II. Collections. (No. 810.)

Portrait of a Man, erroneously called a *Portrait of Sobieski*, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1637. W.—38⅛ × 25¾ inches.—Catherine II. Collection. (No. 811.)

The Jewish Bride (*Saskia*), life-size, three-quarters length. Signed and dated 1634. C.—49$\frac{3}{16}$ × 39¾ inches.—Catherine II. Collection. (No. 812.)

Portrait of an Oriental, half-length, life-size. Signed. Painted about 1636. C.—39 × 29$\frac{15}{16}$ inches.—Gotzkowski and Catherine II. Collections. (No. 813.)

Portrait of Rembrandt's Father in military Costume, bust, rather less than life-size. Signed with the monogram. Painted about 1630. W.—An octagon.—14$\frac{3}{16}$ × 10¼ inches. (No. 814.)

Portrait of an old Man, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1654. C.—42½ × 33⅜ inches.—Brühl Collection. (No. 818.)

Portrait of a young Woman, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1656. C.—40$\frac{3}{16}$ × 34¼ inches.—Crozat Collection. (No. 819.)

Portrait of a Man, erroneously called a *Portrait of Menasseh ben Israel*, half-length, life-size. Dated 1645. C.—50¾ × 44¾ inches.—Crozat Collection. (No. 820.)

Bust Portrait of a Man, life-size. Signed and dated 166 . (about 1661). C.—28 × 24 inches.—Saint-Leu Collection. (No. 821.)

Hannah teaching the Child Samuel, three-quarters figures, life-size. Signed, but not dated. Painted about 1650. C.—46⅛ × 37 inches.—Walpole Collection. (No. 822.)

Portrait of an old Lady, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 16 . (about 1654). C.—34⅝ × 28⅜ inches.—Walpole Collection. (No. 823.)

Portrait of an old Man, bust, life-size Signed and dated 1654. C.—29⅛ × 24⅝ inches.—Brühl Collection. (No. 824.)

Portrait of a young Man, bust, life-size. Painted about 1660. C.—28⅜ × 22 inches.—Baudouin and Catherine II. Collections. (No. 825.)

The Girl with a Broom, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1651. C.—42⅞ × 36$\frac{3}{16}$ inches. Crozat Collection (No. 826.)

Portrait of the Poet Jeremias de Decker bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1666. W.—28 × 22 inches.—Baudouin Collection. (No. 827.)

Portrait of a young Man, erroneously called a *Portrait of the Dutch Admiral, Ph. van Dorp*, an oval; bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1634. W.—27 × 20½ inches.—Saint-Leu Collection. (No. 828.)

Portrait of an old Lady, half-length, life-size. Signed Rembrandt. No date. (About 1640–1643.) W.—29⅞ × 22 inches.—Catherine II. Collection. (No. 829.)

The Meeting of David and Absalom, small figures. Signed and dated 1642. W.—29½ × 24$\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Bought by Alexander I. Formerly in the Peterhof. (Not catalogued.)

Prince Leuchtemberg.—Exhibited at the Academy of Fine Arts. (Catalogue of 1886.)

Portrait of Rembrandt, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1640–1645. W.—29½ × 24⅜ inches.—(No. 108.)

Count A. W. Orloff Davidoff.

Half-length Figure of Christ, life-size. Painted about 1658-1660. C.—43 × 38⅛ inches.

Count S. Stroganoff.

Philosopher absorbed in Meditation (Lot ?), small figure. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. 1630. W.—24$\frac{15}{16}$ × 18$\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Portrait of a Young Monk, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1660. C.—31$\frac{13}{16}$ × 26⅜ inches.

Prince Youssoupoff.

Susanna and the Elders, small figures. The signature, Rembrandt, 1637, apparently a forgery.

Study of a Child's Head, small size. Signed Rembrandt, 1633.

Portrait of a young Man, half-length, life-size. Painted about 1662.

Portrait of a young Lady (pendant to the above).

SPAIN

MADRID.—Prado Museum. (Catalogue of 1885.)

Cleopatra at her Toilette (*Saskia*), half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1634. C.—55⅞ × 60¼ inches. (No. 1544.)

Duke of Alva's Collection.

Landscape: the Entrance to a Town. Painted about 1640.

SWEDEN

STOCKHOLM.—Royal Museum. (Catalogue of 1887.)

The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis, formerly known as *The Conspiracy of John Ziska*, life-size figures. Painted in 1661. C.—75½ × 121⅝ inches.—Bequeathed by Madame Peil, *née* Grille. (No. 578.)

Saint Anastasius, small figure. Signed Rembrant f. 1631. W.—23⅝ × 18⅞ inches.—Gustavus III. Collection. (No. 579.)

Portrait of an old Man, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1655. C.—35 × 28¹¹⁄₁₆ inches.—Gustavus III. Collection. (No. 581.)

Portrait of an old Woman (pendant to the above). Same date, signature, size, and *provenance*. (No. 582.)

Portrait of Saskia, profile, bust, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. van Ryn. 1632. C.—28⅜ × 21¼ inches.—Princess Louisa Ulrica's Collection. (No. 583.)

The young Servant, half-length, life-size. Signed and dated 1654. C.—30⅝ × 24¾ inches.—De Piles, D'Hoym, De Fonspertuis, Blondel de Gaguy, and Gustavus III. Collections. (No. 584.)

Portrait of an old Man, half-length, life-size. Signed. No date (about 1632-1633).—Adolphus Frederick Collection. (No. 585.)

Study of an old Man as St. Peter, half-length, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. van Ryn. 1632. C.—32¼ × 24⅜ inches.—(No. 1349.)

Portrait of a young Girl (Rembrandt's Sister?), an oval; bust, life-size. About 1628—1630. W.—23³⁄₁₆ × 24⅜ inches.—(No. 591.)

Count Axel von Wachtmeister.—Vanas.

Portrait of a young Man, bust, life-size. Signed with the monogram R. H. L. van Ryn, 1632.—24¾ × 18¹⁄₁₆ inches.

Portrait of a young Man, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1662. C.—41⅜ × 35⅜ inches.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

NEW YORK.—Metropolitan Museum. (Catalogue of May, 1891.)

Portrait of an old Lady. (No. 72.)

Portrait of an old Man. Signed and dated 1665. C.—27⁹⁄₁₆ × 25 inches.—Sir William Knighton Collection. (No. 33.)

The Mill. C.—21⅛ × 25⅜ inches.—(No. 36.)

Bust Portrait of a Man, life-size. About 1640.—Lansdowne Collection. (No. 37.)

The Adoration of the Shepherds. Replica of the picture in the National Gallery, with some variations. W.—24 × 21⅞ inches.

Mr. Armour.—Chicago.

Portrait of a Man. Signed and dated 1643. C.—33 × 26⅜ inches.

Mr. W. H. Beers.

Portrait of Rembrandt's Father, in a plumed Cap, bust, life-size. About 1632. C.—29½ × 24⁷⁄₁₆ inches.—Bought from M. Sedelmeyer.

Mr. W. H. Crocker.—San Francisco.

Portrait of a Youth, bust, life-size. W.—16³⁄₁₆ × 13¾ inches.—De Morny Collection.

Mr. P. C. Hanford.

An Accountant standing by a Table. C.—40³⁄₁₆ × 31½ inches.—Sir Joshua Reynolds' Collection.

Mr. H. O. Havemeyer.

Portrait of Christian Paul van Beeresteyn, Burgomaster of Delft. Signed with the monogram and dated 1632. From the Château de Maurik, near Vecht.

Portrait of Volkera Nicolai Knobbert, wife of the above. Signed with the monogram and dated 1632.

Portrait of Paulus Doomer, called *The Gilder*, bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1640. W.—28¾ × 21¼ inches.—Ancaster, Van

Helsleuter, De Chavagnac, De Morny, and W. Schaus Collections.

These three pictures are lent by the owner to the Metropolitan Museum, where they are numbered 5, 9, 7. (Handbook, No. 6.)

Mr. Robert Hoe.

A Gipsy Girl holding a Medallion, bust, life-size. About 1650. C.—25 3/16 × 5 7/8 inches. —Bought from M. Sedelmeyer. Formerly in Sir Charles Robinson's Collection.

Mr. W. Schaus.

Portrait of an Admiral, erroneously called *Admiral Tromp*, half-length, life-size. About 1658. C.—44 7/8 × 34 1/4 inches.—Alphonse Allard and Crabbe Collections.

Mr. Charles Stewart Smith.

Saint John, an oval; bust, life-size. Signed and dated 1632. W.—25 5/16 × 19 1/4 inches.—Palmerston and Mount-Temple Collections.

Mr. Sutton.

A Man in Armour, full face, half-length. About 1635. C.—39 3/8 × 33 inches.—Demidoff and Secrétan Collections.

Mr. C. T. Yerkes.

Philemon and Baucis, small, full-length figures. Signed and dated 1658. W.—21 1/4 × 27 1/8 inches.

The following pictures have also been acquired by American purchasers of late years :—

An Orphan of the Municipal Orphanage, Amsterdam, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1645. C.—62 3/4 × 33 inches. —Demidoff Collection.

Portrait of a young Man, erroneously called a *Portrait of Dr. Tulp*, bust, life-size. Signed with the monogram and dated 1632. W.—28 3/8 × 20 1/8 inches.—Collot and Princesse de Sagan Collections.

Portrait of a young Woman (pendant to the above). Signed and dated 1634. Same size and *provenance*.

Portrait of a young Man, erroneously called a *Portrait of the Burgomaster Six*, bust, life-size. About 1643. C.—47 1/4 × 36 3/16 inches.—Mecklenburg and Princesse de Sagan Collections.

Portrait of a Man, said to be *Matthys Kalkoen*, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1632. C.—44 1/8 × 35 7/16 inches.—De Kat and Princesse de Sagan Collections.

Portrait of a Man, known as *The Dutch Admiral*, three-quarters length, life-size. Signed and dated 1643.—Erard and Princesse de Sagan Collections.

Portrait of a Woman (pendant to the above). —Princesse de Sagan Collection.

II

DRAWINGS

IF the continually increasing number of sales make it difficult to draw up a complete catalogue of Rembrandt's pictures, the case is still worse with regard to his drawings. Not only is it almost impossible to trace the wanderings of such portable works when collections in which they are included are sold privately, or still more privately divided between the different members of a family; their authenticity, too, is a more delicate question to deal with than that of pictures. Putting aside old forgeries—often very cleverly carried out—many of the master's pupils and disciples imitated his manner with more or less success.

Readers of these volumes may easily convince themselves of this, for among its illustrations they will find several reproductions after Rembrandt's imitators, such as S. van Hoogstraaten and Gerbrandt van der Eeckhout—for example, the *Storm Effect* (plate 77), the *Family of Tobias with the Angel* (plate 78), both from the Albertina collection, and the copy after the *Ganymede* (plate 59), from the Dresden collection.

Rembrandt very seldom signed his drawings, and although the finer ones leave little room for doubt, we may often hesitate to pronounce upon those of less importance. In private collections, and even in public museums, we frequently find two or three almost identical repetitions of a single drawing, which have to be carefully compared before a decision can be arrived at as to the original. Rembrandt's productions in this class differ as much in degree of finish and in character of execution as in the methods employed. Black chalk, red chalk, silver point, the quill pen, the reed pen, the pencil, even the fingers, are used in turns and sometimes in combination, while washes of Indian ink, sepia, white, and red often help to heighten or to produce effects.

Problems still more complex are started when we come to chronology. The conscientious studies, at once elegant and precise, of which we have given many examples, belong for the most part to the master's early years, but even in his youth we find him striking off sketches of curious audacity, vigour, and expressive quality. On the other hand we find, down to the very end of his career, that he occasionally laid himself out to produce drawings of infinite delicacy, drawings in which every contour is absolutely correct and in which the play of light and shade is rendered with the utmost care. We must therefore be content, where we have no dated etchings or pictures to guide us, to travel on broad lines in determining such questions.

Widely as they differed from the drawings most in fashion at the time, Rembrandt's studies were appreciated during his own life, especially by artists. He took great care of them himself, and we have seen that when he was declared insolvent on July 25, 1656, they filled five-and-twenty albums or portfolios, and had been arranged by his own hand in separate categories. Nude figures, studies of animals, landscapes, studies after antique statues, sketches of composition, and more careful studies, all were marshalled systematically, so that at any moment he could lay his hand on whichever he might want. When the rest of his property was sold, at the end of 1657, his drawings were reserved for sale in the month of September, 1658.

Many of Rembrandt's friends and pupils had already begun to collect. Zoomer, Six, and Govert Flinck, especially, had acquired a considerable number, and Van de Cappelle, the sea-painter, obtained all that came in his way. De Piles, the French writer, tells us that he, too, formed a collection, probably during his captivity in Holland. Since this period the great public depositories, such as the Louvre, the Cabinets of Dresden, Berlin, Munich, Stockholm, Buda-Pesth, and the Albertina, the British Museum, the Fodor Museum at Amsterdam, and the Teyler Museum at Haarlem, have been laying up the coveted treasures for good and all, while many private collections, famous in their time, have successively changed hands. Such were: in Holland, those of the poet Feitama, of Ploos van Amstel, of the Baron Verstolk van Soelen, of Goll de Frankenstein, of Leembruggen, of De Vos, De Kat, and Blokhuysen; in England, of Sir Joshua Reynolds, of Sir Thomas Lawrence, of Woodburn (the dealer), of W. Esdaile, of R. Payne-Knight, of Lord Aylesford, and (quite recently) of Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Seymour-Haden (sales of May 7, 1890, and June 15, 1891); in France, those of Crozat, Julienne, Claussin, Paignon-Dijonval, Em. Galichon, Firmin Didot, and Armand. At present the largest and most remarkable collections are those of Lord Warwick, Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Heseltine, and Mr. George Salting, in London; of the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth, where Rembrandt has Claude, with the *Liber Veritatis*, as his companion; of Dr. Straeter, at Aix-la-Chapelle; of Mr. von Beckerath, at Berlin; of the Duc d'Aumale and of M. Léon Bonnat, in France. M. Bonnat's and Mr. Heseltine's collections are the most important and the best selected we have seen.

The prices of Rembrandt's drawings have increased continuously, and yet until about the middle of the eighteenth century, they remained cheap enough. Crozat, who had a veritable passion for the master, collected more than three hundred, and although, as Mariette tells us, he bitterly regretted the loss of "the famous cabinet of M. Flinck of Rotterdam[1] which 'Milord Devonshire' had carried off from him," he succeeded in acquiring the larger portion of the De Piles collection, among them, no doubt, many which had belonged to Van de Capelle. At the Crozat sale (1741) 106 of these drawings were bought by Count G. de Tessin, at that time Swedish Ambassador to the French Court. The prices were probably small, for we know that Tessin bought 7,000 drawings altogether for 5,072 livres 10 sous (about £200), averaging 75 centimes (7½d.) a-piece. Happy time for amateurs, when so high a pleasure could be obtained so cheaply, and a good investment made at the same stroke!

[1] The son of Govert Flinck, Rembrandt's pupil. His collection, formed by his father, was mainly composed of landscape studies, several of which we have reproduced.

In his preface to Ploos van Amstel's facsimiles, Josi says that the work of no other master has gone up "steadily in price like that of Rembrandt; his finest landscapes and his historical compositions fetch from 500 (about £40) to 1,000 florins." But since Josi wrote, and especially since about the middle of the present century, the rise has been still more remarkable. At the Verstolk van Soelen sale, in 1847, the *Portrait of Anslo* fetched 2,100 francs (£84), a *Landscape* 2,812 francs (about £112), and a *View of the old Ramparts at Amsterdam*, 3,125 francs (£125). A drawing, of which the authenticity has since, and with good reason, been contested—it was a *Death of the Virgin*—rose to 3,717 francs (about £148); in 1883, at the De Vos sale, it fetched 6,510 francs (£260). The following prices at the latter sale may also be noted: 8,400 francs (£336) for a *Study of an old Man;* 2,142 francs (about £85) for a study bought for the Berlin Museum; 9,240 (£369) for the *Naughty Boy*, for the same collection; 6,691 francs (about £267) for a *Dutch Landscape;* and 10,920 francs (about £436) for a *View of the Ramparts of a Town*, bought for the Teyler Museum.

So early as the eighteenth century engravers began to turn their attention to Rembrandt's drawings, or at least to those which then bore his name. Art-criticism was in a very rudimentary condition, and, the interest or vanity of collectors aiding, many more than doubtful things achieved the honour of reproduction. Such were the ten compositions from the *History of Joseph*, bought by the Louvre in 1842 at the Revoil sale, which were engraved over the name of Rembrandt by the Comte de Caylus. They are certainly not by the master.[1] Most of the things reproduced in the Ploos van Amstel collection of facsimiles (1765), with its continuation by Josi (1800),[2] are of very doubtful authenticity. All these attempts at facsimiles are, moreover, poor enough in quality, and often show but little resemblance to their originals.

It was reserved to the photographer to furnish copies which could really be depended on. The Messrs. Braun were the first to enter upon the task, and to put before us faithful facsimiles of the most remarkable contents of the European museums, as well as of drawings shown at gatherings like that held at the *École des Beaux Arts* in 1879. But although the engraved work of Rembrandt had given rise to a large number of publications, his drawings were always a little neglected until quite lately. The learned and energetic head of the Berlin Print Room, Dr. F Lippmann, first set himself to remedy this state of things. With the help of certain critics and amateurs who had specially concerned themselves with the master, he undertook the publication of four volumes of facsimiles, each containing rather more than fifty faithful reproductions of, for the most part, unpublished drawings.[3] Thanks to Dr. Lippmann's generosity, we have been able to draw upon this magnificent publication for many of the facsimiles of drawings given in these volumes. Their conjunction with those from etchings and pictures, casts a new light upon Rembrandt's genius. For others we have to thank Mr. Scholten, director of the Teyler Museum, Mr. Haverkorn van Ryswyck, of the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, and Mr. Baer, the Amsterdam photographer. Finally, Mr. G. Upmark, director of the Stockholm

[1] I agree with Dr. Bredius in assigning them to Aert de Gelder.

[2] *Collection d'imitations de dessins d'après les principaux maîtres hollandais et flamands.* C. Josi, London, 1821.

[3] *Original Drawings by Rembrandt reproduced in phototype.* Berlin, London, Paris; folio; 1890-91.

Museum, has allowed us to photograph some of the best things in the fine collection under his charge, a collection enriched with many of the Crozat treasures.

We have ourselves seen and made notes of most of the works in the following catalogue. In the case of public collections, our thanks are due to those in authority over them, and especially to Dr. W. von Seidlitz, Dr. Hofstede de Groot, Dr. Schimdt of Munich, Dr. Richard Graul, director of the *Graphischen Künste* of Vienna, M. Duplessis, director of the *Cabinet des Estampes* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, and to MM. Lafenestre and H. de Chennevières of the Louvre. In adding to these names those of Mr. Salting and Mr. Heseltine of London, and M. Léon Bonnat of Paris, I only discharge a debt of gratitude for much valuable help and information.

AMERICA

NEW YORK. Metropolitan Museum. (Handbook No. 8.) Vanderbilt Collection.

Nos. 445. Landscape with a Tower.
448. Houses.
449. A Road.
450. Adoration of the Magi.
451. Cottages.
452. A Man reading.
453. Two Men.
454. Figure of a Man.
455. An Interior.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

BUDAPEST. Esterhazy Gallery.

The two Rowers. Pen drawing.—$2\frac{3}{16} \times 2\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

Study of a Jew advancing towards the left. Pen, washed with bistre.—$5\frac{1}{16} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Two Men walking and conversing. Pen and bistre.—$4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A Beggar standing, with a high cap; another in profile. Pen.—$5\frac{15}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

Portrait of Rembrandt in old Age, seated before a table. Pen and bistre, heightened with red.—$5\frac{15}{16} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Study of a Man. Pen.—$6\frac{1}{8} \times 6$ inches.

Study of a Man advancing towards the left. Bistre.—$5\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

A couchant Lion, turned towards the right. Pen, washed with bistre.—$4\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

A couchant Lion, turned towards the left. Bistre.—$5\frac{5}{16} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Life-study of a Woman, standing. Chalk and pen.—$10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

A young Woman (Saskia?), seated, at a table near a window. Pen and bistre.—$6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

A Man standing, leaning on a stick. Pen and bistre.—$3\frac{15}{16} \times 2\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Life-study of a young Man, turned towards the right. Pen and bistre.—$9\frac{3}{8} \times 5$ inches.

An Angel appearing to an old Man and a kneeling Woman. Pen and bistre.—$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Jesus and the Samaritan Woman. Pen, lightly washed.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

VIENNA. Albertina.

The Dismissal of Hagar. Black chalk.

Joseph distributing Food to the Crowd. Black chalk, signed.

Rebecca and Eleazar. Pen and bistre.

Judah requesting Jacob to confide Benjamin to his care. Pen.

The Angel guiding Tobias. Pen and bistre.

Tobias alarmed at the Sight of the Fish. Pen and bistre.

Tobias taking the Gall of the Fish. Pen and bistre.

Jesus and the Samaritan Woman. Pen.

Jesus before Caiaphas. Pen.

The Beheading of John the Baptist. Pen and bistre.

Argus killed by Mercury. Pen and bistre.

A Woman holding a Child. Black chalk.

An old Woman dressing the Hair of a Woman, seated. Pen and bistre.

Life-study of a young Man standing. Pen and bistre; probably a study for the etching of a *Young Man standing.* (B. 194.)

A Woman holding a Child in leading-strings. Red chalk.

An old Man kneeling. Red chalk.

A Beggar and his Wife, each carrying a child. Black chalk.

A Man seated. Black chalk.

A Woman seated near a Table, reading. Red chalk and wash.

A young Girl asleep. Black chalk.

Sketches of Heads, and a man in a cloak, seated. Black chalk.

An old Woman walking on Crutches.

Baldassare Castiglione, copy of Raphael's portrait. A sketch in bistre, with an autograph inscription, and the date 1639.

A large Study of an Elephant. Black chalk; signed and dated 1637.

Two other Sketches of Elephants. Black chalk.

A couchant Lion. Pen and bistre.

A View of a Town, with fantastic Buildings. Pen and bistre; signed and dated 1640.

A Lime-kiln. Black chalk.

The Exterior of a large Church. Black chalk.

The Rokin, at Amsterdam. Pen and sepia.

A Plain, with a distant Mountain. Black chalk.

The Entrance to a Church, with figures in the foreground. Pen and sepia.

Four Sketches of Landscapes. Black chalk.

ENGLAND

LONDON. British Museum.

Jacob's Dream (?) Pen, washed with sepia.

The Good Samaritan (?) Pen, washed with sepia.

The Widow's Mite. Pen and sepia.—6½ × 4⅝ inches.—Payne-Knight Collection.

The Burial of Lazarus, dated 1630. A rough sketch in red chalk.—10¾ × 7⅞ inches.—Richardson and W. Fawkener Collections.

Joseph tending the Prisoners. Pen.

The Descent from the Cross. Bistre, touched with body-colour and oil; a sketch for the *grisaille* in the National Gallery.—7⅞ × 9⅜ inches.—Richardson, Reynolds, and Payne-Knight Collections.

A Halt of Travellers (Flight into Egypt?). Pen, washed with sepia.—6¾ × 9¼ inches.—Payne-Knight Collection.

The Dismissal of Hagar. Pen, washed with sepia.—7¼ × 9$\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Woodburn Collection.

Two Negro Drummers, astride on mules. A drawing in bistre, heightened with red.—8$\frac{11}{16}$ × 6⅛ inches.—T. Hudson, Richardson, and Payne-Knight Collections.

Life-study of a Woman, for the etching of *A Woman before a Dutch Stove.* (B. 197.) Pen and sepia.—11$\frac{7}{16}$ × 7½ inches.—R. Houlditch Collection.

A Youth (Titus?) drawing; on the same sheet, a head of a child. Pen.

A Persian Prince, on a throne; a man reading before him. Pen and wash.

A Persian Warrior on Horseback. Pen, washed with brown and red.—7⅞ × 6¾ inches.—Richardson, J. Barnard, and Cracherode Collections.

Three Studies of Men, leaning on crutches. Pen.

A Mother holding her sleeping Child on her Breast. Pen and sepia wash.—6⅛ × 5½ inches.—Ed. Bouverie Collection.

An old Man with a long Beard, seated. Pen.

Two Men at Table, shaking hands. Pen and sepia.—7$\frac{5}{16}$ × 6⅛ inches.—J. Anderson Collection.

A naked Woman, holding a palm; study for the etching, B. 192.

The Draughtsman. Pen and bistre.—7$\frac{5}{16}$ × 6$\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Cracherode Collection.

A Woman seated, another going upstairs. Pen and wash.

A Cavalier, with a plumed hat and ruff. Pen and wash.

A young Man holding a cane.

A Woman suckling a Child. Black and red chalk.

Four Beggars on the same sheet. Pen.

A naked Model, standing and leaning on a cushion. Pen, washed with bistre, and touched with body-colour.

A small Portrait of Rembrandt as a beardless youth. Wash of Indian ink.

Study for the etched Portrait of Sylvius. Pen and wash.

Study for the etched Portrait of C. Anslo; signed and dated 1640. Red chalk.

Study for the Picture of Lot and his Daughters (1631). Red chalk touched with black.

Pen copy of Mantegna's Calumny of Apelles.—9⅞ × 15$\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Van der Schelling and Richardson Collections.

Study of a State-coach, perhaps for Lord Cowper's equestrian portrait of Turenne. Pen and wash.—7⅜ × 9⅞ inches.—Payne-Knight Collection.

A Lion reposing. Sepia wash.

A Lioness feeding. Black chalk.

A Lioness reposing. Black chalk and wash.

Four Lions in different attitudes. Wash.

A couchant Lion. Bistre wash; a Latin couplet below:—

Jam piger et longo jacet exarmatus ab ævo
Magna tamen facies et non adeunda senectus.

A sleeping Lion. Bistre wash.

An Elephant, standing. Study in Black chalk.

A Landscape, with a turreted house, a wall, and a garden. Pen.

A Canal, with a clump of trees and a shed. Pen.

Houses on the Bank of a Canal; on a slope above, some horses on a tow-path. Pen.

Cottages, with Fishing-nets drying. Pen.

Houses and Sheds, with a thicket by the waterside. Pen.

Cottages and Trees, near a stream. Pen and wash.—5 × 9⅜ inches.—Payne-Knight Collection.

A Bridge near a Canal. Pen and sepia wash.

Devonshire, Duke of.—Chatsworth.

The drawings of this collection were formerly in that of Nicolaes Antoni Flinck, son of the painter Govert Flinck, and were bought in 1745 by an ancestor of the present duke.

An old Man on his Death-bed, surrounded by his family. Pen and sepia.—8½ × 8⅛ inches.

Christ crowned with Thorns. Pen and sepia; arched at the top.—7 9/16 × 7⅞ inches.

A Landscape, with two men by the waterside. Pen, sepia, and Indian ink.

The Banks of a Watercourse, with a windmill and a sailing boat. Pen and sepia.

A Road through a Wood. Pen.—5 5/16 × 8 1/16 inches.

A Pool of Water, with a village in the distance. Pen and sepia.—2¾ × 5⅞ inches.

A Road leading to a Village. Pen and sepia.—3⅞ × 8 3/16 inches.

A flat Landscape with Water and Houses in the Distance. Pen and sepia.—4⅞ × 7⅛ inches.

The rowing Boat. Pen and sepia.

A Sheet of Water, with vessels. Pen and sepia.

A Group of Trees, with a Cottage. Pen and sepia.

A Village, with a road on rising ground.

A Haystack near a Farm. A highly-finished pen-drawing, heightened with sepia and Indian ink. Signed, Rembrandt van Ryn.

A Group of Trees, near a Road. Pen sketch with bistre.

Two Cottages in a Village Street. Pen.—5⅛ × 7⅞ inches.

A Road near a Pond, with a Village in the distance. Pen.

The Banks of a River, with a fence in the Foreground. Pen and sepia.

A Windmill by the Roadside. Pen and bistre.

A Fisherman's Hut. Pen and bistre.

A Farm by the Waterside. Pen and sepia.

A Village, with a church by the waterside. Pen and sepia.—3 1/16 × 7 1/16 inches.

A Gate, and the ancient Ramparts of a Town. Pen.

A Canal, with a road and trees in the background. Pen.

A Sheet of Water, with windmills on its banks. Pen and wash.

A Cottage among the Sand-dunes. Pen and sepia.

Isaac blessing Jacob. Pen.

Fragment of a Composition; *Laban presenting Leah to Jacob.* On the right a fragment of another composition, with the figure of an Angel. Pen and bistre.

Sketch of an Oriental talking to an old man. Pen.

Saint Gregory seated before a table covered with books. Pen.—7¼ × 5⅞ inches.

A Cottage with a large Tree, by the waterside. Pen and bistre.—6 3/16 × 10⅜ inches.

A Windmill, with houses by a lake. Pen.

A Road by the Waterside, with a spire in the distance. Pen and bistre.—3⅛ × 5¼ inches.

A Horse towing a Boat. Pen and bistre.—3 3/16 × 5⅛ inches.

Landscape, with water, boats, and houses partly hidden by trees. Pen and sepia.—5¼ × 9⅝ inches.

A Road bordered with Trees, houses in the distance. Pen.—5 3/16 × 7¼ inches.

Mr. J. P. Heseltine.

A Persian Prince and his Son, copy of a miniature. Pen, washed with sepia.—3¾ × 3⅜ inches.—Hudson, Richardson, Houlditch, Lord Selsey, and Roupell Collections.

A Woman reading. Pen and sepia wash.—2⅝ × 3½ inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

Sketches of Men's Heads, with one of a woman's head. Lead pencil on vellum. On the reverse, two cottages.—5 5/16 × 3 3/16 inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

The Head of a Man in a high Cap. Pen.—$3\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Life-study of a Man, standing, his hands clasped. Sepia.—$8\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Roupell Collection.

A Man in a high cap, seated.—$6\frac{3}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Sir Th. Lawrence, W. Esdaile, and C. S. Bale Collections.

A Woman standing, and a Man walking, a purse, and two heads of men. Pen.—$4\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{6}{8}$ inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

Two Women standing, holding a child.—$3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

Study for the above. Pen.—$4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

Life-study of a Man, standing. Sepia.—$9\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Nieuwenhuys Collection.

Life-study of a Man, standing, his left arm raised. Sepia.—$4\frac{13}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Utterson Collection.

Head of a bearded old Man. Pen.—$3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—De Vos Collection.

The Virgin fainting at the foot of the Cross. Pen.—$3\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ inches.—De Vos Collection.

Beggars, in the foreground: a cripple; on the reverse, a man seated. Black chalk.—$3\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—De Vos Collection.

Study of an old Man for the *Philosopher* in the Louvre. Signed R. 1639. Red chalk.—$6\frac{3}{16} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—De Vos Collection.

A bearded Man, seated. Black chalk.—$6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Verstolk van Soelen Collection.

A Woman seated, her head on her hand. Black chalk.—$4\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—De Vos Collection.

A Woman holding a Child. Pen.—$4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—R. Dumesnil and De Vos Collections.

The Crucifixion, study for the etching (B. 80). Pen.—$4\frac{3}{16} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

A Village with a Spire. Sepia.—$4\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—R. Cosway, Wellesley, and Palgrave Collections

A fantastic Landscape, with a stormy sky. Sepia.—$5\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{16}$ inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

Houses under some high Trees. Pen and sepia. — $4\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$ inches. — Bouverie and Roupell Collections.

Rampart near the Gate of St. Anthony. Wash slightly tinted with water-colour.—$6\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—Woodburn Collection.

A Bridge and Houses on a Canal. Pen and sepia.—$5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Sir Thomas Lawrence and W. Esdaile Collections.

The Banks of a Canal. Pen and sepia.—$4 \times 3\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

Houses with Trees, on the bank of a canal. Sepia.—$4\frac{5}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—J. P. Zoomer Collection.

A large Drawing from Nature, a cottage surrounded by vegetation. Signed and dated 1644. Sepia.—$11\frac{3}{4} \times 17\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—J. Barnard, A. Pond, Sir T. Lawrence and W. Esdaile Collections.

A small Canal, with plants and a fence. Sepia.—$6\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Utterson and De Vos Collections.

Houses under Trees. Sepia.—$4\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{7}{16}$ inches.—Lawrence, Esdaile, and Bale Collections.

A Cottage and Trees, by the waterside. Pen, washed with Indian ink.—$6\frac{1}{4} \times 9$ inches.—De Vos Collection.

Houses with Sheds, the same landscape as the above, but more extensive. Pen.—$4\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Christ in the Garden of Olives. Pen and Sepia.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Baring Collection.

A couchant Lion. Sepia.—$4\frac{3}{16} \times 8$ inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

A couchant Lion. Sepia.—$4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

A Landscape, a Road by a River. Sepia. On the reverse, a sketch of a landscape in black chalk with the following inscription: "Dees tekeningh versoont de buissen asnoldi (?) Lant Soo braaf getekent door heer Rembrands eygen hant.

"P. Ko: (Philipps Koninck)."

$6\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Goll van Franckenstein, Sir T. Lawrence, W. Esdaile, James, and Roupell Collections.

A Cottage surrounded by Trees. Pen and wash.—$6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—J. P. Zoomer and Woodburn Collections.

The Adoration of the Shepherds, a study for the picture in the National Gallery. Sepia wash.—$8 \times 9\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Sir T. Lawrence and Esdaile Collections.

A Landscape, the banks of a river.—$4\frac{5}{16} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Richardson, Willett, Esdaile, and Bale Collections.

Study of an old Man, seated, probably for the etching, *The Goldweigher* (B. 281). Sepia.—$7\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—Woodburn and Dimsdale Collections.

The Montalban Tower, at Amsterdam. Pen and sepia.—$5\frac{13}{16} \times 5\frac{11}{16}$ inches.—Zoomer, Sir J. Reynolds, and Howe Collections.

Portrait of Rembrandt, standing, in his working dress. Pen.—$7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Life-study of a young Man, seated. Sepia and red chalk.—5½ × 7⅛ inches. Utterson and W. Russell Collections.

Sketches of nine Heads on a single sheet, drawn with a reed-pen, one in red.—8¾ × 9⅛ inches.—Roupell Collection.

A Woman standing, looking out of a window. Bistre wash.—11⅝ × 6⅜ inches.

A Landscape, with a clump of trees by the waterside.—5¾ × 9⅞ inches.—J. Hudson and Portarlington Collections.

A Woman seated in the embrasure of a window, her head on her hand. Pen, washed with bistre.—9 1⁵⁄₁₆ × 6⅞ inches.—Marquis de Vendé, Dimsdale, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Esdaile, and Bale Collections.

An old Woman asleep, a book on her knees. Pen and sepia.—5⅜ × 5 7⁄16 inches.—Baron Denon and J. Gigoux Collections.

An old Woman asleep, her spectacles in her right hand, a book in her left. Sepia wash.—6½ × 6 1⁄16 inches.—Denon Collection.

An old Woman seated. Sepia wash.—5 × 4¼ inches.—Richardson, Sir J. Reynolds, Sir Th. Lawrence, W. Esdaile, and C. S. Bale Collections.

Life-study of a Woman, seated. Sepia wash.—11⅛ × 7 1⁄16 inches.—Lord Spencer and W. Russell Collections.

Life-study of a Woman, lying down. Sepia.—5⅜ × 11⅛ inches.—Sir Th. Lawrence, Esdaile, Woodburn, and Roupell Collections.

Life-study of a Woman, seated, and smiling.—10⅜ × 7¼ inches.—Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

Jacob's Blessing. Sepia.—6 1⁄16 × 8⅜ inches. Sir W. Knighton's Collection.

An old Man, seated. Reed pen with bistre.—6 1⁄16 × 5⅛ inches.—Bouverie and Nieuwenhuys Collections.

Simeon in the Temple. Bistre, Indian ink, and touches of white.—9¼ × 8¼ inches.—Sir Th. Lawrence, Esdaile, J. W. Brett and De Vos Collections.

A Landscape with Windmills. Reed pen and bistre, with the inscription:

"Buyten Amsterdam aan de Weetering op de Stadspakhuyze te zien."—4⅝ × 10⅜ inches.—Burlett, Verstolk, and De Vos Collections.

A Holy Family. Sepia.—6 × 6⅜ inches.—Hibbert Collection.

A small Town, with a view of a pier. Sepia.—3¼ × 5 7⁄16 inches.—Suermondt Collection.

The Head of an old Woman. Sepia.—4¼ × 3 1⁄16 inches.—Sir Th. Lawrence, Esdaile, and Bale Collections.

A Man seated, feeding a Child; the drawing known as *The Widower.* Sepia.—6 1⁄16 × 5⅜ inches.—Woodburn Collection.

A Road with a Cottage. Pen.—5⅝ × 8 inches.

An old Man seated, a woman kneeling before him taking off his shoes; another woman preparing his bed. Sepia.—6¾ × 6⅜ inches.—Roupell Collection.

A young Girl sleeping, with her head on a pillow.—5½ × 3⅞ inches.—De Vos Collection.

Three Heads of old Men, studies for the *Disciples at Emmäus.* Pen.—6⅝ × 6¼ inches.—Sir J. Reynolds, Richardson and Woodburn Collections.

Three Women, one with a child; on the reverse, the head of a man in a large hat, resembling Ephraim Bonus, and a woman asleep in a bed. Pen.—8¼ × 5⅜ inches.—Sir W. Knighton Collection.

A House under Trees. Sepia.—4½ × 6 9⁄16 inches.

The Town-hall of Amsterdam, after the fire of July 9, 1652. Signed: Rembrandt van Ryn; and inscribed as follows: "Van d'waech afte zien Statshuis van Amsteldam doen affgebrandt was den 9 Jul. 1652." Pen and sepia.—6 1⁄16 × 8 inches.

Life-study of a young Man, seated. Sepia.—10⅜ × 6⅜ inches.—Nieuwenhuys Collection.

A Landscape, with Amsterdam in the distance. Pen.—3½ × 6 inches.—Goll van Frackenstein, Sir Th. Lawrence, W. Esdaile and Bale Collections.

A Landscape, with a stream.—Bistre wash.—5¼ × 12⅜ inches.—Crozat Collection.

A young Girl asleep at a window. Sepia.—4⅝ × 3⅜ inches.—De Vos Collection.

A Woman lying in a Bed. Pen.—5⅛ × 7 1⁄16 inches.—De Vos Collection.

Christ in the Garden of Olives, with the sleeping disciples. Pen and wash.—7 5⁄16 × 11 1⁄16 inches.—Roupell Collection.

Moses and the Burning Bush.—6 1⁄16 × 9 9⁄16 inches.—Roupell Collection.

A Man in a Cloak, standing.—6⅝ × 5 inches. Sir Th. Lawrence and Esdaile Collections.

Sir Frederick Leighton, P.R.A.

A Child asleep in its bed. Black lead pencil. Andrew James and Esdaile Collections.

A Landscape, a road bordered with trees and cottages, leading to a village with a church. Pen, washed with bistre.—6 11⁄16 × 7½ inches.—De Vos and De Kat Collections.

The Agony. Pen.

Mr. W. Mitchell. (This collection was sold at Frankfort, May 7, 1890.)

An old Man seated on a chair, study for the figure of Jacob in the etching *Joseph telling his Dreams* (1638). Signed with the monogram, and dated 1631. Red chalk.—$9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Hawkins and James Collections.

A Man in a Cloak, talking, and emphasising his speech by a gesture of his left hand. Black chalk.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{6}{8}$ inches.—Th. Hudson, J. Richardson, and Firmin Didot Collections.

A Lion reposing. Pen.—$3\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

A Landscape, houses, and a church with a cupola. Pen and wash.—$4\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

A Landscape, houses by a canal with trees and a small bridge. Pen.—$5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{6}{8}$ inches.

A Landscape, a cottage at the mouth of a canal, with a bridge. Black lead pencil. Andreossy and Firmin Didot Collections.

Two Studies from Nature: The Entrance to a Wood and *The Margin of a Forest with a Pool.* Black chalk.—$3\frac{6}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Andreossy and Firmin Didot Collections.

Mr. Edward Poynter, R.A.

Study for a figure of Christ, half naked, seated, holding a reed in His hand. Signed, R. v. R. f. 1637. Pen, washed with sepia.—$5\frac{6}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Parsons Collection.

A lame Beggar, offering matches.—Pen and sepia.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Barton Graham Collection.

Mr. George Salting.

A Windmill, with a country-house surrounded by trees, and other buildings on the bank of a canal. Sepia wash.—$5\frac{1}{16} \times 8$ inches.—Lawrence and James Collections.

Two Studies of Elephants. Black chalk.—$7 \times 6\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

A Man walking. Pen.—4×6 inches.—Dimsdale and Woodburn Collections.

A Woman with child, standing; on the reverse a young girl. Pen.—6×4 inches.—Dimsdale and Woodburn Collections.

A Woman seated, her head on her hand. Pen.—$8 \times 6\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Bale, Knight, and Reynolds Collections.

A Woman supporting a Child, who is trying to walk; below, two women leading the child. Red chalk.—$10\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—Robinson Collection.

Two old Men and a young Child, who seizes one of them by the hair. Pen.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Lawrence, Esdaile, and James Collections.

The Workers in the Vineyard. Pen.—$6 \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Utterson Collection.

The Star of the Kings carried through the streets at night by children. Signed Rembrandt; the following inscription by Zanetti on the reverse: "Designo capitale di Rembrandt." Pen and wash.—8×12 inches.—De Fries and James Collections.

Saint Peter walking on the Water to Christ. Pen.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Lawrence and Esdaile Collections.

The Adoration of the Shepherds. Pen and wash.—$7 \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

A Persian Prince; copy of a Persian miniature. Wash, heightened with red.—$7 \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Richardson, Selsey, and Russell Collections.

Hagar and Ishmäel, two compositions. Pen. The larger of the two represents the *Dismissal.*—8×9 inches.—The other, *Hagar and Ishmäel on a Road.*—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 4$ inches.—Carew Collection.

The Prodigal Son; he kneels near a trough from which the swine are feeding. Pen.—$6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—James Collection.

Two Heads of the same Woman, who wears a hood. Pen.—$2\frac{6}{8} \times 5$ inches.—Bale Collection.

Jacob's Blessing. Pen.—$4\frac{5}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Esdaile and Lawrence Collections.

David refusing the Armour offered him for the fight with Goliath. Pen.—$7 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Reynolds and James Collection.

Mr. F. Seymour-Haden, Woodcote, Hants. (This collection was sold in London, June 18th, 1891; the drawings acquired by M. Léon Bonnat we give elsewhere; the greater number of those remaining were bought for America.)

A House with Fishing-nets and a boat. Pen and sepia wash.—De Vos Collection.

A Square in a Town. Pen and bistre.—Reynolds and Richardson Collections.

A Study of Pigs. Pen and bistre.

Two Studies of Heads. Pen and bistre.—E. Bouverie Collection.

A Man walking with a young Woman. Pen.

A Malefactor hanging from a Gibbet. Pen and bistre.—De Vos and Esdaile Collections.

A House. Pen and bistre.

Study for the *Death of the Virgin.* Pen and bistre.—$6\frac{6}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Galichon Collection.

Two Women seated. Pen.

A Man seated on the Threshold of his Door. Pen and bistre.—Reynolds, Lawrence, and Esdaile Collections.

David and Nathan. Pen and bistre. Lawrence, Esdaile, and Richardson Collections.

A House with a group of Trees. Pen and bistre.—Esdaile Collection.

The Interior of a Picture Gallery, with a group of figures. Pen and bistre.—Roupell Collection.

A Landscape with Cottages. Pen and bistre.

An Interior, with a woman and a sleeping child. Hudson and Richardson Collections.

Lord Warwick, Warwick Castle.

The Head of an old Man, full-face; perhaps Rembrandt's father. Pen and wash. —$7\frac{5}{16} \times 6$ inches.

A Man in a Cap, seated, and gesticulating. Pen and sepia.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

A Man standing, full-face, three-quarters length. Pen and sepia.—$9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{6}{8}$ inches.

Portrait of a Man holding a Hat (the same person whose portrait in the Holford Collection is signed and dated 1634). Black and red chalk.

Saint Jerome praying before a crucifix. Pen and sepia.—$7\frac{5}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

A Woman on her Knees. Pen and sepia. —$5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{6}{8}$ inches.

A Woman (Judith?) *holding a Sword*, and several other figures. Pen and sepia. —$7 \times 11\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

An Oriental seen from behind, and two women on the threshold of a house. Pen and sepia.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 12$ inches.

An Indian holding an arrow. Pen and sepia.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ inches.

A Landscape, view of a town with ramparts and a church. Pen and sepia.—$8\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{6}{8}$ inches.

Study of a young Girl, partly naked, her hands clasped. Pen and sepia.—$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Life-study of a Woman lying down, seen from behind. Pen and sepia.—$6\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ inches.

Life-study of a Woman, kneeling. Pen and sepia.—$8\frac{6}{8} \times 5\frac{6}{8}$ inches.

FRANCE

PARIS. Louvre.

Tobias restoring his Father's Sight. Study for the picture in the Arenberg Gallery (1634). Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{5}{16} \times 10$ inches.

Jacob's Dream. Pen, corrected with body-colour.—$9\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Mariette Collection.

The Prodigal Son. Pen.—$5\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The Samaritan paying the Host. Pen and bistre.—$6\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

Calvary. Pen and bistre.—$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Christ with two of the Apostles, a man kneeling before Him. Pen.—$6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

The Last Supper (?). Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Mariette Collection.

Head of an old Man, in red chalk. Study for the *Saint Anastasius*, at Stockholm.

The Banks of a Canal. Pen and bistre. —$5\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Walls and Gothic Gateway of a Town. Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{5}{16} \times 10$ inches.

An old Man, and two Heads. Pen.—John Barnard Collection.

A Man seated at a Table, reading, near another person who is writing. Pen.—$5\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A naked Woman, seated. Pen and bistre.— $5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A Youth (?) in a high cap. Pen and bistre. —$6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{11}{16}$ inches.—Huquier Collection.

Bust of a Man in a broad-brimmed hat. Bistre wash.—$9\frac{11}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Study for the Saint Jerome engraved by J. van Vliet, in 1631. Red chalk with touches of black.—$8\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

A young Woman seated in an arm-chair. Red chalk.—$5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

A Lion approaching a Corpse stretched on the ground. Brush and bistre.—$5\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

A Lion turned to the right, seen in profile. Brush and bistre.—$6\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Rembrandt's Studio. Pen, washed with Indian ink and bistre.—$6\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—His de la Salle Collection.

Three standing Figures. Pen, washed with bistre; arched above.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. —Lord Spencer and His de la Salle Collections.

The Court of an Indian Prince, copy of an Indian miniature. Pen, washed with bistre.— $7\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Richardson, Houlditch, and His de la Salle Collections.

The Disciples at Emmäus. Pen.—$6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—Mariette Collection.

A Man reading. Pen, washed with bistre; arched at the top.—$6\frac{3}{8} \times 4$ inches.

Life-study of a young Man, lying down. Pen, washed with bistre.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.— Mariette Collection.

A Landscape, with a Canal and a Bridge. Pen and bistre.—$4\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—Mariette Collection.

PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.—Print Room.

Lot leaving Sodom. Pen, washed with bistre.—$7\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

A young Woman seated, full face. Pen, washed with bistre.—$8\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Life-study of a young Man, seated, his hands crossed. Pen and bistre; study for the etching.—$9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

M. Léon Bonnat.

Portrait of Rembrandt, signed Rh. 1630. Pen, bistre, and body-colour.—$3\frac{3}{16} \times 3\frac{9}{16}$ inches.

A Man in a Cloak, turned three-quarters to the spectator. Pen.—$3\frac{9}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Sir J. Reynolds Collection.

A Stream, with three boats, two of them with sails; a town in the background. Bistre wash.—$5\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Esdaile Collection.

A Lawn with large Trees and figures. Pen and sepia.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

A Landscape with large Trees, a glade in the middle. Bistre wash.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—On the reverse, an autograph inscription by Rembrandt, consisting of a receipt for a mixture of oil of white turpentine with ordinary turpentine.

A Road rising to a Bridge, with trees on the farther side of the water. Pen and sepia wash.—$9\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A Hay-shed, in a meadow where two cows are feeding near some tall trees and a fence; a road to the right. Pen and bistre.—$4\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

A Road by the Waterside; houses and a spire in the background. Pen.—$6\frac{11}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Richard Cosway Collection.

A Stream fringed with Trees, a bridge and houses in the middle. Pen.—$4\frac{15}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A Woman asleep in Bed. Pen.—$3\frac{3}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A Youth lying on the Ground. Pen and bistre.—$3\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{9}{16}$ inches.

A bearded Man in a high cap bordered with fur. Black chalk.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—Richardson Senior, John Thane, and A. Firmin Didot Collections.

A Man seated at a Table, supporting a large book with his left hand. Pen.—$3\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Utterson Collection.

A Man with a long Beard, seated near another man crouching before a grate, and holding a frying-pan in his hand. Pen.—$4\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

A Woman standing near a young woman, seated and weeping. Pen.—$4\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—Esdaile Collection.

An old Man seated near a Woman; to the left below, a child turning away from a dog, which is trying to take what he is eating. Pen.—$4\frac{9}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Two kneeling Figures, one, half-naked, pressing against the other; to the left, above, angels. (*Abraham's Sacrifice?*) Pen.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

A High Priest enthroned; a man standing beside him; on the steps, a man kneeling, and two other persons standing. Pen.—$3\frac{15}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—E. Utterson Collection.

Study for an Abraham's Sacrifice. Pen.—$2\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Another Study for the same. Pen.—$5\frac{5}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

A Man in a high Cap, seated before a table. Pen, washed with reddish sepia.—$6\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

The Disciples at Emmäus. Pen.—$4\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

A Woman asleep, facing the spectator, her head in her hands. Sepia.—$2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—E. Utterson Collection.

An old Woman, her head swathed in a handkerchief. Bistre.—$3 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A Man in Bed. Pen.—$3 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Andreossy Collection.

A Woman raising her Hand to her Face. Pen.—$3\frac{1}{8} \times 3$ inches.—Andreossy Collection.

The Beheading of John the Baptist. Pen.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—R. P. Roupell Collection.

Two Persons in broad-brimmed Hats, perhaps a study for the *Night Watch.* Pen.—$4\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Beggars walking. Pen, washed with ink.—$4\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

An old Woman standing, full-face; and a sketch of a woman's head. Black chalk.—$3\frac{15}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A Man in a high Hat. Black chalk.—$4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—Andreossy Collection.

A Woman holding a Child in her Arms. Pen.—$4\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

An old Man standing, leaning on a stick, a seated figure to the right. Pen and bistre.—$4\frac{3}{8} \times 3$ inches.—Richardson Junior Collection.

A Man sheathing his Sword after beheading a man who lies at his feet. (*The Beheading of John the Baptist?*) Pen.—$5\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

An old Woman standing, her hand on the

shoulder of a youth. (*The Departure of Tobias?*) Pen and sepia.—6½ × 3 9/16 inches.

A Woman seated before a Table, shading her eyes from the flame of a taper. Sepia. —5 1/16 × 4 9/16 inches.—Sir J. Reynolds Collection.

A Woman seated, her hands crossed on her lap. Pen and bistre, with touches of white.—6 5/16 × 4⅜ inches.—E. Utterson Collection.

A Woman seated, holding a child. Pen. —6 5/16 × 5⅜ inches.

Christ crowned with Thorns. Pen.—7½ × 6 5/16 inches.—Sir J. Reynolds and Utterson Collections.

A Man standing, in a gown girt round the waist, a skull-cap on his head. Pen.—7½ × 4 1/16 inches.

A Woman seated, praying, her hands clasped. Pen and bistre. On the reverse, a sketch of a woman holding a child.—7 5/16 × 5½ inches.

Portrait of Saskia. Bistre and black chalk. —7 1/16 × 5½ inches.—N. Diaz Collection.

A Woman seated, another figure in the light near a window; in the shade, a man in a high cap. Bistre.—6⅜ × 7½ inches.—Woodburn Collection.

The Head of a Man in a Turban, the end of which hangs down in a scarf; a bird of Paradise below. Pen, bistre, and white.—6⅞ × 6 1/16 inches.

Two Birds of Paradise. Pen, bistre, and white.—6⅞ × 6 1/16 inches.

Study of a kneeling Camel. Bistre. Below, a camel's head. Pen.—6 5/16 × 4¾ inches.

Study of a Cow in a Stall. Bistre.—5 1/16 × 5⅜ inches.

A Pig standing up, another rolling on the ground beside him. Pen.—4 1/16 × 7⅛ inches.

Three Heads of Lions. A sketch with the brush.—6¼ × 5¾ inches.—Esdaile Collection.

A couchant Lion, the head in profile. Bistre.—5 5/16 × 7¾ inches.

A couchant Lion, the head three-quarters to the front. Bistre.—5½ × 8⅛ inches.—On the reverse, "Rembrandt nat Leven."—Henry Reveley Collection.

Joseph interpreting the Dreams (?). An aged man on a throne, a man addressing him from the steps; other persons grouped around. Pen.—7⅞ × 10⅞ inches.—Richardson Junior Collection.

An old Woman kneeling before an old Man at the mouth of a cave, a horse to the left. Bistre.—7⅛ × 9½ inches.

A young Woman kneeling to an old man; a man in a turban advances towards them; a globe on a table near. Pen and bistre —7⅛ × 9⅞ inches.—Utterson Collection.

Christ standing, a man kneeling to Him, and other persons approaching. Pen.—5⅝ × 9½ inches.—Sir J. Reynolds, Utterson, and Richardson Collections.

Christ approaching a Boat in which are two fishermen. Bistre.—6 5/16 × 9⅝ inches.—W. Ottley Collection.

The Vision of Daniel. Sketch for the picture at Berlin.—6½ × 9⅝ inches.—Utterson Collection.

Jesus in the midst of the Doctors. Pen and bistre.—6⅞ × 9½ inches.—W. Ottley Collection.

The Flight into Egypt. Pen and bistre. —6½ × 9½ inches.—Utterson and Russell Collection.

Study for the Hundred Guilder Print. Pen. —7⅛ × 9 1/16 inches.—W. Esdaile Collection.

The Baptism of the Eunuch. Study for the etching. Pen and bistre.—6¾ × 10½ inches.

Life-study of a Man lying on the ground. Pen and bistre.—7⅜ × 9½ inches.—Utterson Collection.

Landscape with a watercourse, a road, and cottages. Bistre wash.—6 5/16 × 11 7/16 inches.

A Landscape, with a bridge over a stream and houses under tall trees. Lead pencil. —10⅞ × 11¾ inches.

Judas bringing back the thirty Pieces of Silver (?). Pen.—8⅛ × 10⅝ inches.—Richardson Junior and Sir J. C. Robinson Collections.

An Old Man, leaning on a stick, and approaching a kneeling woman, near whom is a man carrying a basket; in the background a town. Bistre wash.—6⅞ × 6 3/16 inches.

A Woman seated at a Table, another woman standing near her with clasped hands; below, and to the right several other figures, two of them kneeling. Pen.—4 1/16 × 7⅝ inches.

The Prodigal Son kneeling before his father. Pen and bistre.—7⅛ × 9¼ inches.

Life-study of a Youth, his left hand resting on a support.—Pen and bistre.—9⅞ × 16 1/16 inches.

Christ surrounded by several Persons, one of whom kneels before Him; above, to the right, the head of an old woman. Pen. —6 1/16 × 5 5/16 inches.

A Variation of the same Theme. Pen and bistre.—7¼ × 6 5/16 inches.—On the reverse, a few words in Rembrandt's writing, and the signature Rembrandt van . . . .

A Landscape with Cottages, a stream, mills, and a village. Pen and bistre.—7 5/16 × 12 inches.—Lord Spencer Collection.

The Angel Raphael with Tobias and his Family. Pen.—6¾ × 8 1/16 inches.

David playing the Harp before Saul. Pen and bistre.—$8\frac{5}{16} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—A. Firmin Didot Collection.

The Student of Leyden. Pen and bistre wash.—$8\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—Richardson Senior and Junior Collections.

Study for an Adoration of the Magi. Pen.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Mourian Collection.

An old Man praying, behind him, to the right, a figure in bed. Pen and bistre, with touches of white.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

A Road between Trees. Sepia wash.—$6\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

An Indian Prince on Horseback, a falcon on his hand. Pen, lightly washed with red.—$8\frac{11}{16} \times 7\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—W. Russell and Richardson Junior Collections.

Life study of a young Man, seated on a stool. Black chalk.—$9\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—W. Esdaile Collections.

Mercury and Argus. Pen and bistre.—$5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

A Woman seated by a well with a dome; she seems to see an apparition. Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—Utterson Collection.

Four Sketches of Women's Heads. Pen. On the reverse, a sketch of cavaliers. Pen.—$7\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—J. Richardson junior, John Thane, and R. P. Roupell.

Tobias and the Angel by the waterside. Pen.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—J. Reynolds and Utterson Collections.

Rembrandt's Studio, a replica (?) of the drawing in the His de la Salle Collection. Sepia.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Mariette Collection.

A Composition with many Figures (the Preaching of John the Baptist?) in a simulated frame. Pen and bistre.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Tobias and the Angel by the waterside, a variation of the composition in the Albertina; signed above, but not by the master's own hand, Rembrandt f. 1630. Pen.—$8\frac{11}{16} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A Cavalier with a Sword, with two other persons, one of whom is showing him the way. Pen and bistre.—$6\frac{5}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

A naked Man, kneeling. Pen.—$3\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Sir J. Reynolds, Hudson and Seymour Haden Collections.

A Woman with her hands clasped, looking mournfully at a dead man in a bed. Pen.—$6\frac{6}{16} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

A Woman standing near the dais of a raised bed, advances towards some men (one of them in a helmet) partly hidden by a drapery. Pen.—$6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

A young Man kneeling to a King seated on his throne, and surrounded by his Court (*Joseph interpreting the Dreams?*). Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

The Denial of St. Peter, a night effect. Reed pen and sepia.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 10$ inches.—Lempereur and Seymour Haden Collections.

A Woman seated, her head resting on her left hand; above her, two wax candles. Pen and sepia.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—Sir Th. Lawrence, R. Roupell, Esdaile, and Woodburn Collections.

The unfaithful Servant. Pen.—$6\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Esdaile and Seymour Haden Collections.

Christ in the midst of the Doctors. Pen, with touches of white.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Sir Th. Lawrence, Esdaile, and Seymour Haden Collections.

A Cottage. Pen and bistre.—$4\frac{9}{16} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Esdaile and Seymour Haden Collections.

Gateway at the Entrance of a Town. Pen and sepia.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Seymour Haden Collection.

A couchant Lion. Black chalk.—$4\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Seymour Haden Collection.

Two couchant Lions. Bistre wash.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{13}{16}$ inches.

A Staircase with a Landing. Black chalk and bistre.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{13}{16}$ inches.

Duc d'Aumale.—Chantilly.

The unfaithful Servant. Pen and wash.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Desperet Collection.

A couchant Lion. Pen and wash.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Denon and Reiset Collections.

A Landscape, with a windmill and cows. Pen and bistre.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

A Landscape with large trees, washed with bistre.—$5\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Reiset Collection.

M. Eugène Dutuit.—Rouen.

Christ in the House of Martha and Mary. Pen.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{11}{16}$ inches.—Ploos van Amstel and De Visscher Collections.

M. Louis Galichon.

Judas bringing back the thirty Pieces of Silver. Pen, washed with sepia, with touches of red chalk.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Em. Galichon Collection.

A young Woman seated in an Arm-chair. Red chalk with touches of black.—$5\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—Em. Galichon Collection.

A young Woman in a broad-brimmed Hat. Pen.—$4\frac{9}{16} \times 3\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—Andreossy and Em. Galichon Collections.

A full length of a Woman, seen in profile. Pen.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—Andreossy and Em. Galichon Collections.

Christ in the midst of His Disciples. Pen.—$7\frac{7}{8} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$ inches.—Festetis and Firmin Didot Collections.

Esther and Mordecai. Pen, washed with sepia.—$7\frac{7}{8} \times 12\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Rumohr, Festetis, and Firmin Didot Collections.

Study of a Man, full length. Black chalk.—$5\frac{13}{16} \times 4\frac{5}{16}$ inches. —Robert Dumesnil and Firmin Didot Collections.

Peasants near a Cornfield. Pen.—$6\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Em. Galichon Collection.

M. Paul Mathey.

A Man in an Arm-chair, meditating, a terrestrial globe at his feet. Pen, washed with sepia, and touched with body-colour.—$7\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Count Soutcktelew Collection.

Portrait of a young Man in a Cap. Pen and bistre.—$5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches. — Seymour Haden Collection.

The Wounded Man of the Parable of the Good Samaritan visited by Doctors. Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—E. Utterson and Soutcktelew Collections.

A Man approaching a Woman with a child on her lap. Lead pencil.—$4\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ inches.

A Woman in full dress, seated in an arm-chair. Pen and bistre.—$6\frac{5}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Soutcktelew Collection.

M. Henry Pereire.

A Woman suckling her Child. Pen and sepia.—Armand Collection.

A Dutch Landscape, with houses, mills, and a drawbridge on a canal. Pen and sepia.—$7\frac{11}{16} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Armand Collection.

Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

Portrait of Reinier Anslo. Study for the etching. Pen, washed with bistre, with touches of red chalk and body-colour. — $9\frac{11}{16} \times 7\frac{15}{16}$ inches.—Em. Galichon Collection.

GERMANY

BERLIN.—Print Room of the Royal Museum.

The Head of a Woman, nearly in profile. Pen.—$2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{7}{16}$ inches.—Hausmann Collection.

A Man standing (a priest or apostle); to the left a kneeling woman; a third person to the right. Pen.—$4\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

A young Woman seated before a table on which is a violin. Pen, washed with bistre.—$6\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ inches.—On the reverse, a head of a woman.—Von Nagler Collection.

Philemon and Baucis, a man seated at a table in the foreground, a figure seated on the ground by a fire, and in the background to the left, another figure, standing; inscribed: "d. onde filemon on van t mes in d mond en d hand op d vloer omgeswicht?" Pen sketch.—$5\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{9}{16}$ inches.—J. D. Bohm and Hausmann.

A Beggar in a large hat, walking towards the right. Black chalk.—$6\frac{11}{16} \times 3$ inches.—Hausmann Collection.

The Circumcision; a high priest, an assistant, the parents, and spectators. Pen, washed with sepia.—$8 \times 11\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Lawrence, Esdaile and Suermondt Collections.

A Landscape, with a bridge over a stream, a cottage and trees. Black chalk.—$3\frac{13}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A Landscape, with a stream and two boats, houses and trees. Black chalk.—$3\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

A Landscape, with two low-roofed cottages and a pool of water. Sketch in chalk.—$3\frac{7}{16} \times 6\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—J. D. Bohm and W. Koller Collections.

A Landscape, a road by a stream, with houses and trees. Black chalk.—$3\frac{7}{8} \times 6$ inches.—On the reverse, a half-length figure of a man, sketched with a few strokes.

A Man seated on a Mound, and on an eminence beyond, a house surrounded by trees. Pen.—$8\frac{9}{16} \times 13\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Blokhuyzen and Suermondt Collections.

An old Woman seated in an arm-chair, holding a book in her left hand. Pen.—$6\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—On the reverse, the head of a bearded man in a high turban. Pen.—Von Nagler Collection.

An old Man seated in an arm-chair, his head slightly bowed, his hands clasped. Red chalk, with touches of black.—$8\frac{15}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Ploos van Amstel, Dapper and Suermondt Collections.

Saskia in a large straw hat, holding a flower in her hand; with the following autograph inscription by Rembrandt: "dit is naer myn huysvrou geconterfeyt do 21 yaer ond was den derden Dach als wy getrondt waere de 8e Yunyns 1633." Lead pencil on parchment.—$7\frac{5}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Rembrandt, a bust, full face, with bare head. Pen, heightened with wash.—$4\frac{15}{16} \times 5\frac{7}{16}$ inches.—Sir Th. Lawrence and Esdaile Collections.

Christ bearing His Cross. The Saviour

sinking beneath the weight of the Cross, the Virgin fainting; to the left one of the thieves, bearing his cross. Pen.—5¾ × 10¼ inches.

Bust Portrait of Andrea Doria, in profile, with an autograph inscription by Rembrandt: "Andreas d. Aurea, hartog van Genuwa." Pen.—6⅝ × 8 inches.—Sir J. Robinson Collection.

A Woman seated, in Eastern dress. Pen, sepia wash, and touches of white.—7⅞ × 6⅜ inches.

A Man with a long Beard, in a large hat, standing. Black chalk on Chinese paper.—5⅜ × 3 1/16 inches.

A Woman carrying a Sack on her shoulder, a little girl walking beside her, and an old woman seen from behind. A sketch in black chalk.—3½ × 4⅜ inches.

The Descent from the Cross; the Virgin, three other kneeling women, and two men standing surround the winding-sheet. On the reverse, an erotic subject. Pen sketch.—6 13/16 × 6½ inches.

The Annunciation, the Virgin seated to the left, to the right the Angel, with his right arm uplifted. A drawing by F. Bol, corrected with bold, masterly strokes by Rembrandt. Red chalk, heightened with bistre, and touched with white.—6⅞ × 9¼ inches.—Lawrence, Esdaile and Bale Collections.

A Landscape; a plain with a watercourse; to the left a herd of cows, a woman milking one of them. Pen and wash.—Lawrence, Esdaile and Bale Collections.

Sketches of seven Heads, or half lengths of men and women on a single sheet. Pen.—7 1/16 × 7 5/16 inches.—Lawrence, Esdaile and Bale Collections.

A Sheet of Sketches of men, women, and a weeping child. Pen.—8⅛ × 7⅜ inches.—Legay, Esdaile and Bale Collections.

A Landscape with two cottages and a group of six peasants. On the reverse, another *Landscape* with a road, and a town with a church spire. Lead pencil on parchment.—4 5/16 × 7 9/16 inches.—Esdaile and Bale Collections.

Study of a Woman, richly dressed, standing, her left hand on her hip. Pen, lightly washed, and touched with white.—5 7/16 × 3¾ inches.—J. Thane, W. Esdaile and A. Posonyi Collections.

Study for an Entombment. Pen and sepia.—4⅞ × 5⅞ inches.—E. Durand and Posonyi Collections.

The Descent from the Cross. Pen and sepia, touched with white.—7 1/16 × 8 7/16 inches.—Posonyi Collection.

Cain and Abel offering their sacrifices. Pen and sepia, heightened with white.—Mariette Beurnonville and Posonyi Collections.

A Woman with Spectacles, seated, reading. Pen and sepia.—4¾ × 2⅞ inches.—Pulszky, Von Rath, and Posonyi Collections.

Christ taken down from the Cross, His followers weeping round His corpse. Pen and sepia, heightened with white.—5⅞ × 7⅝ inches.—Pulszky, Von Rath, and Posonyi Collections.

Pyramus with Thisbe kneeling beside him. Pen and sepia.—6 7/16 × 7 9/16 inches.—Pulszky, Von Rath, and Posonyi Collections.

Pyramus and Thisbe. Pen and sepia.—4 5/16 × 7⅜ inches.—S. Zoort, Dreux, and Posonyi Collections.

Thisbe kneeling by the Corpse of Pyramus. Pen and sepia.—10 9/16 × 7¾ inches.—Bohm, Gsell, Von Rath, Pulszky, and Posonyi Collections.

A Landscape with two cottages under large trees. Pen and sepia.—7¾ × 12¼ inches.—Pulszky, Von Rath, and Posonyi Collections.

Study for the Group of sick Persons in the *Hundred Guilder Print* (the composition reversed). Pen and sepia.—5 11/16 × 7 5/16 inches.—Festetis and Bohm Collections.

Jacob's Dream, two angels and two cherubs on the steps of the mystic ladder. Pen and sepia.—7⅞ × 7½ inches.

The Good Samaritan. Pen and sepia.—6½ × 7 11/16 inches.—Gavet, Pulszky, Von Rath, Engert and Posonyi Collections.

The Rest in Egypt, the angel directing Joseph. Pen and sepia, heightened with white.—5¾ × 7⅜ inches.—Andreossy, Beurnonville, Gigoux and Posonyi Collections.

The Prodigal Son's Departure. Pen and sepia.—7 9/16 × 10 13/16 inches.—Pulszky, Von Rath, Posonyi and Gsell Collections.

Christ in the Garden of Olives, the Apostles asleep. Pen and sepia.—7 × 9½ inches.—Lawrence, Esdaile, Desperet, Galichon and Posonyi Collections.

Tobit and his Wife with the Goat. Pen.—5 13/16 × 7 11/16 inches.—Pulszky, Von Rath and Posonyi Collections.

Judith and her Attendant entering the tent of Holofernes; two other women near. Pen.—6⅜ × 6⅝ inches.—Pulszky, Von Rath, and Posonyi Collections.

A Man praying before a Crucifix, another man kneeling beside him. Pen and sepia.—6⅜ × 7 1/16 inches.—W. Koller and Posonyi Collections.

An Oriental Prince giving audience (Joseph and his brethren?); a man kneeling before

him and three other persons near. Pen.—$7\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$ inches.—Pulszky, Von Rath, Koller and Posonyi Collections.

Philemon and Baucis. Pen.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{7}{16}$ inches.—Bohm, Pulszky, Von Rath, Festetis, and Posonyi Collections.

An Oriental, richly dressed; to the right a figure seen from behind; between them a third figure, lightly sketched. Pen.—$6\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{6}{8}$ inches.—Bohm and Posonyi Collections.

Three Jews conversing. Pen, on Japanese paper.—$4\frac{13}{16} \times 2\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—Van der Schafft, Habich and Posonyi Collections.

An Oriental, in a cap and a large cloak. Pen.—$4\frac{5}{16} \times 2\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—On the reverse, horsemen at the gateway of a town. Reynolds, Lawrence, Esdaile and Posonyi Collections.

An Oriental in a turban; another figure, very lightly sketched, beside him. Black chalk.—$4\frac{13}{16} \times 2\frac{13}{16}$ inches.—Pulszky, Von Rath and Posonyi Collections.

An Oriental, nearly in profile, leaning on a stick. Pen.—$5\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Esterhazy, Pulszky, Von Rath, and Posonyi Collections.

A Man in a Cloak and a high hat, a woman to the left. Pen.—$4\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

A Boy taking off his Shoes. On the reverse, the head of a beardless man in a fur cap. Pen and sepia.—$4\frac{13}{16} \times 2\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Bohm, Pulszky, Von Rath and Posonyi Collections.

A Village by a Canal; in the centre, a house with a high gable end. Pen, on red tinted paper.—$2\frac{5}{16} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Van der Willigen, Hebich and Posonyi Collections.

The Poet Vondel in front of his house. Pen and red chalk with wash.—$8\frac{9}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—De Vos Collection.

The Last Supper, after Leonardo da Vinci. Signed, and dated 1635. Pen.—$5\frac{5}{16} \times 15$ inches.

A Child in a Passion, carried away by its mother. Pen and wash.—$8\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{6}{8}$ inches.—De Vos Collection.

The blind old Woman.—She leans on a stick, and lays her left hand on the shoulder of a child; below, a beggar. On the reverse, a man in a fur-trimmed cap. Pen.—$7\frac{5}{16} \times 6\frac{11}{16}$ inches.—Th. Hudson, Reynolds, Lawrence, Esdaile, De Kat and De Vos Collections.

A Sheet of Sketches of figures and heads. Pen and sepia.—$6\frac{9}{16} \times 7\frac{11}{16}$ inches.—Lawrence and Esdaile Collections.

Manoah and his Wife, startled at the sight of the angel who announces the birth of Samson. Pen and sepia.—$6\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—On the reverse, the half-length figure of a man with one arm outstretched. Sir Th. Lawrence and Esdaile Collections.

BREMEN.—Museum (Kunsthalle).

Dromedaries, a study from nature. Black chalk. Dated 1633.

DRESDEN.—Royal Museum.

Abraham's Sacrifice. Pen, arched at the top.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Samson struggling with a Lion. Pen sketch.—$7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Saul falling upon his Sword. Pen, heightened with bistre.—$6\frac{13}{16} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The Judgment of Solomon (?). Pen and bistre; the signature a forgery.—$7\frac{7}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

God's Covenant with Abraham. Pen, arched at the top.—$7\frac{13}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Joseph interpreting the Dreams. Pen.—$7\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The Angel showing the Fish to Tobias, who recoils in alarm. Pen.—$6\frac{5}{16} \times 6\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

The Angel leaving Tobias and his Family; study for the picture in the Louvre. Pen.—$7\frac{13}{16} \times 7$ inches.

An old Man seated, teaching a kneeling Child to read (?). Pen.—$7\frac{3}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The Angel announcing the Birth of John the Baptist to Zachariah. Pen.—$7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

The Adoration of the Shepherds (?). Pen, heightened with bistre.—$6\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

The Circumcision. Pen.—$8\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

The Virgin with the Infant Jesus, a reminiscence of Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia.* Pen.—$7\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Jesus among the Doctors. Pen, washed with sepia; the signature forged.—$7\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The Baptism of Christ. Pen, heightened with wash.—$6\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

The Temptation. Pen sketch.—$7\frac{5}{16} \times 8\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

The Departure of the Prodigal Son (?). Pen with wash.—$7\frac{5}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

The Return of the Prodigal Son. Pen and wash.—$7\frac{7}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A Vessel on a stormy Sea. Pen sketch for the Deepdene picture, *St. Peter's Boat in the Storm.*—$7\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{13}{16}$ inches.

The Flagellation. Pen, heightened with bistre.—$7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Ecce Homo. Red chalk.—$13\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Christ on the Mount of Olives. Pen.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

The Holy Women weeping over the body of Christ. Pen.—$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The Entombment. Pen, arched at the top.—$9\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Christ appearing to the Magdalene. Pen.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

An Oriental Chief vanquishing his enemy. Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

An Oriental standing by a Woman who is lying down. Pen, arched at the top.

A naked Man kneeling, in a landscape (St. Jerome?). Pen.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

An old Man praying (?). Pen.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

A Man in Eastern dress, standing. Pen. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The Rape of Ganymede. Sketch for the Dresden picture (1635). Pen, heightened with wash.—$7\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Diana surprised by Actæon. Pen, heightened with bistre, the signature forged.—$9\frac{11}{16} \times 13\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

The Minister Swalmius. Sketch in black chalk for the portrait in the Antwerp Museum (1637). Forged signature.—$9 \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

An old Man with a cap and stick, seated. Pen and bistre.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

A young Woman in bed. Pen and bistre.—$5\frac{15}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A young Man in a broad-brimmed Hat (?). Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{9}{16}$ inches.

A Geographer (?). Pen, heightened with bistre.—$8\frac{7}{16} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

An old Beggar. Sketch in black chalk. (About 1630.)—$10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

An old Woman asleep. Black chalk. (About 1630.)—$9\frac{13}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

An old Woman, seated. Pen.—$4\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

An old Man looking out of window. Pen and wash.—$6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

A young Girl in a large Hood, seated; to the right, a sketch of her head in profile. Pen.—$4\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{13}{16}$ inches.

Two Women, and a Child in Swaddling-clothes. Pen sketch, with bistre.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

A Man, and a Woman holding a Child, seated at table (?). Pen and bistre wash.—$5 \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

A Hawking Party (?). Pen sketch.—$8\frac{7}{16} \times 9\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

A three-quarters length Figure, a Man, full length, and a Woman seated. Pen and bistre. Above: a sketch of two persons, an old and a young man; sketches in ink, perhaps for the etching, *The three Crosses.* (B. 78.)—$7\frac{11}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

Two Persons taking leave. Pen and sepia, rounded at the upper corners.—$7\frac{9}{16} \times 9\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

A Woman in Bed, and, to the right, four other persons. Pen.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Two Men in a Farmyard with a donkey, another man at a door. Pen, heightened with wash, arched above.—7×12 inches.

A Man seated at a Table. Pen.—$4\frac{15}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Two Persons at a door. Pen sketch.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Study of a Man, seated, seen from behind (?). Pen sketch, heightened with sepia.—$8\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Study of a Man, seated, looking to the right (?). Sketch with pen and brush.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

A Woman lying down, her face in profile. Pen sketch.—$5\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

A young Man asleep, perhaps a study for the *Antiope.* Pen and brush.—$7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

A young Man seated and reading (?). Pen and brush.—$6\frac{15}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A young Man standing and dropping a pike (?). Pen and bistre wash.—$9\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Two Heads of Camels (?). Pen.—$4\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{13}{16}$ inches.

Studies of Lions (?). Pen and chalk.—$7\frac{15}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Study of a Lion. Pen and wash.—$5\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

A Farm surrounded by Trees. Pen study, perhaps for the etching of 1641 (B. 225.), the signature forged.—$12\frac{13}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

A Cottage and a Tree. Pen sketch, perhaps for the etching of 1650 (B. 217.).—$6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

The Gate of a Town, with a distant background.—$7 \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The Moat about a Town, with houses and a windmill. Pen and wash.—$6\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A group of Trees in front of a Cottage. Pen and wash. Perhaps a study for the etching of 1636 (B. 224.).—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

A Cottage surrounded by Trees. Pen sketch, perhaps for the etching of 1641 (B. 226.).—$4\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

View of the Ramparts of a Town. Pen and bistre.—$6\frac{3}{4} \times 10$ inches.

The Market Place at Rotterdam (?). Pen and wash.—$6\frac{3}{16} \times 8\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN.—Städel Institute.

The Crucifixion. Pen and sepia.

The rest in Egypt. Pen.

A Man standing. Pen.

St. Peter delivered from Prison (?). Pen, washed with bistre.

The Temptation. Pen.

Study of an old Man for *Lot and his Daughters.* Red chalk. Signed and dated 1663.

Two Men conversing. Pen.

A Woman seated, study from the antique.

David and Saul. Pen, heightened with sepia.

HAMBURG.—Kunsthalle.

Hagar and the Angel. Pen.—7⅛ × 9⅝ inches.

Head of a young Man, perhaps Rembrandt himself. Black chalk.

Study of a naked Woman lying on a bed. Black chalk.

A House under large Trees, study. Pen and bistre.—De Baillie Collection.

An Alley of Trees. Pen and bistre.

St. Jerome praying. Pen and bistre.—9 1/16 × 7⅛ inches.

Christ in the Garden of Olives, the angel ministering to Him. Pen and bistre.—7⅛ × 12 inches.

MUNICH.—Royal Collection of Drawings and Engravings.

The Angel showing Hagar the Well.

Jacob's Blessing. Black chalk.

The Flight into Egypt, the angel appearing to Joseph and Mary. Pen.

The Adoration of the Magi, two sketches in black chalk, and one with the pen.

The Triumph of Mordecai. Pen and bistre.

The Circumcision (?). Pen.

The Annunciation to the Shepherds, a night effect. Bistre wash.

The Ascension. Pen.

Christ among the Doctors. Pen, heightened with red. Below, an inscription, perhaps by Rembrandt's own hand, alluding to the sacred story; drawn on the back of an invitation to a funeral.

Christ among the Doctors. Pen. A different composition.

The Angel ministering to Christ in the Garden. Pen.

The Angel seated on the Stone of the Sepulchre. Pen.

The Repentance of St. Peter.

St. Jerome asleep. Bistre wash.

Study for the Baptism of the Eunuch, engraved by J. van Vliet (1631). Pen.

A woman reading from a large Book on a table, a crucifix beside her (the Magdalene ?).

An Oriental, standing before a table, with a sceptre; on the other side a weeping woman, and another with her hands clasped. Pen and bistre.

The Banquet of Claudius Civilis, study for the composition painted for the Stadhuis, the central portion of which is now in the Stockholm Museum. Pen and bistre, sketched on the back of an invitation to a funeral.

A Man kneeling before a Priest, and other persons. Pen.

A Cavalry Skirmish. Pen, washed with bistre.

A Carriage drawn with great difficulty by Horses. Signed and dated 1630. Black chalk.

A Sleigh, with a man standing up and another running. The signature and date, 1639, forged; the horse by another hand.

A Woman lying down; study in red chalk.

A Woman standing before the fire; to the left another person. Pen, washed with sepia.

Bust of a Woman in a Cap. Pen and bistre.

A Woman, seated, full face, a veil on her head and a roll of papers on her lap. Bistre wash, lightly tinted with red.

A Woman in Bed, a seated figure at her feet. Pen.

A sick Woman in Bed, her hands clasped (Saskia ?). Pen.

Rembrandt painting a study of a Woman. Pen.

A Painter at his Easel; to the right a woman, seated, with a child. Pen.

An artist painting the Portrait of a Woman; a variation on the above. Pen.

A young Girl reading at a Window. Pen and bistre.

Two studies of a Child in a Cradle.

A Man reading at a Window. Pen and bistre.

A High Priest in his Robes. Pen and wash.

A Study of Ducks.

A couchant Lion. Pen and bistre.

A Lion rising from the Ground. Pen and bistre.

A Horse attacked by a Lion, kicking. Pen.

A Landscape, with a village, and a far-reaching horizon. Bistre wash.

WEIMAR.—Goethe's House.

An old Man fainting, two men supporting him; and three other sketches on the same sheet. Pen.—5⅞ × 4⅞ inches.

A Sheet of Sketches; three full face heads of the same woman, and two women with a child. Pen.—7 1/16 × 5¾ inches.

Lot and his Daughters. Pen.—5 13/16 × 7⅛ inches.

Mr. A. von Beckerath.

Susanna at the Bath; she is turned full face to the spectator, and endeavours to cover herself on perceiving the Elders. Pen and sepia.—5 13/16 × 6 15/16 inches.—Lord Egmont and Roupell Collections.

Susanna at the Bath; she is seated on a bench, the Elders behind her. Signed below R. f. Red chalk.—9¼ × 14¼ inches.—Gigoux and Andreossy Collections.

David and Jonathan (?) in a landscape. Pen and sepia.—5 3/16 × 8½ inches.

Esther, Ahasuerus, and Haman. Pen and sepia.—6¼ × 8¾ inches.—Goll van Franckenstein Collection.

Nathan and David. Pen and sepia.—5¾ × 6 13/16 inches.—Klinkosch Collection.

Manoah's Sacrifice; his wife stands beside him, and turns away her head at the sight of the angel. Pen and sepia.—6⅝ × 8⅞ inches.—Roupell Collection.

The Dismissal of Hagar. Pen and sepia.—7¼ × 8 13/16 inches.

The Dismissal of Hagar. Pen and sepia.—5½ × 6 inches.

Jacob and Esau. Pen and sepia.—6¼ × 8 1/16 inches.

Jacob's Dream. Pen and sepia.—7⅛ × 7⅝ inches.

Study for Jacob's Dream. Pen and sepia.—4 × 5⅛ inches. — Lawrence and Esdaile Collections.

Isaac blessing Jacob; Rebecca stands beside the bed. Pen and sepia.—4 15/16 × 6 13/16 inches.

Christ in the Garden of Olives. Pen and sepia.—7 5/16 × 9¼ inches.—Lawrence, Esdaile, and Roupell Collections.

Christ before Herod (or Caïaphas ?). Pen and sepia.—6 × 7¾ inches.—Roupell Collection.

The Entombment. Pen and sepia.—6⅞ × 9 inches.—Klinkosch and Festetis Collections.

The Prodigal Son (?). Pen and sepia.—7 7/16 × 8⅝ inches.

The Raising of Jairus' Daughter. Pen and sepia.—7¾ × 7¾ inches.—On the reverse, a small head of a young man.—Seymour Haden Collection.

The Betrayal of Christ. Judas approaches to kiss Him. Pen and sepia.—7½ × 8⅞ inches.

Christ blessing little Children. Pen and sepia. — 8 1/16 × 11¾ inches.—Woodburn and Roupell Collections.

Study for a Descent from the Cross. Pen and sepia.—10 1/16 × 8⅜ inches.—Van der Willigen, Temminck, Hooft, and Van der Schafft Collections.

Pilate giving Judgment (?). A composition of numerous figures. Pen and sepia.—8 5/16 × 10 5/16 inches.—Klinkosch and Festetis Collections. Engraved by Bartsch.

The Presentation in the Temple. Pen and sepia.—7⅞ × 9¼ inches.—Roupell and De Vries Collections.

The Good Samaritan. The wounded man in bed; the Samaritan giving money to the host. Pen and sepia.—5 9/16 × 9 inches.

Christ healing the Sick (?). Pen and sepia, lightened with a few touches. — 7 1/16 × 9¾ inches.

The Workers in the Vineyard. Pen and sepia.—6 15/16 × 9⅞ inches.

The Adoration of the Magi. Pen and sepia.—6 3/16 × 9 inches. — Klinkosch and Festetis Collections.

Study for a Holy Family (?). Pen and sepia.—4 1/16 × 5¼ inches.—Roupell Collection.

The Widow's Mite. Pen drawing, heightened with sepia, and very carefully finished.—7½ × 12¼ inches.—Woodburn, Esdaile, Lawrence, and Roupell Collections.

Study of an old Man seated. Pen and sepia.—3⅝ × 2 9/16 inches.—Klinkosch Collection.

Two Men conversing. Pen, washed with ink.—5½ × 3 15/16 inches.

Study of a Man in a Turban. Pen and sepia.—4⅝ × 4½ inches.

Two Studies of Men on the same sheet. Pen and sepia.—2½ × 2⅜ and 2⅛ × 2⅛ inches.—Seymour Haden and Bouverie Collections.

Study of a Man in a high Cap. Pen and sepia.—4¼ × 3 9/16 inches.—On the reverse, some lightly sketched outlines of figures.

A blind Beggar, with a child and a dog. Black chalk.—5 × 3 1/16 inches.

Study of seven Women seated near a staircase. Pen and sepia.—7½ × 4 15/16 inches.

Study of an old Man, seated, full face. Pen and sepia.—3⅜ × 2⅝ inches.—Klinkosch Collection.

A young Man seated and reading. Pen and sepia.—3⅞ × 4⅛ inches.—Dimsdale and Esdaile Collections.

Sketch of a Man, bust. Pen and sepia.—3 1/16 × 2⅞ inches.—Gigoux Collection.

Sketch of a Man writing, facing to the front. Pen and sepia.—3 1/16 × 3¼ inches.—Gigoux Collection.

Study of a Woman, seated, half naked, probably for a *Susanna*. Black chalk.—Andreossy and Gigoux Collections.

Two Studies of Men's Heads on a single sheet. Chalk.—4 5/16 × 4⅛ inches, and 2 15/16 × 3 inches.—Gigoux Collection.

Five small Heads on a single sheet: 1. *A young Man* with long hair. Pen and sepia.—

$1\frac{7}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. 2. *An old Woman.*—$1\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ inches. 3. *A young Girl with long hair.* Red chalk.—$2\frac{1}{8} \times 2$ inches. 4. *A grotesque Head* with open mouth. Light chalk (?).—$1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{9}{16}$ inches. 5. *Head of a Man with a bandage over one eye.* Light chalk.—$1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

An old Man seated and reading. Black and red chalk, very carefully finished.—$11\frac{7}{16} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

An Interior, with a bullock's (?) carcase hanging up, and several figures. Pen, very boldly washed with a broad brush.—$5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

An allegorical Composition: a man seated, Death advancing towards him. Pen and sepia.—$9\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—(Belisarius (?).) In the foreground a beggar, to whom a man is giving alms, another man standing by. Above, an inscription of seven lines, in which the name Belisarius seems to occur. Pen and sepia.—Posonyi Collection.

A Landscape, with the framework of a boat, and workmen. Pen and sepia.—$5\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Study for the Syndics, a free sketch for the three figures to the left. Outlines of some of the other figures. Pen and sepia.—$7 \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Gigoux Collection.

A Pair of Lovers, a young man with his arm round a young girl's neck. Pen and sepia, with touches of white.—$6 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Study for a Mountebank. Pen and sepia.—$7\frac{3}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches.—Bohm Collection.

The Conversation, two men talking. Pen and sepia.—$4\frac{15}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.—Gigoux Collection.

The Wounded Man; another man tending him; and two persons looking on pityingly. Pen and sepia.—$4\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Roupell Collection.

Study of a Landscape, with houses and trees. Black chalk.—$4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{7}{16}$ inches.—Andreossy and Gigoux Collections.

A Landscape, with a cottage and a tree; a road to the left. Pen and sepia.—$5\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

A Stream, with boats; houses and a mill in the distance. Pen and sepia.—$4\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{13}{16}$ inches.

A group of Trees and a building. Pen and sepia.—$3\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—On the reverse a *Study of an Interior.*—Roupell Collection.

A group of Trees, with water and boats. Pen and sepia.—$4 \times 6\frac{15}{16}$.—Roupell Collection.

A Stream, with trees to the left, and on the right a road, with a man and a child. Black chalk.—$4\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—Andreossy and Gigoux Collections.

A Road, with a woman and a child seen from behind. Pen and sepia.—$3\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{5}{16}$ inches.—On the reverse: fragment of a man kneeling, in red chalk, with touches of black.

A Pond, with trees on the banks. Pen and sepia, with touches of violet.—$5\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A Landscape, with a tree in the middle, and a hut to the right. Black chalk.—$6\frac{1}{16} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ inches.—Gigoux Collection.

The Temptation of Saint Anthony, in the centre the Saint, seen from behind, on the right a devil addressing him. Pen and sepia.—$6\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{15}{16}$ inches.—Maris Collection.

Mr. E. Habich.—Cassel.

A Lion Hunt. Pen.

The good Samaritan. Pen and bistre. Dated 1644.

Pietà, the holy women and St. John round the Saviour's corpse. Pen.

An Interior, an old man reading by the fireside, his wife listening. Pen.

Prince George of Saxony's Collection.

(All these drawings, except the last three, are from the J. G. A. Fensel Collection, sold at Dresden, August 7, 1837.)

Lot and his Daughters. Pen.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Sara conducting Hagar to Abraham (?). Pen.—$6\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert. Pen and sepia.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Esther, Ahasuerus, and Haman, at table (?). Pen and wash. A replica, with variations, of a drawing in the Munich Collection.—$3\frac{15}{16} \times 9\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

A young Oriental, richly dressed, on a camel. Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

An old Man and a Woman, in a vaulted interior. Pen and wash.—$6\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

An Angel with four Persons, a Scriptural subject (?). Pen and wash.—$7\frac{5}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The Tribute-money (?). Pen and wash.—$8 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper. A copy in red chalk. Signed Rembrant.—$10\frac{7}{16} \times 18\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

St. Peter delivered from Prison (?). Pen and wash.—$7\frac{9}{16} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Mercury and Argus. Pen and wash.—$7\frac{5}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Pyramus and Thisbe. Pen and wash.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A Study of two full-length Figures in cloaks,

and a head in a broad-brimmed hat. Sketch with the brush.—5 × 3⅛ inches.

Head of a bearded Man, profile. Black chalk.—3¼ × 2 9/16 inches.

Study of an old Man, erroneously called *Sylvius* or *Justus Lipsius*. On the reverse, an inscription of two lines, perhaps by Rembrandt's own hand. Pen.—5¼ × 4 13/16 inches.

A Woman standing, with two children. Pen.—5 7/16 × 5 inches.

A Beggar, turned to the left. Black chalk.—5⅛ × 3¾ inches.

A Mother holding her Child, another child on a chair near a cradle. Pen sketch.—3¼ × 3¾ inches.

An old Woman walking, and sketches of five heads.—5½ × 9⅛ inches.

An old Woman in a large Hood, seated. Black chalk.—5½ × 4 5/16 inches.

A Mountebank in a Market (?). Pen and wash.—7⅜ × 6⅝ inches.

Elisha's Miracle on the Jordan (?). A Scriptural subject, probably by one of Rembrandt's pupils, with corrections by the master. Brush and bistre.—7 3/16 × 7⅞ inches.

A Landscape, with a wide road, a canal, houses and trees. Pen and wash.—5¾ × 10¼ inches.

Houses and Groups of Trees by the waterside. Pen.—2½ × 8½ inches.

A Man coming downstairs, supported by another person. Pen and wash. Forged signature.—6 × 4½ inches.

A ruined Cottage, with a fallen tree. Pen and wash.—4⅛ × 6 13/16 inches.

An old Man leaning on a Stick, in a landscape. Pen, with touches by another hand. The signature a forgery.—4⅝ × 2⅝ inches.

Dr. Sträter.—Aix-la-Chapelle.

Christ in the Garden of Olives. Pen, washed with bistre.—6 1/16 × 8¼ inches.—Vis Blokhuyzen Collection.

The Entombment. Pen; on the reverse, a study for the etching, *The Beheading of John the Baptist.* (B. 92.)—10 × 7⅞ inches.—Vis Blokhuyzen Collection.

Two Men and a Woman. Pen.—3 15/16 × 5½ inches.—Six and Vis Blokhuyzen Collections.

An old Man, seated. Pen.—Galichon and Suermondt Collections.

Three Sheets of Sketches, heads of men and women. Pen.—Galichon and Suermondt Collections.

A couchant Lion. Pen study, heightened with bistre.—3 15/16 × 19 5/16 inches.—De Vos Collection.

A Landscape, with a canal and a village with a spire. Pen, washed with sepia.—3⅞ × 4½ inches.—J. P. Zoomer, Goll van Franckenstein and Van Cranenburg Collections.

The old Willow, perhaps a study for the etching, *A View of Omval.* (B. 209.) Pen, washed with sepia.—8⅝ × 4¾ inches.—Revil, Van den Zande and De Kat Collections.

HOLLAND

AMSTERDAM.—Ryksmuseum.

The Adoration of the Shepherds. Pen, heightened with wash.

Life-study of a Woman, full face. The same model as in a drawing in the Heseltine Collection. Pen and wash.

A Woman going up a Staircase recoils in alarm at the sight of a dead man lying at the threshold of a door. Sepia and Indian ink.

Philemon and Baucis imploring Jupiter; his eagle with extended wings beside him.

A Landscape with three Trees, a study for the etching of 1643. (B. 212.) 1643.

A Woman leaning upon a Door, and looking out. Sepia, heightened with body-colour.—6 5/16 × 5⅞ inches.—Ploos van Amstel, Versteeg and Van Cranenburg Collections.

A couchant Lion, asleep. Pen and bistre.—Verstolk van Soelen Collection.

A Man, full face, with a wallet. Black chalk.

A blind Man leaning on a stick. Black chalk. Verstolk van Soelen Collection.

Fodor Museum. (Catalogue of 1863.)

A blind Man, and a Woman carrying a child. Black chalk. Bernard and Verstolk van Soelen Collections.

A Sheet of Studies of five Figures. Black chalk. Baartz Collection.

Seven Studies of Heads. Black chalk.

A Group of four Men conversing. Black chalk. Verstolk van Soelen Collection.

Mars and Venus surprised by Vulcan (?). Pen. Baartz Collection.

The return of Tobias. Bistre wash.

Esau sells his Birthright. Pen, was ed with sepia. Mendès de Léon Collection.

A crouching Lion. Pen, washed with sepia.

A View of the Westerkerk. Pen washed with sepia.

The Towers of the Westerkerk, from the Rozengracht. Pen and bistre. Baartz Collection.

The Interior of a Peasant's House. Pen and bistre.

A Mill on the ancient ramparts of Amsterdam. Pen and bistre.—Ploos van Amstel, Goll van Franckenstein, De Haas, J. Harmann and Verstolk van Soelen Collections.

A Well under a Tree. Pen, heightened with sepia and red chalk.

The Courtyard of the hunting Seat of the Counts of Holland. Pen and sepia. Ploos van Amstel, J. de Vos and Six Collections.

HAARLEM.—Teyler Museum.

Isaac and Esau (*?*). Pen.

A Man asleep (*?*). Bistre.

Two Men conversing (*?*). Black chalk.

The Dismissal of Hagar. A study for the etching, the composition reversed. Pen and wash. On the reverse, the *Head of an old Man.*

Two Men in Eastern Dress. Pen and wash.

Study of an old Man, from a model of frequent occurrence in the master's youthful pictures and etchings. Red chalk. Signed with the monogram, and dated 1631.—$8\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A sleeping Lion. Bistre wash.

A Landscape with a windmill. Bistre wash.

Saskia. Pen, washed with Indian ink.

Rembrandt. Pen, washed with Indian ink.

A View of Hillegom. Pen and sepia. Zoomer Collection.

The Gate known as the Jan Roodenspoort. Sepia, very delicately treated.—$5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—De Vos Collection.

Christ in the House of Martha and Mary. Pen.

The Rampart of Amsterdam. Pen, heightened, perhaps by another hand, with bistre and water-colour.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ inches. —Ploos van Amstel, De Vos and Six Collections.

A couchant Lion, asleep. Bistre wash.

Jesus in the midst of His Disciples, signed and dated 1634. Black and red chalk, pen, and touches of bistre, body-colour, and red. An elaborately treated drawing, altered in parts by pasting cuttings of paper over the original work. The composition contains several of the types familiar to us in Rembrandt's early pictures and etchings.—$14 \times 18\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

A Frisian Woman, seen from behind; the drawing known as *Titus' Nurse.* Pen and Indian ink.—$8\frac{11}{16} \times 5\frac{15}{16}$ inches.—Sir Th. Lawrence, Mendès de Léon, Verstolk van Soelen and Leembruggen Collections.

The Departure of Benjamin for Egypt. Pen, washed with sepia.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Goll van Franckenstein, De Vos, Mendès de Léon, and De Kat Collections.

A Landscape with a Watercourse. Pen and wash.

A Landscape with a Cottage and Bushes. Pen and sepia.

The Entombment. A reminiscence of Italian art. Pen and bistre.

Samuel anoints David. An interior, with several figures. Pen and bistre.

The Return of the Prodigal Son. Pen and sepia.

A ruined Tower, with cottages in the background.

A large Tree by a Canal, in shadow; in the background, hills, the light falling upon them. Pen and bistre.

Two Men, full face, one wearing a loose gown. Pen and bistre.

ROTTERDAM.—Boymans Museum.

A Man on Horseback with a lance, and several other horsemen. Pen.—$5\frac{7}{16} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

A Man, seated, and searching in his pockets —$4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

Abraham kneeling to receive the Angels. Pen, heightened with wash.—$6\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Christ healing a Blind Man. Pen and bistre.—$7\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The Resurrection of Lazarus. Pen sketch. —$7\frac{5}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The Good Samaritan. A broadly treated study washed with bistre, for the picture in the Louvre.—$8\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

An old Man standing, leaning upon a stick; a landscape background.—$7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Boaz and Ruth (*?*). Pen and bistre.—$6\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

The Betrayal of Christ (*?*). Pen.—$5\frac{15}{16} \times 9\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

The Holy Family: the Virgin at a spinning-wheel, St. Joseph kneeling, a mallet in his

hand, his back to the spectator. Pen.—$6\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

A Man leaning on a Table, two persons by his side. On the same sheet, a head in an antique helmet; perhaps a study for the *Minerva* in the Hermitage. Pen.

Several of the drawings in this Collection were destroyed in the fire of 1864, among them a *Woman making Pancakes*, a *Mercury and Argus*, and a *Study of a Cow.*

Madame Kneppelhout.—Sterkenburg.

Simeon holding the Child Jesus in his Arms. Signed and dated 1661. Pen, heightened with sepia. In an album formerly belonging to J. Heyblock.

Mr. J. P. Six van Hillegom.

Two Landscapes. Pen, washed with sepia, for the family album known as *Pandora.*

A Sketch for the Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Deyman. Pen and brown ink.—$4\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

RUSSIA

ST. PETERSBURG.—The Hermitage.

Abraham and the three Angels. Pen sketch.—$8\frac{11}{16} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A Woman seated in an Arm-chair, a fan in her hand. Pen and bistre.—$5\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

A Woman seated on a Bench, her head resting on her hand. Pen.—$4\frac{5}{16} \times 4\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

An Interior, with a woman holding a child in her arms, and a man seated at a table looking at her. Pen and bistre wash.—$4\frac{7}{16} \times 4\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

The Banks of a Canal, with houses and a windmill. Sketch with a reed pen.—$6\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

The Head of an old Man with a white beard, a skull-cap on his head. Signed with the monogram. Study in red chalk for Count Stroganoff's picture.

Christ and Nicodemus conversing in a room by lamp-light. Pen and bistre.—$3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Three Figures of Men, one in Eastern dress. Pen and bistre.—$5\frac{13}{16} \times 5\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

The Dismissal of Hagar (?). Red chalk.—$10\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

SWEDEN

STOCKHOLM.—Royal Museum.

The greater part of this fine Collection came from the Crozat cabinet, which consisted in the main of drawings bought by De Piles in Holland, probably from J. van de Cappelle.

Study of a naked Model, standing at a table; the same slender youth who reappears in various other drawings and etchings by the master. Pen and sepia wash.

Jesus among the Doctors. A free sketch with the reed pen.

Calvary. A pen study.

Titia van Uylenborch, Saskia's sister. A drawing from nature, the name of the sitter inscribed by Rembrandt, and the date 1639. Pen and bistre.

A Woman in a Hood, her hands hidden in her loose sleeves. Pen and bistre.

The Head of a Child, almost full face. Titus (?). Pen and bistre.

A young Girl in a broad-brimmed hat, her hand on a window-frame. Bistre, corrected with body-colour.

The same, her head resting on her right hand. Bistre, with corrections in body-colour.

A Turk, full face. Black chalk and Indian ink.

A young Woman in profile; two others, lightly sketched with the pen.

A Man seated, a stick in his hand; another, the position reversed.

A Landscape, with a canal, reeds, and trees. Sepia wash.

Three Cottages, with a clump of trees. Sepia wash.

A young Woman, with a veil and a floating skirt, holding a flower in her hand. Bistre.

A Woman with a white head-dress and apron, her head resting on her right hand. Pen and wash.

An old Woman, guiding a child in leading-strings. Pen.

A Man fishing. Pen.

An Oriental, seated. Pen.

Three Studies of the same Model. Pen.

A Youth in Oriental Dress; from the position of his right hand he appears to be playing the harp; perhaps a study for a David. Pen.

An old Woman, seated, reading in a large book. Pen, washed with Indian ink.

An old Woman asleep. Pen.

A Man, seated, and reading by the light of a lamp. Pen and sepia wash.

A Man in a Turban, seated before a table loaded with books. Pen.

A young Woman in full dress, seated by a basket of fruit and flowers; an old woman beside her talking to her. Pen.

Jesus and the Disciples at Emmäus. Pen and sepia wash.

A Turk going up a Staircase, another figure beside him. Pen.

Two nearly nude figures, with clasped hands. Pen.

Four rough sketches of heads. Pen.

A Youth in a Cap, seated, one of his feet on a stool. Titus. Drawn from nature, with a reed pen.

A Man standing, one hand grasping a sword, the other laid upon his breast. Pen.

A young Man leaning on a stick, seen from behind. Pen and bistre.

A young Woman standing near a table; the curtains of a bed in the background. Pen.

A Man in a plumed hat, seated on a low chair. Pen.

Abraham and Isaac. A study of two different gestures for the patriarch's hand, as he preaches submission to the Divine will.

A young Woman seated at a Table, absorbed in a book. Pen.

Two Women, each suckling a child. Pen and sepia.

An Oriental in a Turban and Cloak. Pen.

A Fisherman in a Blouse, holding a basket in each hand.

The Saviour showing His Wounds to St. Thomas, who kneels at His feet. Pen.

David and Uriah. On the margin, this sketch is divided into squares.

A Man in a Swoon; persons pressing round to help him. Pen and bistre wash.

The Entombment; the size noted on the margin. Pen.

Abraham's Sacrifice. Study for the picture in the Hermitage. Pen and bistre wash.

Christ and the Samaritan Woman, by the well. Sepia wash.

A Woman resting at the mouth of a cave.

Study for a Flight into Egypt. Sepia wash.

A young Woman, seated in an arm-chair; an old woman behind her. Pen.

An Oriental in a Turban, wrapped in a large cloak. Pen.

A Woman suckling her Child. Pen sketch.

A Woman holding a Child in Swaddling-clothes; another woman suckling a child beside her. Pen sketch from nature.

Sketch for an Abraham's Sacrifice. Sepia wash.

A Man seated at a Table, his head on his right hand. Pen.

An old Man in a high hat and short cloak, with a child. Pen.

An old Man seated, reading in a book, which he holds in his hand. Pen.

An old Woman standing, carrying a basket, and speaking to a young woman in front of her. Pen.

An old Man on a platform, listening to a man who addresses him from below; perhaps the *Good Samaritan and the Host.* Pen.

An Oriental in a Turban, armed with a scimitar; before him a man imploring his mercy, with clasped hands. Pen.

Pilate declares Jesus innocent; the same motive, slightly less elaborated, is in the Albertina Collection. Pen, with sepia wash.

Abraham Sacrifice, study for the picture in the Hermitage. Pen and sepia.

The Good Samaritan tending the wounded man. Pen.

An old Woman seated at a fireplace, watching a saucepan upon the fire. Pen and sepia.

A Woman warming a Child at a fire. Pen.

An old Woman seated, her hands crossed before her. Pen and sepia.

A Person kneeling before an Oriental. Pen and sepia.

Jacob's Blessing. Study for the Cassel picture. Pen.

The Triumph of Mordecai. Study for the etching. Pen and sepia.

The Magdalene kneeling at the Feet of Christ. Study for the Brunswick picture. Pen and sepia, heightened with white.

A Man with Books under his Arm, a child near him. Pen and bistre.

A Life-study of a Man. Black chalk.

An Oriental, full face, in a high cap. Pen.

A Woman lying on the Ground, another woman tending her, in an Eastern landscape. Pen.

A Woman praying, in a Landscape, an angel approaching her. Pen and bistre.

A Woman caressing a Child, who stands before her. Below, the rough sketch of a head, and a study of the same child in a cap. Pen, washed with ink.

A Man, seated at a table; he hands some money to a workman standing beside him; another workman counts over what he has received. (*The Workers in the Vineyard?*) Pen.

Jesus among the Doctors. Pen.

Tobit and his Wife with the Goat. A sketch for the picture in the Berlin Museum. Pen.

A couchant Lion, asleep. Pen.

Manoah's Prayer. A sketch for the Dresden picture; arched at the top. Pen and sepia.—$8\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Raguel and his Wife return thanks to God for the preservation of Tobit. Pen.

Christ and the Apostles in the Garden of Olives. Pen and sepia wash.

Jesus taken Prisoner. Pen and sepia.

The Adulteress before Christ. Pen.

A Landscape with two Cows and a Shepherdess. Pen.

A study for the grisaille, The Preaching of John the Baptist. Pen and wash.

Calvary. A pen study.

A Woman seated, her hair unbound; a study for the *Jewish Bride.* Pen and wash.

Job, his Wife, and his Friends. Pen and bistre, with corrections in the action of the principal figure.

A Study for the Workers in the Vineyard at the Hermitage. Pen.

Copy of the *Adoration of the Magi*, an Italian composition, remodelled by Rembrandt. On the reverse, an *Adoration of the Shepherds.* Bistre, heightened with red chalk. Mr. Josephson.

The Visitation; two women embracing in a landscape before a house, from which two men are looking out at them. Pen, washed with bistre.—$7\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—M. G. Anckerswaerd Collection.

A Landscape, with a stream in the foreground, a hut to the left, and a hay-shed surrounded by trees. Pen, washed with bistre.—$4\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches.—Comte de Tessin and Anckerswaerd Collections.

III

ETCHINGS

EVEN during his lifetime Rembrandt's etchings were very much sought after by amateurs. We find Houbraken already speaking of excited contests for their possession, and of great variation in price between one proof and another, caused rather by rarity than merit. He quotes Clement de Jonghe, Zoomer, and Pieter de la Tombe as having made collections even in those early years.

In the eighteenth century the best known Dutch collections were those of Amadeus de Burgy and of Van Leyden. We shall also have to speak of those of J. Barnard and of Lord Aylesford in England; and those of Marolles, Coypel, Julienne, Silvestre, and, above all, Mariette, in France, where Rembrandt had fervent admirers at a very early period.

In our own time we may be content with mentioning those of M. Edmond de Rothschild and of M. Dutuit, in France; that of Mr. Holford, in London; those of Mr. Artaria, at Vienna; of Dr. Straeter, at Aix-la-Chapelle; and of Mr. D. Rovinsky, at St. Petersburg.

Important as these private cabinets may be, they must yield the *pas* to the great public collections, with their privilege of durability, which are enriched from day to day by purchase and bequest. For the number and beauty of its proofs Amsterdam comes first. It was formed in great part by the purchase of the Van Leyden collection in 1810, by Louis Bonaparte. Next come the cabinets of Paris, of London, of Berlin, of Vienna, and of Frankfort. At the successive great sales of the present century—those of Silvestre in 1811, of Robert Dumesnil in 1836, of Lord Aylesford in 1846, of the Baron Verstolk van Soelen in 1847 and 1851, of Firmin Didot in 1877 [1]—prices steadily increased. In 1782 a proof of the *Burgomaster Six*, in the first state, was bought for 500 florins (£32 16*s.*) by the Vienna Museum. At the Verstolk sale, the *Resurrection of Lazarus* fetched £54; the *Renier Anslo*, £60; the large *Coppenol*, 100 guineas; the *Ephraim Bonus*, £138 8*s.*, and the *Rembrandt with a Sabre*, £152. The famous *Christ healing the Sick*, for which a hundred guilders (£8 6*s.* 8*d.*) had once seemed a memorable price, was sold at this sale for £154 16*s.* It has since been sold for £1,160. Finally, at the Griffith sale, in 1883, M. Edmond de Rothschild acquired

[1] *To these we may add the sales of Dr. Griffith in* 1883, *of the Duke of Buccleuch in* 1887, *of Mr. Richard Fisher in* 1892, *of Mr. Seymour Haden in* 1891, *and of Mr. R. S. Holford in* 1893.—*F. W.*

a first state of the *Dr. A. Tholinx* for £1,520, the highest price, I believe, ever paid for an engraving.[1]

Rembrandt's etchings have been the subject of much cataloguing and classification. Gersaint, the friend of Watteau, was the first to put together the elements of a catalogue, which, however, he left unfinished. After his death his MS. was bought by Helle and Glomy, who added some information collected by themselves, and published the whole in 1751. P. Yver, an art-dealer of Amsterdam, issued a supplement in 1756, correcting several mistakes, and an Englishman, Daniel Daulby, printed a translation of this latter work, accompanied by notes of his own, in 1796, at Liverpool.

Twelve months later the well-known engraver, Adam Bartsch, who was then keeper of the prints in the Vienna library, completed the labours of his predecessors with his conscientious study of Rembrandt and his imitators, published in two volumes in the Austrian capital.

The Chevalier Claussin (1824) in France, and Wilson (1836) in England, did little more than reproduce the work of Bartsch with some improvements, although the earlier of the two made no allusion to the source from which he had so largely drawn. More recently still—in 1854, 1859, and 1861—Charles Blanc added some judicious remarks to the work of all these men, but, like them, he adopted the classification by subjects. Vosmaer was the first to attempt the study of Rembrandt's work as a whole, giving to each production, so far as he could, its correct place in the chronology of the master's life. It is easy to understand how many difficulties stood in the way of such a task, especially at its inception. Scarcely a third of the etchings are dated, and the work of fixing approximate dates, or even an order of production, for those which are undated, is still a very delicate business. Vosmaer's chronology contains, therefore, plenty of mistakes. But it was the first parallel in a siege prosecuted with increased vigour by later critics.

In May, 1877, an exhibition of Rembrandt's etchings was organised by English amateurs at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, a chronological order being determined on. Mr. Seymour Haden, one of the promoters of this exhibition, to which he had sent the most remarkable proofs in his own collection, wrote a preface to the catalogue and in this he put forward his own views upon disputed questions of dates and authenticity.

A passionate admirer of Rembrandt, Mr. Seymour Haden is himself a most distinguished etcher, and so his researches and the results to which they lead have a peculiar interest of their own. It is impossible to disagree with his opinions on the comparative value of different impressions of Rembrandt's plates, and on the unreasonableness of the excessive variations in price brought about by the rarity of certain proofs. It must be acknowledged that everything he says on these points springs from his delicate appreciation of the art he practises, and of the qualities of his favourite master. His admiration for Rembrandt may even have a touch of over-partiality about it. In his recognition of the very real differences between works of the same period, he may not have taken sufficient account of inequalities in the master's talent and of modifications due to the varying measure of time and trouble expended on this plate and on that. In his desire to attribute nothing to Rembrandt but masterpieces, Mr. Seymour Haden has gone a little too far. He has not shrunk from erasing Rembrandt's name from plates on which it was inscribed, but which

[1] *This price was exceeded by that given for the Hundred Guilder Print at the Holford Sale* (£1,750), *and also by that reached by the Ephraim Bonus with the black ring* (£1,950).—*F. W.*

seemed to him unworthy of the honour, or from giving some of the work to assistants. In order, apparently, to add force to his hypothesis, he even ventures to distinguish between one assistant and another, and to name them. Here it is certain that the English critic has fallen into more than one error.[1] He calls Lievens and Van Vliet Rembrandt's pupils, for instance, and he included in the list other artists who were not in the master's studio at the time when he declares them to have helped him with his plates. Again he refuses to accept as genuine forms of signature which seem unusual to himself even when those very forms are to be recognized on contemporary works in oil. As Mr. Seymour Haden's formal statements on these points have been recognized as inexact, his mistakes, although they do not destroy the value of his work, make it necessary to use it with discretion.

More reticent than his countryman on questions of authenticity, Mr. C. H. Middleton-Wake (formerly Middleton) was also struck by the advantages to be won by classifying Rembrandt's *œuvre* chronologically. During the Burlington Club exhibition he gave his notions on this subject to the public in *Notes on the Etched Work of Rembrandt* (London 1877, 4to), which was followed a year later by a complete catalogue of the master's etchings.[2] This is an excellent work, in which the description of each plate was followed by the remarks of preceding labourers in the same field as well as by his own. While proclaiming the superiority of the chronological arrangement, Mr. Middleton-Wake has attempted to reconcile it in his own catalogue with the old-fashioned grouping by subjects. He has diminished the number of the groups, however, and substituted four heads for the twelve adopted by Bartsch, viz.: 1, Studies and Portraits; 2, Biblical and Religious Subjects; 3, Fancy Subjects; and, 4, Landscapes. Valuable as his work is from the chronologica stand-point, Mr. Middleton-Wake has, so far as the designation of the plates is concerned, only added one more to previously existing notations, and so far has added to the confusion brought about by so many systems.

M. Eugène Dutuit, in his turn, did a good service to criticism in having the whole series of Rembrandt's etchings reproduced in their actual dimensions and with the most scrupulous care. For this purpose he used the best proofs in his own collection—one of the finest of those formed in our time—and in the public museums. This magnificent work, which the progress of heliogravure has made vastly superior to anything previously attempted, puts within the reach of every critic and every collector the means of comparing groups of etchings which can never be found united in original impressions of equal quality. Each reproduction is accompanied by a commentary pointing out the different states of the plate and the various opinions which have been expressed upon it. M. Dutuit himself, while leaving to each critic the responsibility for such opinions as he may quote, expresses his own with discretion, modesty, and impartiality. In the matter of enumeration, he protests against the inconvenience resulting from previous systems, but he adds another to the total, and so helps to increase the discomfort he deplores. I must add, however, that he does something to help other students in this matter, for his elaborate concordance tables allow any particular plate to be readily followed through all the classifications. On the other hand, his own critical use of the facsimiles made with such care is slight enough.

[1] *This, I think, Mr. Seymour Haden has admitted. His first conjectures may have gone too far, but there can scarcely be a question as to the general value of his contribution to Rembrandt criticism. It is full of suggestiveness, of vitality, and of knowledge.—F. W.*

[2] *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Rembrandt van Ryn.* 8vo. London: John Murray.

In an important work published at St. Petersburg in 1890, Mr. Dmitri Rovinsky lays before the student reproductions of Rembrandt's etchings in all their states. The one thousand untouched phototypes included in this work allow us perhaps for the first time to appreciate the various stages through which Rembrandt carried his plates, and therefore to fix for each the real number of states, apart from such changes (due to caprice, experiment, or accident in the printing) as do not amount to a "state."

The exhibition at the Burlington Club led, of course, to many discussions as to the authenticity of certain plates ascribed, with more or less probability, to Rembrandt. Bartsch's total of 375 was soon acknowledged to be over-generous, and later critics have successively reduced it: Wilson to 366, Claussin to 365, Charles Blanc to 353, Middleton-Wake to 329. Going still further in the same direction, certain artists and amateurs, acting not seldom on mere personal predilection, have erased other works from the already shortened list, and one, Mr. Alphonse Legros, has gone so far as to limit Rembrandt's undoubted authorship to 71 plates, while he allows that 42 others, or 113 in all, *may* be by his hand. The sceptical movement set afoot by Mr. Seymour Haden thus made way, and in December, 1885, M. Louis Gonse published an article in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* in which he altogether blessed the innovators, and asserted the necessity for a thorough overhauling of the traditional lists. Certainly, as one of Rembrandt's most intelligent admirers, Mr. W. von. Seidlitz, wrote to me, the master's reputation could only gain by the recognition that certain unworthy plates were not his, but the work of purification should be done without any taint of partiality. In an otherwise judicious article printed in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*,[1] Dr. Sträter of Aix-la-Chapelle yields to the new ideas even while attempting to combat them. In his total of from 280 to 300 plates, he refuses to include the free subjects, not because they are inferior or different in execution from the rest, but simply because their grossness seems to him unworthy of the master's reputation.

It fell to Dr. Bode to revindicate the rights of true criticism, which in all this had been somewhat overlooked. He did so in a sequel to Dr. Sträter's article, which also appeared in the *Repertorium*, and carried the weight due to Dr. Bode's knowledge of Rembrandt's work as a whole. The technical knowledge of actual practitioners has its value, says the German critic, in these questions, but side by side with the special indications to which such men are apt to confine themselves, a vast amount of other evidence exists which must be taken into account. In the case of Rembrandt, the dates on his early etchings—against which the strictures of Mr. Seymour Haden and his followers are chiefly directed—a comparison between their execution and that of pictures and drawings of the same period, as well as biographical documents relating to himself and his contemporaries, should all be taken into account. Unless this be done, and done with fulness both of knowledge and judgment, false or dangerous conclusions may readily be come to. It is certain that when we compare the master's early pictures with those of his maturity, they offer differences no less marked than, and of the same kind as, those between some scratching of his experimental period and such a masterpiece as the *Lutma*, or the *Old Haaring* or the *Hundred Guilder Print*. Neither can it be denied that plates like those numbered 14, 15, 25, 150, 166, 314, 322, 337, 360 by Bartsch—to mention only these—do Rembrandt little honour, and yet, with their dates of 1630 or 1631,

[1] *Rembrandt's Radirungen;* 1886, pp. 253 *et seq.*

with their monograms and their acceptance by Rembrandt as part of his achievement, they are neither better nor worse than many pictures of the same epoch. If, as Dr. Bode wisely points out, the master attached but little importance to these early efforts, they yet have their uses in showing the progressive development of his powers and the lines on which he built up his definitive manner. From the study of his earliest pictures we may draw indisputable proof of authenticity in the case of certain etchings which otherwise we should be tempted to erase from the catalogue of his productions. The monograms and signatures: R. H., R. H. van Ryn, Rembrant van Ryn, Rembrant, and finally Rembrandt, which we find on pictures combined with dates between 1628 and 1633, appear also upon etchings of the same epoch. Now these facts have only been noticed and put on record quite recently, so that forgers could not have made use of them for the better recommendation of their wares. It is only fair to say that the credit for these discoveries, as well as their proper combination, belongs to Dr. Bode, whose deductions and even hypotheses have been confirmed by what has since come to light about Rembrandt's youth. Thanks to such evidence as that here briefly sketched, the authenticity of a large number of the early etchings—which are those most contested—seems to be put beyond cavil, especially that of such as bear the master's name or monogram. Until these signatures are proved to be false we shall do well not to show ourselves more fastidious than Rembrandt himself, who, in spite of their inequalities of execution, acknowledges them his by his sign manual.

However this may be, it must be allowed that the movement started by Mr. Seymour Haden has done much good in freeing Rembrandt from responsibility for certain plates quite unworthy of him. Mr. Middleton-Wake, for instance, while maintaining a laudable reserve, throws doubt upon various landscapes rather lightly accepted by Bartsch, some of which may now be even restored to their true authors. Still more recently, Mr. W. von Seidlitz, in his desire to throw light on the question, was happily inspired to provoke a discussion of the whole subject in the Berlin Society for the study of Art History.[1] He invited the co-operation of those who, by their special studies, had proved themselves authorities on questions of authenticity. By correspondence with Dr. Bode, with Dr. Sträter, and with myself, he, moreover, took care to combine the information he had received on points which seemed doubtful, and to note agreement between different authorities, whenever it occurred. As a consequence of all these inquiries and of his own personal researches the number of plates accepted by Mr. von Seidlitz as the work of Rembrandt amounts to 260.

Our limited space has compelled us to confine the following catalogue to what is strictly necessary. As we were unable to notice all the enumerations previously put forth, we have been content to give references to two which represent between them the respective systems of classification by groups and by dates.[2] For the first we have taken Bartsch, who seems to enjoy a certain immortality, and who has, moreover, this advantage, that he can be quoted also for Rembrandt's pupils and imitators. To the notation of Bartsch we have added that of Middleton-Wake, whose chronology, with a few rare exceptions—in this, usually with the support of Mr. von Seidlitz—we have also adopted. We have pointed out the plates the authenticity of which is seriously contested, and have rejected those which for various reasons, seemed to ourselves inadmissible. The total to which all this

[1] Meeting of the 31st October, 1890.

[2] *But we have added Wilson—see Editor's Preface.—F. W.*

brings us is 270; some forty plates being included on which we should hesitate to give a definite opinion. The number does not differ very greatly from that arrived at by Mr. von Seidlitz, and yet, in a matter so delicate, it can only be looked upon as approximate.

The figures placed after the letters B., W., and M. refer respectively to the numbers in the catalogues of Bartsch, Wilson, and Middleton-Wake.

FIRST CLASS.

PORTRAITS OF REMBRANDT.

Portrait of Rembrandt, when young, with bushy hair. Monogr. About 1630. (Bartsch, 1.—Wilson, 1.—Middleton-Wake, 51.)

Portrait of Rembrandt with moustaches. About 1634. (B. 2.—W. 2.—M. 106.)

Rembrandt, holding a Bird of Prey. About 1633. Contested by von Seidlitz. The first state probably by Rembrandt. (B. 3.—W. 3.—M. 100.)

A Bust of Rembrandt, with a large nose. About 1631. (B. 4.—W. 4.—M. 42.)

A small head of Rembrandt, stooping. About 1630. (B. 5.—W. 5.—M. 19.)

A Bust of Rembrandt, with a fur cap and dark dress, coarsely etched. About 1630. Contested. (B. 6.—W. 6.—M. 17.)

Rembrandt in a turned up hat and embroidered mantle. Monogr. 1631. The impression of the second state, on which Rembrandt wrote: æt. 24 (or 25), anno 1631, is in the British Museum. (B. 7.—W. 7.—M. 52.)

Rembrandt with frizzled hair. About 1631. (B. 8.—W. 8.—M. 50.)

Bust of Rembrandt, the eyes deeply shaded. About 1630. Contested. (B. 9.—W. 9.—M. 21.)

Rembrandt with an air of grimace. Monogr. 1630. (B. 10.—W. 10.—M. 23.)

A Portrait of Rembrandt when young. (Portrait of Titus van Ryn.) About 1652. (B. 11.—W. 11.—M. 165.)

Portrait of Rembrandt in an Oval. About 1630. Contested. (B. 12.—W. 12.—M. 16.)

Rembrandt with an open mouth. Monogr. 1630. (B. 13.—W. 13.—M. 22.)

Rembrandt with a fur cap and robe. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 14.—W. 14.—M. 44.)

Rembrandt with a mantle and cape. Monogr. 1631. (B. 15.—W. 15.—M. 48.)

Rembrandt with a round fur cap. Monogr. 1631. (B. 16.—W. 16.—M. 45.)

Rembrandt with a scarf round his neck. Rembrandt. 1633. (B. 17.—W. 17.—M. 99.)

Portrait of Rembrandt with a drawn sabre, held upright. Rembrandt f. 1634. (B. 18.—W. 18.—M. 105.)

Rembrandt and his Wife. Rembrandt f. 1636. (B. 19.—W. 19.—M. 128.)

Portrait of Rembrandt in a cap and feather. Rembrandt. f. 1638. (B. 20.—W. 20.—M. 134.)

Rembrandt leaning on a stone sill. Rembrandt f. 1639. (B. 21.—W. 21.—M. 137.)

Rembrandt drawing. Rembrandt f. 1648. (B. 22.—W. 22.—M. 160.)

A Portrait of Rembrandt in an Oval. In the first state, the figure is shown to the knees; the plate is a square, signed above, Rembrandt f. 1634. It was cut to an oval for the second state. (B. 23.—W. 23.—M. 111.)

Portrait of Rembrandt in a fur cap and light dress. Monogr. 1630. (B. 24.—W. 24.—M. 27.)

Portrait of Rembrandt with frizzled hair. We believe the first state only to be by Rembrandt. It is signed with the monogr., and dated 1631. Contested. (B. 25.—W. 25.—M. 49.)

Portrait of Rembrandt with short curly hair. Rembrandt. About 1638. (B. 26.—W. 26.—M. 133.)

Portrait of Rembrandt with frizzled hair, a tuft of which rises over the left eye. Monogr. 1630. (B. 27.—W. 27.—M. 26.)

SECOND CLASS.

SUBJECTS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Adam and Eve. Rembrandt f. 1638. (B. 28.—W. 35.—M. 206.)

Abraham entertaining the three Angels. Rembrandt f. 1656. (B. 29.—W. 36.—M. 250.)

The Dismissal of Hagar. Rembrandt f. 1637. (B. 30.—W. 37.—M. 204.)

The same Subject. These two plates are not by Rembrandt. (B. 31 and 32.)

Abraham caressing Isaac. Rembrandt f. About 1638-1639. (B. 33.—W. 135.—M. 203.)

Abraham with his son Isaac. Rembrandt. 1645. (B. 34.—W. 38.—M. 220.)

Abraham's Sacrifice. Rembrandt f. 1655. (B. 35.—W. 39.—M. 246.)

Four Prints for a Spanish Book: La Piedra Gloriosa, by Menasseh ben Israel.—1. *Nebuchadnezzar's Vision of the Image.*—2. *Daniel's Vision.*—3. *Jacob's Dream.*—4. *David and Goliath.* Rembrandt f. 1655. In the first states these plates were dark, and full of bur. They were afterwards lightened, and retouched. (B. 36.—W. 40.—M. 247.)

Joseph telling his Dream to his Brethren. Rembrandt f. 1638. (B. 37.—W. 41.—M. 205.)

Jacob lamenting the supposed Death of Joseph. Rembrandt van Ryn fe. (B. 38.—W. 42.—M. 189.)

Joseph and Potiphar's Wife. Rembrandt f. 1634. (B. 39.—W. 43.—M. 192.)

The Triumph of Mordecai. About 1648-1650. (B. 40.—W. 44.—M. 228.)

David on his Knees. Rembrandt f. 1651. (B. 41.—W. 45.—M. 232.)

Tobit Blind. Rembrandt f. 1652. (B. 42.—W. 46.—M. 226.)

The Angel ascending from Tobit and his Family. Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 43.—W. 48.—M. 213.)

THIRD CLASS.

SUBJECTS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Angel appearing to the Shepherds. Rembrant f. 1634. (B. 44.—W. 49.—M. 191.)

The Nativity. Rembrandt f. About 1654. (B. 45.—W. 50.—M. 238.)

The Adoration of the Shepherds. About 1652. (B. 46.—W. 51.—M. 230.)

The Circumcision. Signed twice: Rembrandt f. 1654. (B. 47.—W. 52.—M. 239.)

The Circumcision. About 1630. (B. 48.—W. 53.—M. 179.)

The Presentation of Jesus in the vaulted Temple. About 1641. (B. 49.—W. 54.—M. 208.)

The Presentation; in Rembrandt's dark manner. About 1654. (B. 50.—W. 55.—M. 243.)

The Presentation, with the Angel. Monogr. 1630. (B. 51.—W. 56.—M. 178.)

The Flight into Egypt: a small Print. Rembrandt inventor et fecit. 1633. The composition only by Rembrandt (?) (B. 52.—W. 57.—M. 184.)

The Flight into Egypt: a Night Piece. Rembrandt f. 1651. (B. 53.—W. 58.—M. 227.)

The Flight into Egypt. About 1630. (B. 54.—W. 59.—M. 181.)

The Flight into Egypt: the Holy Family crossing a Rill. Rembrandt f. 1654. (B. 55.—W. 60.—M. 240.)

The Flight into Egypt: in the style of Elsheimer. About 1653. The composition taken from a plate by Hercules Seghers, of *Tobias and the Angel.* (B. 56.—W. 62.—M. 236.)

The Rest in Egypt, in a Wood, by Night. About 1641-1642. (B. 57.—W. 62.—M. 221.)

The Rest in Egypt. Rembrandt f. 1645. (B. 58.—W. 63.—M. 218.)

The Rest in Egypt. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 59.)

Jesus found by his Parents in their Journey to Jerusalem. Rembrandt f. 1654. (B. 60.—W. 64.—M. 244.)

The Virgin and the Infant Jesus in the Clouds. Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 61.—W. 65.—M. 211.)

The Holy Family. Monogr. About 1632. (B. 62.—W. 66.—M. 182.)

The Holy Family; Joseph looking in at the Window. Rembrandt f. 1654. (B. 63.—W. 67.—M. 241.)

Jesus disputing with the Doctors in the Temple; a Sketch. Rembrandt f. 1654. (B. 64.—W. 68.—M. 245.)

The same Subject; a larger Sketch. Rembrandt f. 1652. (B. 65.—W. 69.—M. 231.)

The same Subject; a small upright. Monogr. 1630. (B. 66.—W. 70.—M. 177.)

Christ preaching, commonly called *The little Tomb.* About 1652. (B. 67.—W. 71.—M. 229.)

The Tribute-Money. About 1634. (B. 68.—W. 72.—M. 196.)

Christ driving the money-changers out of the Temple. Rembrandt f. 1635. (B. 69.—W. 73.—M. 198.)

Jesus and the Samaritan Woman at the Well; an arched Plate. The third state signed: Rembrandt f. 1658. (B. 70.—W. 74.—M. 253.)

The same Subject; an upright Plate. Rembrandt f. 1634. (B. 71.—W. 75.—M. 193.)

The Resurrection of Lazarus. Rembrandt f. 1642. (B. 72.—W. 76.—M. 215.)

The same Subject; a large Print. R. H. Van Ryn f. About 1633. (B. 73.—W. 77.—M. 188.)

Christ healing the Sick; called *The Hundred Guilder Piece.* About 1649. (B. 74.—W. 78.—M. 224.)

Christ in the Garden of Olives. Rembrandt f. 165. About 1657. (B. 75.—W. 79.—M. 251.)

Christ before Pilate. Rembrandt f. 1655. (B. 76.—W. 80.—M. 248.)

The Ecce Homo. Rembrandt f. 1636. Cum privil. A plate in which the collaboration of a pupil, probably J. van Vliet, is very obvious. (B. 77.—W. 82.—M. 200.)

The Three Crosses. (*Christ crucified between the two Thieves.*) The third state signed: Rembrandt f. 1653. (B. 78.—W. 81.—M. 235.)

The same Subject; an oval Plate. About 1640. (B. 79.—W. 85.—M. 222.)

The Crucifixion; a small square Plate. Rembrandt f. About 1634. (B. 80.—W. 86.—M. 193.)

The Descent from the Cross. Rembrant f. 1633. Of this plate there are only three impressions. A copy on a slightly larger scale made probably by one of Rembrandt's pupils is signed: Rembrandt f. cum privil. 1633. (M. 187.) (B. 81.—W. 83 and 84.—M. 186.)

The Descent from the Cross; a Sketch. Rembrandt f. 1642. (B. 82.—W. 87.—M. 216.)

The Descent from the Cross; a Night Piece. Rembrandt f. 1654. (B. 83.—W. 88.—M. 242.)

The Funeral of Jesus. Rembrandt. About 1645. (B. 84.—W. 89.—M. 217.)

The Virgin mourning the Death of Jesus. About 1641. The execution closely allied to that of the *Spanish Gipsy* of this date (No. 120.). (B. 85.—W. 90.—M. 202.)

Jesus Christ Entombed. About 1652. (B. 86.—W. 91.—M. 233.)

Christ and the Disciples at Emmäus. Rembrandt f. 1654. (B. 87.—W. 92.—M. 237.)

Christ and the Disciples at Emmäus; a small Print. Rembrandt f. 1634. (B. 88.—W. 93.—M. 194.)

Jesus Christ in the middle of his Disciples. Rembrandt f. 1650. (B. 89.—W. 94.—M. 225.)

The Good Samaritan. Rembrandt inventor et fecit. 1633. (B. 90.—W. 95.—M. 185.)

The Return of the Prodigal Son. Rembrandt f. 1636. (B. 91.—W. 96.—M. 201.)

The Beheading of John the Baptist. Rembrandt f. 1640. (B. 92.—W. 97.—M. 209.)

The same Subject. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 93.)

Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. Rembrandt f. 1659. (B. 94.—W. 98.—M. 254.)

The same Subject. About 1630. (B. 95.—W. 99.—M. 249.)

St. Peter. Rembrandt f. 1645. (B. 96.—W. 101.—M. 219.)

The Martyrdom of St. Stephen. Rembrandt f. 1635. (B. 97.—W. 102.—M. 197.)

The Baptism of the Eunuch. Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 98.—W. 103.—M. 210.)

The Death of the Virgin. Rembrandt f. 1639.—(B. 99.—W. 104.—M. 207.)

FOURTH CLASS

PIOUS SUBJECTS.

St. Jerome sitting at the Foot of a Tree. Rembrandt. 1634. (B. 100.—W. 105.—M. 190.)

St. Jerome kneeling; an arched Print. Rembrandt ft. 1632. (B. 101.—W. 106.—M. 183.)

St. Jerome kneeling. Rembrandt f. 1635. (B. 102.—W. 107.—M. 199.)

St. Jerome sitting before the Trunk of an old Tree. Rembrandt f. 1648. (B. 103.—W. 108.—M 223.)

St. Jerome; unfinished. About 1652. (B. 104.—W. 109.—M. 234.)

St. Jerome; in Rembrandt's dark manner. Rembrandt f. 1642. (B. 105.—W. 110.—M. 214.)

St. Jerome. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 106.—W. 111.)

St. Francis praying. Rembrandt f. 1657. (B. 107.—W. 112.—M. 252.)

FIFTH CLASS.

ALLEGORICAL, HISTORICAL, AND FANCY SUBJECTS.

The Hour of Death. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 108.)

Youth surprised by Death. Rembrandt f. 1639. (B. 109.—W. 113.—M. 265.)

An allegorical Piece; probably the Demolition of the Duke of Alva's Statue. Rembrandt f. 1658. (B. 110.—W. 114.—M. 296.)

Adverse Fortune; an allegorical Piece. Rembrandt f. 1633. (B. 111.—W. 115.—M. 262.)

Medea; or the Marriage of Jason and Creüsa. The fourth state signed: Rembrandt f. 1648. (B. 112.—W. 116.—M. 286.)

The Star of the Kings. About 1652. (B. 113.—W. 117.—M. 293.)

The Large Lion-Hunt. Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 114.—W. 118.—M. 272.)

A Lion-Hunt. About 1641. (B. 115.—W. 119.—M. 273.)

A Lion-Hunt. About 1641. (B. 116.—W. 120.—M. 274.)

A Battle. About 1641. (B. 117.—W. 121.—M. 275.)

Three Oriental Figures (Jacob and Laban). Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 118.—W. 122.—M. 212.)

The Travelling Musicians. About 1635. Contested. (B. 119.—W. 123.—M. 263.)

The Spanish Gipsy. About 1647. (B. 120.—W. 124.—M. 285.)

The Rat-Killer. Monogr. 1632. (B. 121.—W. 125.—M. 261.)

The Rat-Killer. About 1632. Contested. (B. 122.—W. 126.—M. 260.)

The Goldsmith. Rembrandt f. 1655. (B. 123. W. 127.—M. 295.)

The Pancake Woman. Rembrandt f. 1635. (B. 124.—W. 128.—M. 264.)

The Sport of Kolf. Rembrandt f. 1654. (B. 125.—W. 129.—M. 294.)

A Jews' Synagogue. Rembrandt f. 1648. (B. 126.—W. 130.—M. 288.)

The Corn-Cutter. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 127.)

The Schoolmaster. Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 128.—W. 131.—M. 271.)

The Mountebank. Rembrandt f. 1635. (B. 129.—W. 132.—M. 117.)

The Draughtsman. About 1641. (B. 130.—W. 133.—M. 270.)

Peasants travelling. About 1650. Contested. (B. 131.—W. 134.—M. 153.)

Cupid reposing. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 132.)

A Jew, with a high Cap. Rembrandt f. 1639. (B. 133.—W. 135.—M. 140.)

The Onion-Woman. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 134.—Rejected by Wilson.—M. 66.)

The Peasant with his Hands behind him. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 135.—W. 136.—M. 89.)

The Card-player. Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 136.—W. 137.—M. 269.)

Old Man with a short Beard. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 137.)

The blind Fiddler. Monogr. 1631. (B. 138.—W. 138.—M. 78.)

The Man on Horseback. Monogr. About 1630. (B. 139.—W. 139.—M. 4.)

A Polander. About 1633. (B. 140.—W. 140. M. 102.)

Another Polander, with a Sword. About 1632. Contested. (B. 141.—W. 141.—M. 93.)

The Little Polander. Monogr. 1631. (B. 142.—W. 142.—M. 79.)

An old Man, seen from behind. About 1631. (B. 143.—W. 143.—M. 86.)

Two travelling Peasants. About 1634. (B. 144.—W. 144.—M. 104.)

The Astrologer. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 145.)

A Philosopher. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 146.)

A Philosopher meditating. About 1646. (B. 147.—W. 145.—M. 156.)

A Man meditating. About 1642. (B. 148.—W. 146.—M. 276.)

An old Man studying. About 1629. (B. 149.—W. 147.—M. 176.)

A beardless old Man. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 150.—W. 148.—M. 71.)

An old Man with a bushy Beard. Monogr. reversed. About 1630-1632. (B. 151.—W. 149.—M. 32.)

The Persian. Monogr. 1632. (B. 152.—W. 150.—M. 91.)

A blind Man, seen from behind. About 1630. This, as Messrs. Charles Blanc, Middleton-Wake, and Wilson have pointed out, is a study for the *Tobit* (B. 42). Contested. (B. 153.—W. 47.—M. 180.)

Two Venetian Figures. Monogr. Contested. (B. 154.—W. 151.—M. 73.)

A Physician feeling the Pulse of a Patient. Study for the physician in the *Death of the Virgin* (B. 99). (B. 155.—W. 152.—M. 143.)

A Skater. About 1633, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake. We agree with Mr. von Seidlitz that the plate is not by Rembrandt. (B. 156.—W. 153.—M. 103.)

The Hog. Rembrandt f. 1643. (B. 157.—W. 154—M. 277.)

The little Dog sleeping. About 1640. Accepted by Dr. Bode. Rejected by Mr. von Seidlitz. (B. 158.—W. 155.—M. 267.)

The Shell. Rembrandt f. 1650. (B. 159.—W. 156.—M. 290.)

SIXTH CLASS.

BEGGARS.

A Beggar sitting in an elbow-chair. About 1631. (B. 160.—W. 157.—M. 76.)

Beggars: A Man and a Woman. About 1639, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake. We agree with Mr. von Seidlitz that the plate is not by Rembrandt. (B. 161.—W. 158.—M. 142.)

A Beggar standing, and leaning on a Stick. About 1630. (B. 162.—W. 159.—M. 33.)

A Beggar standing, seen in Profile in a Cap. About 1631. (B. 163.—W. 160.—M. 141.)

Two Beggars, a Man and Woman, conversing. Monogr. 1630. (B. 164.—W. 161.—M. 37.)

Two Beggars, a Man and a Woman, coming from behind a Bank. Monogr. About 1629. (B. 165.—W. 162.—M. 10.)

A Beggar, in the manner of Callot. About 1631. We agree with Mr. von Seidlitz that this piece is very doubtful. (B. 166.—W. 163.—M. 74.)

A Beggar in a slashed Cloak. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 167.—W. 164.—M. 70.)

A Beggar Woman with a leathern Bottle. About 1631. We agree with Mr. von Seidlitz that this piece is very doubtful. (B. 168.—W. 165.—M. 75.)

A Beggar Standing. Monogr. About 1631. Contested. (B. 169.—W. 166.—M. 80.)

A Beggar Woman, asking Alms. Rembrandt f. 1646. (B. 170.—W. 167.—M. 157.)

Lazarus Klap, or the dumb Beggar. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 171.—W. 168.—M. 72.)

A Ragged Peasant, with his Hands behind him. About 1630. (B. 172.—W. 169.—M. 121.)

A Beggar warming his Hands over a Chafing-dish. About 1629. (B. 173.—W. 170.—M. 14.)

A Beggar sitting on a Hillock. Monogr. 1630. (B. 174.—W. 171.—M. 34.)

An old Beggar with a long Beard, and a Dog by his Side. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 175.—W. 172.—M. 65.)

Beggars at the Door of a House. Rembrandt f. 1648. (B. 176.—W. 173.—M. 287.)

A Beggar, and its Companion, in Two Pieces. Rembrandt f. 1634. (B. 177.—W. 174.—M. 112.) Rembran. f. 163. (B. 178.—W. 175.—M. 113.)

A Beggar with a Wooden Leg. About 1630. (B. 179.—W. 176.—M. 35.)

A Peasant standing. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 180.)

A Female Peasant standing: companion to the last. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 181.)

A Beggar: a Sketch. About 1629. (B. 182.—W. 179.—M. 11.)

Two Beggars: A Man and a Woman. About 1631. Contested; but an impression of this plate is found on the reverse of an impression from the *Lazarus Klap* (B. 171).—(B. 183.—W. 180.—M. 13.)

A Beggar, wrapped in a Cloak. About 1629. Contested. The last part of Bartsch's description applies to another plate. (B. 184.—W. 181.—M. 9.)

A sick Beggar lying on the Ground, and a Beggar Woman. Rejected, with good reason, by Mr. Middleton-Wake. (B. 185.—W. 182.)

SEVENTH CLASS.

FREE SUBJECTS AND ACADEMIC FIGURES.

Ledikant, or the French Bed. Rembrandt f. 1646. (B. 186.—W. 183.—M. 283.)

The Friar in the Cornfield. About 1640. Contested. (B. 187.—W. 184.—M. 282.)

The Flute-player. Rembrandt f. 1640. (B. 188.—W. 185.—M. 268.)

The Shepherds in the Wood. About 1641. (B. 189.—W. 186.—M. 281.)

A Man making Water. Monogr. 1630. (B. 190.—W. 187.—M. 255.)

A Woman crouching under a Tree; a companion to the last. Monogr. 1631. (B. 191.—W. 188.—M. 257.)

A Painter drawing from a Model. About 1647. Contested, though there is a drawing by Rembrandt of the composition. (B. 192.—W. 189.—M. 284.)

An academical Figure of a Man, called in Holland the Prodigal Son. Rembrandt f. 1646. A study (reversed), for this plate is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale.* (B. 193.—W. 190.—M. 279.)

Academical Figures of Two Men. About 1646. The sketch of a Woman playing with a Child on the same plate is probably a little earlier. (B. 194.—W. 191.—M. 280.)

The Bathers. Rembrandt f. 1651. The 5 in the date was substituted by the artist for the 3 originally written. (B. 195.—W. 192.—M. 292.)

Academical Figure of a Man sitting on the Ground. Rembrandt f. 1646. (B. 196.—W. 193.—M. 278.)

A Woman sitting before a Dutch Stove. Rembrandt f. 1658. (B. 197.—W. 194.—M. 299.)

A naked Woman sitting on a Hillock. Monogr. About 1631. (B. 198.—W. 195.—M. 256.)

A Woman preparing to dress after bathing. Rembrandt f. 1658. (B. 199.—W. 196.—M. 298.)

A Woman with her feet in the Water. Rembrandt f. 1658. (B. 200.—W. 197.—M. 297.)

Venus or *Diana, bathing.* Monogr. About 1631. (B. 201.—W. 198.—M. 258.)

The Woman with the Arrow. Rembrandt f. 1661. (The *a* of the signature is missing, and the *b* is reversed.) (B. 202.—W. 199.—M. 302.)

Antiope, and Jupiter as a Satyr. Rembrandt f. 1659. (B. 203.—W. 200.—M. 301.)

Danäe and Jupiter. Monogr. About 1631. (B. 204.—W. 201.—M. 259.)

A naked Woman, seen from behind. Rembrandt 1658. (B. 205.—W. 202.—M. 300.)

EIGHTH CLASS.

LANDSCAPES.

The Landscape with a Cow. Rejected by Middleton-Wake. The date 1634 (if indeed the last figure be a 4) does not agree with the monogram, which Rembrandt no longer used at this period. (B. 206.—W. 103.)

A Landscape with a House and a large Tree by it. About 1640. (B. 207.—W. 204.—M. 303.)

Six's Bridge. Rembrandt f. 1645. (B. 208.—W. 205.—M. 313.)

View of Omval. Rembrandt f. 1645. (B. 209.—W. 206.—M. 211.)

View of Amsterdam. About 1640. (B. 210.—W. 207.—M. 304.)

The Sportsman. About 1653. (B. 211.—W. 208.—M. 329.)

The three Trees. Rembrandt f. 1643. (B. 212.—W. 209.—M. 309.)

A Peasant carrying Milk-pails. About 1650. (B. 213.—W. 210.—M. 320.)

A Landscape with two Houses, lightly etched and washed with Indian ink. Rejected, with good reason, by Mr. Middleton-Wake; probably by Ph. Koninck. (B. 214.—W. 211.)

The Coach Landscape. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 215.—W. 212.)

The Terrace. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 216.—W. 213.)

A Village near the High-road, arched. Rembrandt f. 1650. (B. 217.—W. 214.—M. 325.)

A Village with a square Tower, arched. Rembrandt f. 1650. (B. 218.—W. 215.—M. 321.)

Landscape, with a Man sketching. About 1646. (B. 219.—W. 216.—M. 315.)

The Shepherd and his Family. Rembrandt f. 1644. (B. 220.—W. 217.—M. 310.)

The Canal. About 1652. (B. 221.—W. 218.—M. 327.)

A Landscape with a Vista. Rembrandt f. 1652. (B. 222.—W. 219.—M. 328.)

Landscape with a ruined Tower. About 1648. (B. 223.—W. 220.—M. 317.)

An arched Landscape with a Flock of Sheep. Rembrandt f. 1636. (B. 224.—W. 221.—M. 319.)

Large Landscape, with a Cottage and a Dutch Hay-barn. Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 225.—W. 222.—M. 306.)

A Large Landscape, with a Mill Sail seen above a Cottage. Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 226.—W. 223.—M. 307.)

Landscape with an Obelisk. About 1650. (B. 227.—W. 224.—M. 324.)

A Village with a Canal and a Vessel under Sail. About 1645. (B. 228.—W. 225.—M. 314.)

A Landscape with a Clump of Trees near the Road-side. Rejected with good reason by Messrs. Ch. Blanc and Middleton-Wake. (B. 229.—W. 226.)

An Orchard with a Barn. About 1648, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake. But we follow Mr. von Seidlitz in rejecting it. (B. 230.—W. 227.—M. 316.)

The Grotto with a Brook. Rembrandt 1645. (B. 231.—W. 228.—M. 312.)

The Cottage with white Pales. About 1645-1648. (B. 232.—W. 229.—M. 308.)

Rembrandt's Mill. Rembrandt f. 1641. (B. 233.—W. 230.—M. 305.)

The Gold-weigher's Field. Rembrandt. 1651. (B. 234.—W. 231.—M. 326.)

A Canal with Swans. Rembrandt f. 1650. (B. 235.—W. 232.—M. 322.)

Landscape with a Canal and a large Boat. Rembrandt f. 1650. (The *a* and the 6 reversed.) (B. 226.—W. 233.—M. 323.)

A Landscape with a Cow Drinking. About 1649. (B. 237.—W. 234.—M. 318.)

(The fifteen following are not by Rembrandt.)

A Landscape with a square Tower. (The signature a forgery.) (B. 238.—W. 235.)

A Landscape, with a small Figure of a Man. (B. 239.—W. 237.)

A Landscape: the Canal with the little Boat. (B. 240.—W. 236.)

A Landscape with a great Tree in the middle. (B. 241.—W. 238.)

The Landscape with a white Fence. (B. 242.)

A Landscape with a Fisherman in a Boat. (B. 243.—W. 239.)

A Landscape with a Canal. (B. 244.—W. 240.)

The low House on the Bank of a Canal. (B. 245.—W. 241.)

A Landscape with a Wooden Bridge. (B. 246.—W. 242.)

A Landscape, with a Canal and a Palisade, dated 1659. (B. 247.—W. 243.)

A Cottage and a Barn filled with Hay. (B. 248.—W. 244.)

A Cottage with a square Chimney. (B. 249.—W. 245.)

The House with three Chimneys. (B. 250.—W. 246.)

The Hay-waggon. (B. 251.—W. 247.)

The Castle. (B. 252.—W. 248.)

The Bull. Rembrandt f. 164. About 1649. (B. 253.—W. 249.—M. 289.)

The Village Street. Rejected with good reason by Mr. Middleton-Wake. (B. 254.—W. 250.)

An unfinished Landscape, with five Cottages. Signed P. D. W. (P. de Witt.) (B. 255.—W. 251.)

A Landscape: View of a Canal. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 256.—W. 252.)

NINTH CLASS.

PORTRAITS OF MEN.

A Man in an Arbour. Rembrandt f. 1642. (B. 257.—W. 258.—M. 152.)

A young Man sitting in a Chair. Rejected with good reason by Mr. Middleton-Wake. (B. 258.—W. 259.)

An old Man with a large Beard, lifting his Hand to his Cap.—About 1639. (B. 259.—W. 260.—M. 139.)

Bust of an old Man with a long Beard. Monogr. 1631. (B. 260.—W. 261.—M. 62.)

A Man with a Crucifix and Chain. Rembrandt f. 1641; the same model as in the *Man playing Cards* (B. 136), dated the same year. (B. 261.—W. 263.—M. 147.)

An old Man, with a large white Beard, and a Fur Cap.—Monogr.—About 1632. Mr. Middleton-Wake wrongly supposes him to be Rembrandt's father. (B. 262.—W. 264.—M. 90.)

Portrait of a Man with a short Beard. Monogr. 1631. (Portrait of Rembrandt's father.) (B. 263.—W. 265.—M. 77.)

Portrait of J. Antonides van der Linden. About 1653. (B. 264.—W. 266.—M. 167.)

An old Man in a fur Cap, divided in the Middle. Rembrandt f. 1640. (B. 265.—W. 267.—M. 145.)

Jan Cornelisz Sylvius. Rembrandt f. 1634. (B. 266.—W. 268.—M. 110.)

An old Man sitting at a Table. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 267.—W. 269.)

A Young Man musing. Rembrandt f. 1637. (B. 268.—W. 270.—M. 132.)

Menasseh ben Israel. Rembrandt f. 1636. (B. 269.—W. 271.—M. 127.)

Doctor Faustus. About 1651. (B. 270.—W. 272.—M. 291.)

Renier Anslo. Rembrandt f. 1641. There are two studies by Rembrandt for this plate; one in the British Museum, the other in M. Ed. de Rothschild's collection. (B. 271.—W. 273.—M. 146.)

Clement de Jonghe. Rembrandt f. 1651. (B. 272.—W. 274.—M. 164.)

Abraham Fransz. About 1656. (B. 273.—W. 275.—M. 172.)

Old Haaring. About 1655. (B. 274.—W. 276.—M. 168.)

Young Haaring. Rembrandt f. 1655. (B. 275.—W. 277.—M. 169.)

Jan Lutma. Rembrandt f. 1656 (on the second state). (B. 276.—W. 278.—M. 171.)

Jan Asselyn. Rembra . . . f. 164. About 1648. (B. 277.—W. 279.—M. 161.)

Ephraim Bonus. Rembrandt f. 1647. (B. 278.—W. 280.—M. 158.)

Uytenbogaerd, a Dutch Minister. Rembrandt f. 1635 (on the third state.) (B. 279.—W. 281. (M. 114.)

Jan Cornelisz Sylvius. Rembrandt 1645. (B. 280.—W. 282.—M. 155.)

Uytenbogaerd: called "The Goldweigher." Rembrandt f. 1639. It is generally agreed that one of Rembrandt's pupils, probably F. Bol, assisted him in this plate. (B. 281.—W. 283.—M. 138.)

The Little Coppenol. About 1651. (B. 282.—W. 284.—M. 162.)

The Great Coppenol. About 1658. (B. 283.—W. 285.—M. 174.)

Doctor A. Tholinx. About 1655. (B. 284.—W. 286.—M. 170.)

The Burgomaster Six. Rembrandt f. 1647. (B. 285.—W. 287.—M. 159.)

TENTH CLASS.

FANCY HEADS OF MEN.

First Oriental Head. Rembrandt geretuc. 1635. Portrait of Rembrandt's father. (B. 286.—W. 288.—M. 122.)

Second Oriental Head. Rembrandt geretuckeert. Portrait of Rembrandt's father. (B. 287.—W. 289.—M. 123.)

Third Oriental Head. Rembrandt geretuck. 1635. (B. 288.—W. 290.—M. 124.)

A Young Man in a Mezetin Cap. Sig. R. (B. 289.—W. 291.—M. 125.)

The four plates above are, as the word *geretuckeert* indicates, studio pieces, copies of prints by Lievens, and only retouched by Rembrandt.

Bust of an old Man with a large Beard. About 1635. (B. 290.—W. 292.—M. 126.)

Bust of an old Man, bald-headed, with a long Beard. About 1630. (B. 291.—W. 293.—M. 29.)

Profile of a bald-headed Man. Monogr. 1630. (B. 292—W. 294.—M. 39.)

Profile of a bald-headed Man. About 1630. Portrait of Rembrandt's father. Contested (B. 293.—W. 308.—M. 41.)

An old Man with a bald Head. Monogr. 1630. Portrait of Rembrandt's father. (B. 294.—W. 295.—M. 40.)

An old Man with a long Beard. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 295.)

Bust of an old Man with a bald Head. About 1632. (B. 296.—W. 296.—M. 95.)

An old Man with a Beard. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 297.—W. 297.—M. 61.)

Bust of a bald old Man with his Mouth open. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 298.—W. 298.—M. 56.)

Bust of an old Man without a Beard, in a very high fur Cap. About 1631, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake; we agree, however, with Messrs. Bode and von Seidlitz, who reject it. (B. 299.—W. 299.—M. 118.)

Bust of a Man with a Beard from Ear to Ear. About 1631. (B. 300.—W. 300.—M. 88.)

Head of an old Man with a Beard. A copy of the above, on a smaller scale. (B. 301.—W. 301.)

The Slave with the great Cap. About 1631. Contested. (B. 302.—W. 302.—M. 81.)

A Turkish Slave. About 1631. (B. 303.—W. 303.—M. 87.)

Bust of a Man seen in front in a Cap. Monogr. 1630. Contested. (B. 304.—W. 304.—M. 38.)

Bust of a Man with curling Hair and his Under-lip thrust out. About 1635. (B. 305.—W. 305.—M. 119.)

A bald old Man with a short Beard. About 1635. (B. 306.—W. 306.—M. 120.)

Bust of a Man in a fur Cap, stooping.—Monogr. 1631. (B. 307.—W. 307.—M. 58.)

Bust of a Man in the Action of Grimace. About 1631. Contested. Its authenticity very doubtful. (B. 308.—W. 309.—M. 60.)

An old Man with a large white Beard. Monogr. 1630. (B. 309.—W. 310.—M. 31.)

Portrait of a Boy, a Half-length. Rembrandt f. 1641. Called by various authors a portrait of William II. as a child, a statement for which there is no evidence. (B. 310.—W. 311.—M. 148.)

A Man with a broad-brimmed Hat and a Ruff. Monogr. 1630. De Vries read the date 1638, and the last figure may be taken for 8. But at this period Rembrandt did not use the monogram here employed. Mr. von Seidlitz, however, ascribes the plate to Ph. de Koninck. (B. 311.—W. 312.—M. 28.)

An old Man with a large Beard and fur Cap. About 1631. (B. 312.—W. 313.—M. 64.)

An old Man with a square Beard in a rich velvet Cap. Rembrandt f. 1637. (B. 313.—W. 314.—M. 131.)

An old Man with a square Beard and a Cap. About 1630. Contested. (B. 314.—W. 315.—M. 59.)

Bust of an old Man, with a large pointed Beard. Monogr. 1631 (on the second state). (B. 315.—W. 316.—M. 63.)

Bust of a Man, full face, laughing. (Portrait of Rembrandt.) (B. 316.—W. 29.—M. 25.)

Profile of a Man with a short, thick Beard. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 317.—W. 317.—M. 69.)

A Philosopher, with an Hour-glass. Monogr. 1630 (on the third state). Rejected, with good reason, by Mr. von Seidlitz. (B. 318.—W. 318.—M. 15.)

"*L'homme à trois Crocs.*" About 1631. Portrait of Rembrandt with moustaches, and a small tuft on the chin. (B. 319.—W. 28.—M. 47.)

Head of a Man with a mutilated Cap or *Rembrandt with haggard Eyes.* Monogr. 1630. (B. 320.—W. 33.—M. 24.)

A Man with Moustaches, in a high Cap, sitting, also known as *Philo the Jew.* Monogr. 1630. It is really a portrait of Rembrandt's father. (B. 321.—W. 319.—M. 36.)

Bust of a Man in a Cap. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 322.—W. 320.—M. 46.)

A Man's Head, with Cap and Chin-stay. Of very doubtful authenticity. (B. 323.—W. 321.)

Bust of a bald-headed Man. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 324.—W. 322.—M. 57.)

An old Man with a very large Beard. Monogr. 1630. (B. 325.—W. 323.—M. 30.)

A grotesque Head, in a high fur Cap. About 1632, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake, but rejected by Mr. von Seidlitz. (B. 326.—W. 324.—M. 98.)

A small grotesque Head, with the mouth open. About 1632. (B. 327.—W. 325.—M. 97.)

A Man painting. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 328.)

Bust of a young Man, in an Octagon. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 329.—W. 326.)

Bust of a young Man, lightly sketched. About 1651, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake; but we agree with Messrs. Bode, von Seidlitz, and Sträter, who reject it. (B. 330.—W. 327.—M. 163.)

Bust of a young Man in a Mezetin Cap with a Feather. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 331.—W. 328.)

Head of a Man with curly Hair and thin Moustaches. Monogr. 1631. (B. 332.—W. 336.—M. 43.)

Bust of an old Man with an aquiline Nose. About 1631. (B. 333.—W. 329.—M. 85.)

Bust of an old Man, seen nearly in profile. About 1631. (B. 334.—W. 330.—M. 84.)

Bust of a Man in a Ruff, with Feathers in his Cap. About 1628, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake, but we are inclined to doubt its authenticity. (B. 335.—W. 331.—M. 2.)

A Man with frizzled Hair; or *Portrait of Rembrandt, in an Octagon.* About 1631, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake; but we are

inclined to doubt its authenticity. (B. 336.—W. 31.—M. 20.)

Bust of an old Man with a white Beard and a Cap with a Border. About 1630. Contested. (B. 337.—W. 332.—M. 96.)

Bust of a young Man (Rembrandt?). Monogr. 1629. (B. 338.—W. 30.—M. 7.)

The white Negro, or Morisco. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 339.—W. 333.)

ELEVENTH CLASS.

PORTRAITS OF WOMEN.

The Great Jewish Bride. Monogr. 1634. Its authenticity questioned by M. de Seidlitz. (B. 340.—W. 337.—M. 108.)

Study for the above. Rejected, with good reason, by Mr. Middleton-Wake. (B. 341.)

The Little Jewish Bride, or *Saint Catharine.* Rembrandt f. 1638. (B. 342.—W. 338.—M. 135.)

Portrait of an old Woman, sitting, or *Rembrandt's Mother, with a black Veil.*—Monogr.—About 1631.—(B. 343.—W. 339.—M. 54.)

Another old Woman sitting, or *Rembrandt's Mother.* Rembrandt f. About 1632. (B. 344.—W. 340.—M. 92.)

A young Woman reading. Rembrandt f. 1634. (B. 345.—W. 341.—M. 109.)

An old Woman meditating over a Book. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 346.)

A young Woman with a Head-dress of Pearls. (Saskia.) Rembrandt f. 1634. (B. 347.—W. 342.—M. 107.)

An old Woman with an Oriental Head-dress. (Rembrandt's mother.) Monogr. 1631. (B. 348.—W. 343.—M. 55.)

Rembrandt's Mother. Monogr. 1631. (B. 349.—W. 344.—M. 53.)

An old Woman asleep. About 1635. (B. 350.—W. 345.—M. 116.)

Head of an old Woman (Rembrandt's Mother), etched no lower than the chin. Rembrandt f. 1633. (B. 351.—W. 346.—M. 101.)

The same subject, but earlier. Monogr. 1628. (B. 352.—W. 347.—M. 6.)

Bust of Rembrandt's Mother. Not in existence. (B. 353.)

Bust of old Woman lightly etched. (Rembrandt's Mother.) Monogr. 1628. (B. 354.—W. 348.—M. 5.)

An old Woman in a black Veil. Monogr. 1631. Contested. (B. 355.—W. 349.—M. 67.)

A Woman with a Basket. About 1642. (B. 356.—W. 350.—M. 151.)

The white Negress, or *Morisco.* Rejected by Mr. Middleton-Wake, though the first state bears the master's monogram. The same subject was etched by Lievens on a smaller scale. (B. 357.—W. 351.)

Bust of a Woman, the lower part oval. About 1631. Contested. (B. 358.—W. 352.—M. 68.)

A Woman in a large Hood. About 1642. (B. 359.—W. 353.—M. 150.)

An old Woman's Head. Monogr. Contested by Mr. von Seidlitz. The execution very coarse and heavy. (B. 360.—W. 354.)

A Woman reading. Not by Rembrandt. (B. 361.—W. 355.)

An old Woman in Spectacles, reading. About 1641, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake. Contested. (B. 362.—W. 356.—M. 149.)

TWELFTH CLASS.

STUDIES OF HEADS AND SKETCHES.

The Head of Rembrandt and other Studies. About 1632. (B. 363.—W. 357.—M. 136.)

Part of a Horse and other Sketches. About 1652. (B. 364.—W. 358.—M. 166.)

Saskia, and other Heads. Rembrandt f. 1636. (B. 365.—W. 359.—M. 129.)

A Sheet of Sketches, containing five Heads. Monogr. reversed. 1631. The plate has been cut into five pieces, which are described in this Catalogue separately as follows: B. 143 300, 303, 333, and 334. (B. 366.—W. 360.—M. 83.)

Three Heads of Women. (Saskia). About 1635. (B. 367.—W. 361.—M. 115.)

Three Heads of Women, one asleep. Rembrandt f. 1637. (B. 368.—W. 362.—M. 130.)

Two Women in Beds, and other Sketches. About 1639. (B. 369.—W. 363.—M. 144.)

Rembrandt's Head, and other Sketches. Monogr. 1631. The date has been disputed. We take it as referring only to the group of beggars in the corner. Rembrandt's portrait was evidently added on a vacant space at a much later date, probably 1648-1650, as appears from his apparent age and the character of the execution. (B. 370.—W. 364.—M. 82.)

Sketch of a Dog. About 1640, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake. The plate is, however,

contested, in spite of its bold and brilliant execution. (B. 372.—W. 365.—M. 266.)

Sketch of a Tree, and other Subjects. About 1638-1640. (B. 371.—W. 366.—M. 154.)

Two Small Figures and some Trees; the plate divided in two by a line. About 1631. (B. 373.—W. 367.—M. 1.)

Three Profiles of old Men. About 1630. Probably studies of Rembrandt's father. (B. 374.—W. 368.—M. 12.)

Head of a Woman. A Study. About 1628, according to Mr. Middleton-Wake. M. de Seidlitz questions its authenticity, and is inclined to give it to Hoogstraaten. (B. 375.—W. 369.—M. 3.)

SUPPLEMENTARY PLATES.

1. *Rembrandt Engraving a Plate.* Unique impression, belonging to M. Dutuit (No. 173 in his Catalogue). Accepted by Messrs. Seymour Haden and Middleton-Wake, who refer it to 1658. Rejected by Mr. von Seidlitz.

2. *Beggars under a Cloak.* Accepted by M. Charles Blanc (No. 150 in his Catalogue) and by Mr. Middleton-Wake (No. 8 in his Catalogue), who believes it to date from 1629. But we agree with Mr. von Seidlitz in rejecting it.

THE RETURN OF THE PRODIGAL.

Pen Sketch (Louvre).

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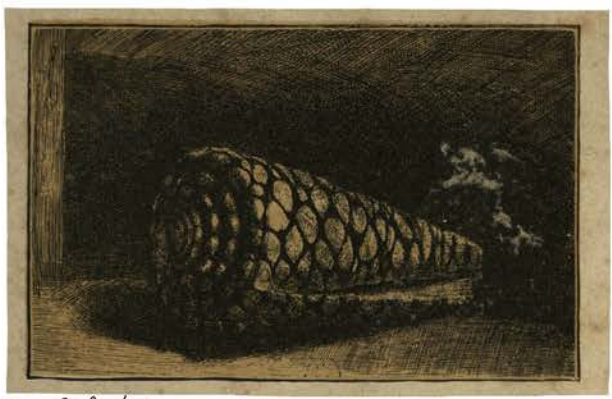

THE SHELL.

1650 (B. 159).

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